



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

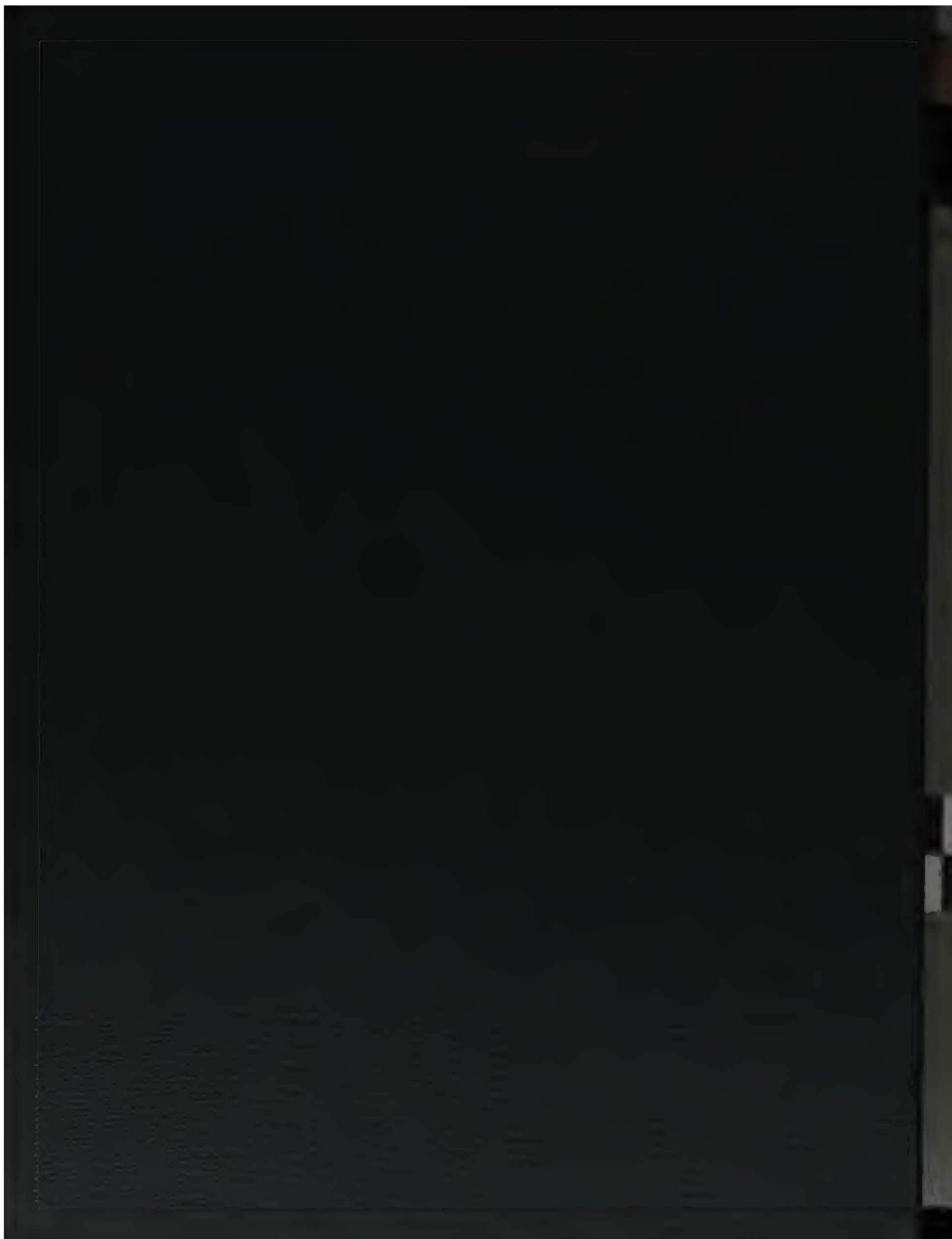
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

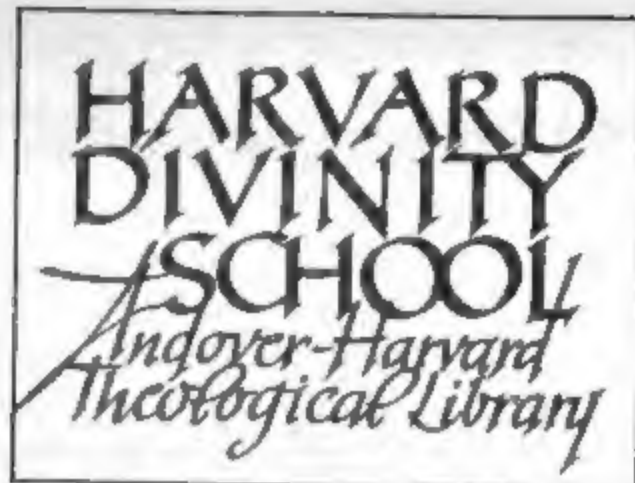
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>













**A**  
**HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL COMMENTARY**  
**ON**  
**THE OLD TESTAMENT.**  
**—**  
**LEVITICUS.**



9779  
4-2

A  
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL  
COMMENTARY  
ON  
THE OLD TESTAMENT,

WITH  
A NEW TRANSLATION,  
BY  
M. M. KALISCH, PHIL. Doc., M. A.

Vayyikra  
= ויקרא—LEVITICUS.

PART I.  
CONTAINING CHAPTERS I TO X,  
WITH TREATISES ON SACRIFICES AND THE HEBREW PRIESTHOOD.

LONDON:  
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.  
1867.

BS  
1255  
. K35  
1867a  
v. 1

PRINTED BY CARL B. LORCK IN LEIPZIG.

*Leipzig, 1874*

22777.

~~426,6~~  
~~Kalish~~  
~~v. 1~~

## PREFACE.

---

NINE years have elapsed since the publication of the second volume of this Commentary. But the author trusts that he has with some advantage adhered to the severe rule of the old master, "nonum prematur in annum". For though he devoted a considerable portion of the interval to the composition of his Hebrew Grammar, he never lost sight of the continuation of the work which he has made the task of his life, and which forms the centre of his studies and his reading. However, delay appeared to him, in one important respect, even more than desirable; it seemed to him almost imperative. For a survey of the intellectual history of England during the last decennium will render it manifest that a change has been wrought which it is not too much to describe as an intellectual revolution. The highest questions that concern mankind were discussed in works, which fell upon the public mind with the force of decisive battles, roused a spirit of regenerating enquiry, and tended perceptibly to alter the entire current of national thought. In general history, a new impulse was given by the labours of Buckle, who, ignoring the idea of a supernatural education of our race, attempted consistently, if too sweepingly, to deduce the stages of human progress from psychological principles *no less unfailing in their operation than the laws*

by their boldness and incalculable in their  
and final bearing. And in the sphere of theology,  
most unprecedented commotion was caused by  
"says and Reviews", moderate as they are in  
and reserved in enunciation, by the acute and  
demonstrations of Colenso, unsettling and in many  
rooting long-cherished opinions or prejudices,  
the writings of Rénan and Strauss, which, thanks  
to the literary intercommunion that has sprung up  
the continent and England found here a no  
powerful echo than in the countries to which they  
of origin. Thus traditional views are questioned  
in every branch of science and learning; and habits of  
thought, trained and fostered by works like  
John Stuart Mill, prove an invaluable auxiliary to  
draw extensive and trustworthy inferences. Our own time,  
not to receive opinions from the past as an un-  
questioned heirloom and with unsuspecting reliance, is  
determined to assert the right of forming its own con-  
clusions with unfettered independence.

from his special department of study, the philosophical ideas which all genuine science at present seems eager to establish; and that he has in some slight degree succeeded in assigning to the Biblical documents their proper place in the future phases and struggles of our civilisation.

But he ventures to prefer a double request to those into whose hands this volume may fall. First, he begs them not to judge of the results unless they have patiently followed him through the chain of arguments by which the conclusions were obtained; for he has endeavoured so to arrange the facts and proofs that an attentive perusal will, he trusts, disclose their force and cogency, whereas desultory reading must lead to hasty and unjust opinions. The second request he cannot make better than in the words with which Spinoza concludes the Introduction to his *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*: "To those who are not accustomed to think rationally, I do not desire to recommend this book, since I have no reason to hope that they will in any way be gratified by it. For I know how stubbornly the mind clings to those prejudices which it has adopted under the appearance of religion. I know moreover, that it is as impossible to free the mass of men from superstition as it is to free them from fear... These therefore and all those who obstinately insist upon preconceived opinions, I do not invite to read this book, nay I would much rather wish them to leave it unnoticed, than to call forth strife by interpreting its contents perversely, and while gaining no advantage for themselves, to cause injury to others who would argue with greater freedom if they were not checked by the one fatal belief that reason must be the handmaid of theology."

It may be expedient to add a few explanations with regard to the economy of this volume.

The Biblical text may be considered from three distinct points of view:



(1.) It may be explained simply in a *positive* or *objective* manner: the expositor investigates how the last compiler or reviser understood the meaning of the parts and the connection of the whole, and he endeavours to point out both the one and the other with the utmost care and completeness; he owes this tribute of respect and reverence especially to the superior genius of the man who conceived so vast a plan as that of the Pentateuch, and who must be allowed to have possessed the ability of logical thought and style. This task has been chiefly attempted in the *general* notes of the Commentary.

(2.) Or the text may be explained *critically* and *analytically*: the expositor resolves the entire composition into its component parts; he examines and compares them, decides whether they contain differences in the conceptions or discrepancies in the statements, pursues the traces of older sources or original documents, which he distinguishes from later additions or modifications, and searches after the date and authorship of each portion; and then, on the basis of these enquiries, he draws conclusions with regard to the gradual development of religious culture among the Hebrews, and to the epoch when it attained the stage revealed in the section under consideration. This has mainly been undertaken in the *philological* remarks of the Commentary.

(3.) Or, lastly, the text may be explained *philosophically* and treated *constructively*: the expositor analyses the *absolute* truth and the *absolute* value of the records; he ascertains how far the facts are historically reliable, and how far the religious notions are philosophically true; he compares the Biblical documents with the historical traditions and religious systems of other nations; and he tests them especially by the most recent discoveries of science and the best results of speculative thought; thus he is enabled to determine to what extent

they deserve authority, and in what degree they are binding on his own time; and then he may venture, as a last step, to build up the political or spiritual history of the Bible on its own intrinsic probability, and to propound religious and philosophical truths in harmony with all the scientific and literary aids at his disposal. This has principally been aimed at in the *Treatises*, which therefore form, in a certain sense, the most important and distinctive portions of the book; and for this reason, the great extent which they occupy will neither be found surprising nor require justification; though they have rendered it impossible to compress the commentary on the whole of Leviticus into one volume.

By separating these three methods, the author believes to be enabled to do full justice to the Hebrew writers, without curtailing the claims due to science, history, and philosophy.

As of the preceding volumes, so of this one also, an abridged edition is published, omitting all philological observations and all except Biblical references, and specially adapted for more cursory reading, though the author would strongly recommend the use of this larger edition to all those who desire to be acquainted with the sources of his facts and the critical evidences of his opinions. — The next volume which will conclude Leviticus, and will contain, besides the Commentary, essays on the dietary precepts, the ordinances of purification, the marriage-laws, the festivals, and the moral teaching of the Bible, will, it is hoped, be issued in the course of the following year, as it is in an advanced stage of preparation.

The author has every reason to feel grateful for the encouraging reception accorded to the earlier parts of this work; if, on a fair and dispassionate examination,

their present successor meet even approximately with a like approval, he will be fortified hopefully to continue his labours, for the success of which he is chiefly anxious because he is convinced that the purpose to which they are devoted is intimately allied with our progress, our happiness, and even the practical regulation of our lives.

M. KALISCH.

*London, April 22, 1867.*

# CONTENTS.

---

INTRODUCTION.	Page
I. The Connection between Exodus and Leviticus . . .	XIII
II. Division of Leviticus . . . . .	XIV
III. Its illogical Arrangement . . . . .	XVII
IV. Its component Parts . . . . .	XXIV
V. Chronological Order of the Laws contained in the first ten Chapters . . . . .	XXIX
VI. The Name of the Book . . . . .	XXXV
VII. Its Importance . . . . .	XXXVI
PRELIMINARY ESSAY: ON THE SACRIFICES OF THE HEBREWS AND OF OTHER NATIONS.	
I. The Origin of Sacrifices . . . . .	1
II. Relative Age of Animal and Vegetable Sacrifices . . .	10
III. History of Sacrifices among the Hebrews . . . . .	14
IV. Purer Notions on Sacrifices . . . . .	50
V. The Hebrew Appellation of Sacrifice and its Meaning. .	71
VI. General Survey and Classification of the Hebrew Sacrifices	74
VII. Animals and Vegetables offered . . . . .	78
VIII. Qualification of the Offerings . . . . .	92
IX. Symbolical Meaning of Objects connected with Sacrifices	108
1. Salt . . . . .	109
2. Oil . . . . .	114
3. Wine . . . . .	117
4. Frank-incense. . . . .	118
5, 6. Wheat and Barley . . . . .	120
7. Blood . . . . .	121
8. Fat . . . . .	129
9. Leaven . . . . .	133
10. Honey . . . . .	135
11. Typical Explanation . . . . .	142
X. Sacrificial Ceremonies and their Meaning . . . . .	167
1. Preparation . . . . .	—
2. The Time . . . . .	171
3. The Place . . . . .	172
4. Imposition of the Hand (קַסְיָקָה) . . . . .	175
5. Killing the Animal. . . . .	184
6. Receiving of the Blood . . . . .	189
7. The Sprinkling of the Blood . . . . .	190
8. The Flaying of the Animal . . . . .	195
9. Dissecting the Animal . . . . .	196
10. Washing the Parts of the Victim . . . . .	198
11. The Rite of Waving (תְּנִיפָה) . . . . .	199

	Page
12. The Rite of Heaving (תָּרִיחָה) . . . . .	202
13. The Burning of the Offering . . . . .	204
14. Sacrificial Meals . . . . .	209
XI. The Bloodless Offering (מִנְחָה) . . . . .	216
XII. The Drink-Offering (נֶסֶךְ) . . . . .	228
XIII. The Burnt-Offering (עֹלָה) . . . . .	234
XIV. The Thank-Offering (שְׁלֵמִים) . . . . .	241
XV. The Sin-Offering and the Trespass-Offering (חַטָּאת and עֲוֹן) . . . . .	249
XVI. The Offering of Jealousy (מִנְחַת קִנְיָנוֹת) . . . . .	282
XVII. The Paschal Sacrifice (זֶכֶחַ פֶּסַח) . . . . .	289
XVIII. The Doctrine of Vicarious Sacrifice . . . . .	291
XIX. The Christian Sacrifice . . . . .	302
XX. The Sacrifices of the Hebrews compared with those of other Nations . . . . .	308
XXI. On Human Sacrifices in general . . . . .	323
1. The occasions on which they were offered . . . . .	325
2. The Persons selected . . . . .	337
3. The gradual Abolition of Human Sacrifices . . . . .	341
XXII. The various forms of Idolatry adopted by the Hebrews . . . . .	351
XXIII. Human Sacrifices among the Hebrews . . . . .	381
XXIV. The Views of the Pentateuch and the Hebrew Prophets on Idolatry and Human Sacrifices . . . . .	397
XXV. Supplementary Note on the Human Sacrifices of the Hebrews . . . . .	403
XXVI. Conclusions and general Remarks on the Theology of the Past and the Future . . . . .	416
1. The Creation . . . . .	417
2. Miracles . . . . .	418
3. Prayer and other Devotions . . . . .	431
4. Revelation . . . . .	438
5. Inspiration . . . . .	452
6. Prophecy . . . . .	454
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY — Chapters I to VII . . . . .	470
ESSAY ON THE HEBREW PRIESTHOOD . . . . .	559
I. Survey of the Ordinances of the Pentateuch with respect to Priests and Levites . . . . .	—
II. An Estimate of the legislative Value of these Ordinances . . . . .	587
III. Fluctuations within the Pentateuch in reference to the Laws of the Priesthood . . . . .	598
IV. Deviations from the Levitical Laws found in the historical Books of the Old Testament . . . . .	626
V. A historical Sketch of the Origin and Growth of the Order of Priesthood among the Hebrews . . . . .	640
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY — Chapters VIII to X . . . . .	660
HEBREW TEXT OF CHAPTERS I TO X . . . . .	1—18



# INTRODUCTION.

---

## I. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN EXODUS AND LEVITICUS.

THE ordinances concerning the public worship of the Hebrews which were commenced in the Book of Exodus, are continued, and in some respects completed, in Leviticus. They related, in the former Book, chiefly to the construction of the Sanctuary, and to the vestments and consecration of its ministers; while they refer in the latter, to sacrifices deemed to form the principal means of religious service, and to the duties and privileges of the priests. But the third Book unfolds, moreover, the laws and institutions designed to embody and to realise Israel's mission as "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."<sup>1</sup> It culminates in the doctrine "You shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy."<sup>2</sup> Thus its scope is immeasurably extended. It points out the means by which the covenant before concluded between God and Israel may be perpetually preserved and renewed. It impresses by manifold commands and symbols that the covenant can only be maintained by obedience and piety on the part of Israel, and by grace and forgiveness on the part of their God. It shows that this lofty aim is attainable, first and directly, by diligent service at the Sanctuary, by the absolute rejection of idolatry, and by the removal of every external impurity; but more unfailingly still, though less directly, by a life of virtue and rectitude. Therefore, the sacrificial and priestly regulations are followed by denunciations against every form of idolatry and superstition; by precepts upon purity in diet and in the general intercourse of life; by statutes on festivals and

---

<sup>1</sup> Exod. XIX. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XIX. 2; comp. XI. 46; XX. 7, 8, 26; XXII. 32.

holy seasons; by rules settling the relations between God, the invisible King, and the persons or the land of the Israelites<sup>1</sup>; by commands relating to men or things sanctified by a vow<sup>2</sup>; and especially by a series of laws directing the moral conduct of individuals, both in reference to their families and their fellow-men generally, defining the ties of consanguinity and the rights of property, and securing the protection of the poor and the helpless: and all these injunctions are properly concluded by a solemn blessing promised to attend their observance, and a vehement curse certain to follow their transgression. The Book, therefore, carries onward all the chief objects introduced in the preceding portion — the religious and theocratic, the political and civil, and the purely ethical. It was evidently intended as a complete and organic work, twice wound up as it is by a formula of conclusion.<sup>3</sup> It was meant to serve as a spiritual code both for individuals and the chosen people as a community. The election of Israel by Divine grace was to be justified and merited by Israel's zealous devotion. The covenant mercifully offered by God was to be converted into a covenant yearned for and treasured by Israel. Jehovah had manifested Himself as the God of the Hebrews; the Hebrews were now to prove themselves the people of God, by deed and thought, in life and faith.

## II. DIVISION OF LEVITICUS.

HOWEVER, the execution of the composition falls very considerably short of its conception. The arrangement discloses indeed, in general outlines, the three great divisions of *Sacrifices*, *Purity*, and *Morals*: but the details are desultory and often illogical. Statutes which should form one division, are scattered throughout the Book, and laws belonging to different sections, are agglomerated rather than combined. The Book possesses, therefore, in many respects, a fragmentary character. It leaves to the reader the laborious task of effecting, by

<sup>1</sup> The year of release (שְׁמִטָּה) and of jubilee (יָדֵבֶר).

<sup>2</sup> חֲטָטִים and נִזְיִר.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. XXVI. 46; XXVII. 34.

constant separation and connection of its elements, a unity of design, the absence of which painfully strikes him on careful examination. This will be obvious from the following classified survey.

**I. Laws concerning Sacrifices and public Worship, Ch. I to X.**

**A. The principal Sacrifices, ch. I to VII.**

**a. First Code, ch. I to V.**

1. Burnt-Offering (עֹלָה), ch. I.
2. The Bloodless Offering (זֶבַח), ch. II.
3. The Thank-Offering (תְּנוּפָאִת), ch. III.
4. Expiatory Offering, ch. IV and V.
  - α. Sin-offering (חַטָּאת), ch. IV. 1—V. 13.
  - β. Trespass-offering (עֲוֹן), ch. V. 14—26.

**b. Another Code, Ch. VI and VII.**

1. On the Service of the Altar of Burnt-Offering, ch. VI. 1—6.
2. On Bloodless Offerings, ch. VI. 7—11.
3. On the Bloodless Offering of the High-priest on the Day of his Initiation, ch. VI. 12—16.
4. On Sin-Offerings, ch. VI. 17—23.
5. On Trespass-Offerings, ch. VII. 1—7.
6. The Portions of Burnt-Offerings and Bloodless Offerings to be left to the Priests, ch. VII. 8—10.
7. Regulations regarding Thank-Offerings, ch. VII. 11—21.
8. Prohibition against eating the Blood and Fat of Animals, ch. VII. 22—27.
9. The Portions of Thank-Offerings falling to the Share of the Priests, ch. VII. 28—34.
10. Conclusion of this Code, ch. VII. 35—38.

**B. The Consecration of the Sanctuary and its Utensils, and of Aaron and his Sons as Priests, ch. VIII to X.**

- a. Consecration of the Sanctuary and of Aaron and his Sons, ch. VIII.
- b. The first public Sacrifices performed by Aaron and his Sons, ch. IX.
- c. Offence of Aaron's two eldest Sons against the sacrificial Precepts; their Death; and Commands regarding the Holiness of the Priests and their Functions, ch. X.

**II. Precepts respecting Purity in Diet and Person, ch. XI to XV.**

- A. Distinction between clean and unclean Animals, and *Commandments with respect to them*, ch. XI.

**B. On the Purity of Persons, their Garments, and their Houses, and the Means of Purification, ch. XII to XV.**

**a. Impurity of Women by Childbirth, ch. XII. 1—8.**

**b. Impurity by Leprosy, ch. XIII and XIV.**

**1. Leprosy of Persons, ch. XIII. 1—46.**

**2. Leprosy of Garments and their Purification, ch. XIII. 47—59.**

**3. Purification of a leprous Person, ch. XIV. 1—32.**

**4. Leprosy of Houses and their Purification, ch. XIV. 33—53.**

**c. Uncleanness in Consequence of sexual Issues, ch. XV.**

**1. Running Issue of Men, ch. XV. 1—15.**

**2. Spontaneous or accidental Emission of Semen, ch. XV. 16, 17.**

**3. Sexual Intercourse, ch. XV. 18.**

**4. Regular Menstruation of Women, ch. XV. 19—24.**

**5. Irregular or protracted Menstruation of Women, ch. XV. 25—30.**

**III. Supplementary Laws respecting Sacrifices, ch. XVI. 1—XVII. 14.**

**A. The Sacrifices on the Day of Atonement, ch. XVI.**

**B. Ordinances as to the Place of Sacrifice, ch. XVII. 1—9.**

**C. Repeated Prohibition of Blood, ch. XVII. 10—14.**

**IV. Supplementary Ordinances regarding Purity, ch. XVII. 15, 16.**

**V. Moral and civil Laws, ch. XVIII—XX.**

**A. On the forbidden Degrees of Matrimony, and other Laws on sexual Intercourse, ch. XVIII (with the exception of ver. 21 treating of the Sacrifices of Moloch).**

**B. Various moral Precepts, irregularly intermixed with religious, ceremonial, and sacrificial Ordinances, ch. XIX and XX; viz.**

**a. On the Sabbath, ch. XIX. 3, 30 first half;**

**b. On idolatrous Worship and Witchcraft, ch. XIX. 4, 26 second half, 31; XX. 6, 27;**

**c. On Thank-Offerings, ch. XIX. 5—8;**

**d. On mixing different Species of Beasts or different Seeds (דְּבָרִים), ch. XIX. 19;**

**e. On the Produce of young Fruit-trees, ch. XIX. 23—25;**

**f. On the Eating of Blood, ch. XIX. 26 first half;**

**g. On the Inviolability of the human Body, ch. XIX. 27, 28;**

**h. Holiness of the Sanctuary, ch. XIX. 30 second half;**

**i. Against Sacrifices offered to Moloch, ch. XX. 1—5;**

- k. Repetition of some Laws regarding the forbidden Degrees of Matrimony, and sexual Intercourse in general, ch. XX. 10—21; and
- l. Repetition of the fundamental Command concerning clean and unclean Animals, ch. XX. 25.
- VI. Supplementary Precepts respecting the Priests, their Qualifications, Rights, and Duties, ch. XXI. 1—XXII. 16.
- VII. Other supplementary Laws relating to Sacrifices, the Qualification of the Victims, their Age, and other Points, ch. XXII. 17—33.
- VIII. On the Sabbaths and the Festivals — Passover, Pentecost, the Day of Memorial, the Day of Atonement, and Tabernacles, ch. XXIII.
- IX. Supplementary Laws on the Service of the Sanctuary — the Light of the Candlestick and the Shew-bread, ch. XXIV. 1—9.
- X. An Incident and Law regarding Blasphemy, ch. XXIV. 10—16.
- XI. Some Laws — mostly repetitions — concerning Violence committed against Persons or Property, ch. XXIV. 17—21.
- XII. On the Year of Release and Jubilee, and the Right of Persons and Property in Connection therewith, ch. XXV (except vers. 35—38 which refer to Usury practised against the Poor).
- XIII. Renewed Injunctions against Polytheism and Idol-worship (XXVI. 1), and Repetition of a Precept concerning the Sabbaths and the Sanctuary (XXVI. 2).
- XIV. Blessing for the Observance, and Curse for the Neglect of the Divine Commandments, ch. XXVI. 3—45.
- XV. Some supplementary Laws, ch. XXVII; viz.
  - a. On Persons hallowed by a Vow, vers. 1—8;
  - b. On Animals or other Property consecrated (עֲרֵךְ) or devoted (תָּרַם) to God, vers. 9—29; and
  - c. On Tithes (vers. 30—33).

### III. ITS ILLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT.

LET the reader carefully examine this digest, and he cannot fail to be struck by bounds and gaps, repetitions, and interpolations almost too numerous to point out. The precept with regard to the hides of burnt-offerings stands entirely isolated.<sup>1</sup> The laws on the portions of bloodless offerings to be left to the priests are dismembered.<sup>2</sup> The injunction which forbids the eating of fat and blood,<sup>3</sup> which should conclude the laws of sacri-

<sup>1</sup> VII. 8.

<sup>2</sup> VI. 7—11 and VII. 9, 10.

<sup>3</sup> VII. 22—27.

fice, interrupts the regulations on thank-offerings,<sup>1</sup> and is later repeated in an unexpected context.<sup>2</sup> The interdiction of the worship of Moloch occurs in the midst of ordinances relating to unlawful marriages<sup>3</sup> and a renewed enactment against wizards and necromancy<sup>4</sup> is so abrupt in the place which it occupies, that it has given offence even to orthodox writers.<sup>5</sup> The introductory section on sacrifices<sup>6</sup> is repeatedly supplemented, after commands on totally different subjects.<sup>7</sup> The same irregularity is observed in the laws concerning the priests,<sup>8</sup> and the service of the Sanctuary.<sup>9</sup> The acts and means of purification ordained for lepers,<sup>10</sup> are, by an intervening clause,<sup>11</sup> unsymmetrically disjoined from the description of leprosy.<sup>12</sup> But above all, the portion designed to treat of moral and civil laws,<sup>13</sup> is perplexingly intermixed with a vast variety of heterogeneous precepts destroying all unity, nay every trace of continuity;<sup>14</sup> it is impossible that a thoughtful legislator should have composed and promulgated such an agglomeration of laws, from which he could hardly expect any practical effect. It is of no avail to attempt a systematic classification; all efforts, however able and laborious, so far from successful, prove the incongruity still more strikingly by the forced expedients which they necessitate. Some combinations might, at first glance, recommend themselves, as for instance, the connection of the Day of Atonement<sup>15</sup> with Purification,<sup>16</sup> because that Day was intended to cleanse the whole nation from impurity; and so also might laws on forbidden marriages<sup>17</sup> be brought into proximity with those on purification.<sup>18</sup> But a closer scrutiny proves that these proposals create new difficulties which more than counterbalance the supposed advantages: for the Day of Atonement was intended to remove not

<sup>1</sup> VIII. 11—21 and 28—34.

<sup>2</sup> XVII. 10—14. <sup>3</sup> XVIII. 21. <sup>4</sup> XX. 27.

<sup>5</sup> "It must be confessed", observes J. J. S. Perowne (in Smith's Diction. of the Bible, II. 112), "that the enactment in ver. 27 stands very awkwardly at the end of the chapter, completely isolated as it is from all other enactments."

<sup>6</sup> Ch. I to VII.

<sup>7</sup> XVI. 1—XVII. 14; XXII. 17—33.

<sup>8</sup> XXI. 1—XXII. 16. <sup>9</sup> XXIV. 1—9.

<sup>10</sup> XIV. 1—32. <sup>11</sup> XIII. 47—59.

<sup>12</sup> XIII. 1—46. <sup>13</sup> Ch. XIX and XX.

<sup>14</sup> See *supra* sub V. B.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. XVI. <sup>16</sup> Ch. XI to XV.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. XVIII.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. XVIII. 24 *sqq.*

only all kinds of external impurity, which were, in fact, expiated by special sacrifices throughout the year, but chiefly all moral defilement.<sup>19</sup> Abarbanel<sup>20</sup> contents himself with a general division into two parts, of which he considers the first to extend to XVIII. 5, and to treat of "the holiness of the priests and the mode of their service", whereas the latter relates to the holiness of the people, and to the things to be done and to be avoided by them; but he admits that the latter portion is largely interwoven with priestly ordinances, "because the holiness of the people depends on the holiness of the priests, and the holiness of the priests on that of the people", which is in a certain respect true, but which, if taken as a guide or principle of arrangement, would produce the utmost confusion. Again, some have urged a correspondence between the Day of Atonement<sup>21</sup> and the Year of Release and Jubilee,<sup>22</sup> which institutions they supposed to form the crowning points of the two series of laws contained in Leviticus;<sup>23</sup> but this correspondence is more specious than real; for the first series also<sup>24</sup> includes not only sacrificial precepts of various kinds, but also very important injunctions regarding the "impurity" of life, as on forbidden marriages, which perhaps more than any other offence fell within the operation of the Day of Atonement. It is, therefore, bold indeed to speak of "the internal unity of the laws of Leviticus", and more hazardous still to assert "their organic arrangement." The mode in which another apologist<sup>25</sup> attempts to prove a systematic sequence, although establishing a few plausible connections, is too artificial and strained to convince; in order to effect even apparent relations, he is compelled to have recourse to the subtlest artifices of dialectic ingenuity; for instance, he contends that the law on the Day of Atonement<sup>26</sup> occupies its place in Leviticus "because it was, negatively, after the installation of the priests to be observed in so far as the priests were

<sup>19</sup> XVI. 21, 30, 34.

<sup>20</sup> Introduction to Leviticus.

<sup>21</sup> Ch. XVI.

<sup>22</sup> XXV.

<sup>23</sup> So among other writers, *Keil*, *Commentary on Leviticus* pp. 4, 5,

the summary of contents there offered is not satisfactory.

<sup>24</sup> Viz. that which precedes ch. XVI.

<sup>25</sup> *Ranke*, *Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, l. 99—111. <sup>26</sup> Ch. XVI.

not allowed to enter the Holy of Holies except on that single Day"; but that law refers essentially to the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement, and touches but incidentally on the prohibition that the High-priest was not to come into the Holy of Holies at all times (ver. 2); moreover, it is by a long chain of ordinances on impurity<sup>1</sup> separated from the regulations on the sacrifices in the Sanctuary. But even more unsuccessful is the same writer's justification of the twenty-fourth chapter, which treats of the light of the candlestick, the shew-bread, desecration of the Divine name and its punishment, and a cycle of laws on acts of bloodshed and violence — a congeries of materials which indeed no sagacity, however penetrating, can hope to combine into organic unity.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it permitted to palliate the confusion of the arrangement by observing, "The Book exhibits the *historical* progress of the legislation; consequently we must not expect to find the *laws* detailed in it in a systematic form";<sup>3</sup> for all the laws of Leviticus were, according to its own statements, promulgated in mount Sinai<sup>4</sup> within one month, from the first day of the first month to the first day of the second in the year after the exodus.<sup>5</sup> The inevitable result which forces itself upon the mind of the attentive reader, coincides with that which historical and internal evidences force upon the critic, namely, that the Book of Leviticus cannot possibly be the work of one author and of one age; but that it is composed of various portions written, enlarged, and modified by different authors, in harmony with the necessities and altered conditions of their respective times.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. XI to XV.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Hävernicks*, *Einleitung in den Pentateuch*, § 130, pp. 409—422; comp., on the other hand, *Fater*, *Pentateuch*, III. 449—452, 639, 640; *De Wette*, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, II. pp. 289—300 (his result is: "later expounders of the Law or priests had written down in various treatises the statutes which they found at hand, whether these were still in force or had fallen into disuse, and

they had sanctioned them by the authority and name of Moses as the law-giver of the nation. The treatises themselves were then joined together by the compilers of the Pentateuch, and connected with the history of Moses"); *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, § 152; *George*, *Jüdische Feste*, pp. 71—75, 120—144.

<sup>3</sup> *Hävernicks* in *Kitto's Cyclopaedia*, II. 243. <sup>4</sup> VII. 38; XXVI. 46; XXVII. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Comp. Exod. XL. 17 and Num. I. 1.*



The desultory character of the Book will appear more manifestly still by the following synopsis of the portions arranged with reference to their matter, and proving at a glance, how numerous transpositions are required to effect even a tolerable sequence, and how many omissions are desirable to avoid useless redundancy.

**I. Laws concerning Sacrifices.**

1. Burnt-Offering, I. 1—9; VII. 3; L. 10—17; VI. 1—6.
2. Bloodless Offering, II. 1—3; VI. 7—11 (with the necessary modifications); II. 4—16; VII. 9, 10; VI. 12—16.
3. Thank-Offering, III. 1—16; VII. 11—21, 28—34; XIX. 5—8;<sup>6</sup> XXII. 29, 30.<sup>7</sup>
4. Expiatory Offering, IV. 1—5, 26; VI. 17—VII. 7.
5. General Injunctions, XVI. 1, 2; XVII. 1—9; XXII. 17—28; 31—33 (a general conclusion).
6. Prohibition of Fat and Blood,<sup>8</sup> III. 17; VII. 22—27; XVII. 10—14; XIX. 26 (first half).<sup>9</sup>

**II. Laws on the Priests and the Sanctuary, VIII to X; XXI. 1—XXII. 16; XIX. 30; XXVI. 2 (second half);<sup>10</sup> XXIV. 1—4,<sup>11</sup> 5—9,<sup>12</sup> followed by Ordinances on Vows and Sacred Property, XXVII. 1—33.<sup>13</sup>**

<sup>6</sup> Repetition of VII. 16—18.

<sup>7</sup> Also partial repetition of the same laws.

<sup>8</sup> Four times repeated. The efforts made to justify these repetitions (c. g. by *Eichhorn*, *Einleit.* III. 284) are unavailing.

<sup>9</sup> It is, therefore, not easy to understand the assertion that "in Leviticus I to VII, the strictest logical order exists" (*Stähelin*, *Kritische Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch* etc. p. 5, and in general pp. 4—11; though he is obliged to admit several irregularities, for which not even the ablest apologists have succeeded in accounting, p. 10).

<sup>10</sup> Repetition of XIX. 30.

<sup>11</sup> On the oil of the candlestick and the perpetual light, almost verbally repeated from Exod. XXVII. 20, 21; comp. *Ewald*, *Geschichte*, I. 115.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Exod. XXV. 30, where the second command (on the shew-bread),

though but briefly stated, stands more fitly. Hävernicks (l. c. p. 244) believes that these commands on the oil and the shew-bread (vers. 1—9) were "judiciously placed after chapt. XXIII", which treats of the festivals, because "they refer to the agricultural relation of the Israelites to Jehovah stated in that chapter": but they have reference to the service of the Sanctuary and to nothing else; and the twenty-third chapter does not treat of the agricultural festivals only, but also of the Day of Memorial and the Day of Atonement. This is a fair specimen of that vagueness of conception which even attempts to prove that the 27th chapter has its "appropriate" place.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. Num. XXX. 3—16. — Lev. XXVII. 26, 27, ordaining the redemption of the firstborn unclean animals for their value increased by one fifth, is at variance with Exod. XIII. 13 and

## III. Laws on Purity.

1. Clean and unclean Animals, and unlawful Food, XI. 1—47; XVII. 15, 16; <sup>1</sup> XX. 25.<sup>2</sup>
2. Impurity by Childbirth, XII. 1—8.
3. Impurity by Leprosy, XIII. 1—46; XIV. 1—32; XIII. 47—59; XIV. 33—53.
4. Impurity of the Body, XV. 1—33.

## IV. Civil and Moral Laws.

1. Unlawful Marriages and Intercourse, XVIII. 1—20; 22—30; XIX. 20—22; XX. 10—21.<sup>3</sup>
2. Various Moral Precepts, XIX. 1—3 (first half),<sup>4</sup> 9; XXIII. 22;<sup>5</sup> XIX. 10—18,<sup>6</sup> 29, 32—37;<sup>7</sup> XX. 7—9, 22—24, 26; XXIV. 17—21;<sup>8</sup> XXV. 35—38.
3. On the Holiness of God, XXIV. 10—16.<sup>9</sup>
4. Against Idol-Worship and Witchcraft, XIX. 4, 26 (second half), 31; XX. 6 and 27;<sup>10</sup> XXVI. 1.<sup>11</sup>
5. Against the Worship of Moloch, XVIII. 21; XX. 1—5.
6. Inviolability of the human Body, XIX. 27, 28.
7. On the Produce of young Fruit-trees, XIX. 23—25.
8. On כלאים, XIX. 19.

V. On the Sabbath and Festivals, XIX. 3, 30; XXVI. 2 (first half);<sup>12</sup> XXIII. 1—21,<sup>13</sup> 23—44; XVI. 3—34; XXV. 9.<sup>14</sup>

VI. On the Sabbath-Year and the Year of Jubilee, XXV. 1—34, 39—55.<sup>15</sup>

VII. Blessing for the Observance, Curse for the Transgression of the Law, XXVI. 3—46.

XXXIV. 20, which prescribe the redemption by a lamb, and with Num. XVIII. 15, which fixes the price of redemption simply at five shekels; see p. 610.

<sup>1</sup> Partly repetition of XI. 39, 40; Exod. XXII. 30; comp. Deut. XIV. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Exod. XXIII. 20; XXXIV. 26; Deut. XIV. 21 — threefold repetition of the same law concerning the kid and its mother's milk.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Exod. XX. 13; XXII. 15, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Exod. XX. 12; XXI. 15, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Almost verbally repeated from XIX. 9, 10. <sup>6</sup> Ad ver. 12 comp.

Exod. XX. 15. <sup>7</sup> Ad ver. 34 comp. Exod. XXII. 20; XXIII. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Ver. 21 is almost a repetition of vers. 17 and 18; ad vers. 17 and 21

on murder comp. Gen. IX. 5, 6; Exod. XX. 13; XXI. 12—14: vers. 19, 20 on retaliation of limb for limb, are a close repetition of Exod. XXI. 23—25; comp. also Exod. XXII. 21—26; XXIII. 1—8.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Exod. XX. 7; XXII. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Repetitions of XIX. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Exod. XX. 3—5; XXII. 19; XXIII. 24, 25. <sup>12</sup> Repetition of XIX. 30.

<sup>13</sup> Ver. 18 on the victims to be killed at Pentecost, at variance with Num. XXVIII. 27—30.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Exod. XII. 1—20, 43—49; XVI. 23<sup>seqq.</sup>; XX. 8—11; XXIII. 12, 14—18; XXX. 10; Num. IX. 6—14.

<sup>15</sup> Vers. 39—46, a law on Hebrew slaves, at variance with Exod. XXI. 1—11; comp. also Exod. XXIII. 10, 11; Lev. XXVII. 17—24.

It is, therefore, unwarranted to affirm that "the individual laws are grouped in larger classes in which the kindred portions are placed together."<sup>16</sup> This is decidedly not the case with respect to any of the chief divisions of the Book. Its imperfect arrangement appears in still stronger light if we consider that the fourth and fifth Books contain numerous Levitical ordinances which ought logically to have been joined to the analogous regulations set forth in the third, namely

1. Election and Census of the Levites, Num. III. 5—39.
2. Substitution of Levites for firstborn Israelites, III. 44—53.
3. Service of the Priests and Levites at the Sanctuary, ch. IV.
4. A comprehensive Ordinance on Trespass-Offerings, V. 5—10.
5. The "Offering of Jealousy", V. 11—31.<sup>17</sup>
6. Once more an Account of the Erection, Anointing, and Consecration of the Tabernacle and its Utensils; and Sacrifices of the Chiefs of the twelve Tribes in Honour of the Dedication of the Altar, VII. 1—88.
7. On the Candlestick and its Lights, VIII. 1—4.
8. Initiation of the Levites, VIII. 5—22.
9. On the Period of Life during which the Levites are bound to do active Service at the Sanctuary, VIII. 23—26.
10. On the Drink-Offering, XV. 1—16.
11. The "Firstfruit of the Dough", XV. 17—21.
12. The Sin-Offering of the Community and of Individuals, XV. 22—31.
13. Functions and relative Position of Priests and Levites, XVIII. 1—7.
14. Revenues of Priests and Levites, XVIII. 8—32.<sup>18</sup>
15. The Ordinance of the "Red Cow" and Laws of Purification, ch. XIX.
16. The Sacrifices to be presented on Week-days, New-moons, and the five great Festivals, ch. XXVIII and XXIX.
17. On Levitical Towns, XXXV. 1—8.
18. Sacrifices at the central Sanctuary, Deut. XII. 11—18, 26, 27.
19. Laws of Tithes, XIV. 22—29 (comp. XXVI. 12—15).

<sup>16</sup> *George*, Jüd. Feste, p. 25. A judicious digest of the contents of Leviticus, with valuable general observations will be found in *Davidson's* excellent Introduction to the Old Testament, l. 256 sqq.

<sup>17</sup> Hence *Ewald* (*Gesch.* l. 116) and

*Lengerke* (*Kanaan*, p. 476) have contended that the two last portions (Num. V. 5—31) ought properly to follow after Lev. 1 to V; comp. in general *Ewald* l. c. pp. 115—120.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. Exod. XXII. 28, 29; XXIII. 19.

## INTRODUCTION.

20. Laws on Firstborn Animals, XV. 19—23.
21. On Festivals (Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles), XVI. 1—17.
22. On Faultlessness of the Victims, XVII. 1.
23. Priestly Revenues, XVIII. 1—8.
24. On Vows, XXIII. 22—24.
25. Directions of Priests to be obeyed in cases of Leprosy, XXIV. 8.
26. Offering of the Firstfruits, XXVI. 1—11.

It will be seen that these portions would also demand considerable transpositions to produce anything like systematic sequence among themselves; while in order to put them into their fit places in the code of Leviticus, they would require to be totally disjoined. These circumstances throw light on the origin and peculiar composition of the whole Pentateuch, which will be discussed in its due place.<sup>1</sup>

## IV. ITS COMPONENT PARTS.

INDEED the Book of Leviticus may be recognized, with sufficient distinctness, as a compilation of various smaller collections or treatises, mostly introduced under separate headings, and often terminated by proper conclusions. Thus

1. The general ceremonial of the older classes of sacrifices — holocausts, bloodless oblation, and thank-offering (I to III) — formed evidently a complete section by itself, introduced by the words, "And the Lord called to Moses, and spoke to him out of the Tent of Meeting, saying, Speak to the children of Israel, and say to them", etc. and also

2. The portion treating of the fourth and latest class of sacrifice — the expiatory offerings — (ch. IV and V), headed by almost exactly the same terms (IV. 1, 2), and divided into sin-offering (חטאת) and trespass-offering (עוון), the latter beginning with the words, "And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying" (V. 14), and these

---

Gueneen (Histoire critique des livres de l'Ancien Testament, trad. par Pier-  
re, 56) observes: "la législation de  
Moïse, du Lévitique et des Nombres

n'a jamais pu former un grand organisme,  
un tout fini auquel les fragments his-  
toriques n'auraient été ajoutés que plus  
tard."

again distinguished into those presented for intentional and violent offences, and those offered for inadvertent sins, both being separated by the same formula, "And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying" (V. 20), entirely in harmony with the history and gradual development of expiatory offerings.<sup>2</sup>

3. A section containing general precepts with regard to sacrifices (ch. VI and VII), written from a different point of view, but also facilitating, by separate headings, the subdivision into the four classes — holocausts (VI. 1), bloodless oblations (VI. 12), expiatory sacrifices (VI. 17), and thank-offerings (VII. 28).<sup>3</sup>

4. A special prohibition of fat and blood with an initial phrase (VII. 22—27). But all the parts just reviewed (ch. I to VII) were no doubt intended as a complete sacrificial code, as is clearly proved by the general conclusion, "This is the law of the burnt-offering, of the bloodless offering, and of the sin-offering, and of the trespass-offering, and of the offering of consecration, and of the sacrifice of the thank-offerings, which the Lord commanded Moses in mount Sinai, in the day that He commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations to the Lord in the wilderness of Sinai" (VII. 37, 38).

5. Then follow accounts of the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and of their first official acts (VIII and IX) with a heading (VIII. 1);

6. The death of Nadab and Abihu and some laws brought into connection with it (ch. X, comp. vers. 8, 12); and

7. Dietary laws (ch. XI) with heading (ver. 1) and conclusion (vers. 46, 47);

Then the commandments relating to impurity (ch. XII to XV), namely

8. On women in childbirth (XII. 1—8, comp. ver. 1);

9. On leprosy, whether of persons or of garments and houses with a heading (XIII. 1) and comprehensive conclusion, "This is the law for all manner of plague of leprosy, and scall, and for the leprosy of a garment and of a house, and for a rising, and for a scab, and

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 272, 273; comp. *infra* pp. XXXIII, XXXIV.

<sup>3</sup> Comp., however, VI. 7—11; VII. 11—21.

for a bright spot; to teach when it is unclean, and when it is clean: this is the law of leprosy" (XIV. 54—57); and

10. On running issues (זֶרַע) of various kinds similarly introduced (XV. 1) and finished (vers. 32, 33).

11. Next comes, in a separate section, the law respecting the Day of Atonement, with heading (XVI. 1) and conclusion (ver. 34); then follow

12. Some sacrificial precepts (XVII), to which is joined the prohibition of blood (vers. 10—14), with heading (ver. 1);

13. Injunctions against illicit marriages and intercourse (XVIII), with heading and introduction (vers. 1—5), and with conclusion and emphatic final warning (vers. 24—30); but the prohibition of the worship of Moloch is inappropriately inserted (ver. 21);

14. A group of laws, chiefly of moral import but interspersed with various other precepts (ch. XIX); it was evidently written independently of the preceding portions, as is proved by the manifold repetitions of anterior commands; and it has its own heading and introduction (vers. 1, 2), and a distinct conclusion, "Therefore shall you observe all My statutes, and all My judgments, and do them; I am the Lord" (XIX. 37); then

15. Another and similar group (ch. XX) with analogous beginning (ver. 1), but without conclusion (ver. 27);<sup>1</sup>

16. Various pontifical laws (XXI. 1—XXII. 16) with several headings (XXI. 1, 16; XXII. 1) and unmistakable though vague conclusion (XXI. 24);

17. Some additional sacrificial laws (XXII. 17—33), with heading (vers. 17, 18) and full conclusion and peroration (vers. 31—33);

18. Copious ordinances concerning the festivals (XXIII) with headings and introductions (vers. 1, 2, 4, 23, 26, 33), and a comprehensive conclusion, "So Moses declared to the children of Israel the feasts of the Lord" (ver. 44), and

19. Once more precepts on the service of the Sanctuary (XXIV. 1—9), with heading (ver. 1). Then follow

<sup>1</sup> "Cette collection" (viz. ch. XVIII to XX) observes Kuenen (l. c. p. 10), "se détache en quelque sorte de l'ensemble du livre"; a similar judgment has been pronounced by Ewald, Lengerke, and many others.

20. An episode concerning the theocratic offence of the son of a Hebrew woman and an Egyptian man, with which some moral and civil ordinances are coupled (XXIV. 10—23), and

21. A section upon the Sabbath-year and the year of Jubilee (ch. XXV), with heading (ver. 1) and conclusion (ver. 55).

22. After some isolated moral and religious injunctions (XXV. 35—38; XXVI. 1, 2),<sup>2</sup> we find

23. A portion containing the blessing and the curse complete in itself (XXVI. 3—45).

Here the whole collection was at first concluded as is evident from the last words, "These are the statutes, and the judgments, and the laws, which the Lord made between Him and the children of Israel in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses" (XXVI. 46). Nevertheless

24. Another section is appended concerning vows and devoted property (ch. XXVII) with a separate heading (ver. 1); after which another conclusion follows, though not so full and comprehensive as the former one, "These are the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses for the children of Israel in mount Sinai" (XXVII. 34).

We are far from contending that the Book of Leviticus was compiled of the 24 portions, as of so many fragments, and composed at so many different times: on the contrary, some sections treating of distinct subjects, and even some treating of analogous matters, may have been and probably were written at about the same period, and are possibly the productions of the same author;<sup>3</sup> and the frequent occurrence of the same phrases,

<sup>2</sup> These verses stand indeed so disconnected and abrupt that their admission has been termed "bootless", and was supposed to have been "accidental": "the compiler who found these laws, desirous to prevent their being lost, embodied them in his collection" (*De Wette*, *Beiträge*, II. 299).

<sup>3</sup> The remark of *De Wette* (*Beiträge*, II. 292) can, therefore, not be applied with confidence: "Entscheidender für die fragmentarische Natur des Leviticus ist die innere Abgeschlossenheit

der meisten Stücke"; a safer criterion is the difference of style and manner (l. c. pp. 296, 297), though that can in most cases be felt rather than proved. *Eichhorn* (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, III. 281, 282, § 435) believes the Book to be composed of five "essays" viz. 1. ch. I to VII; 2. VIII to X; 3. XI to XV; 4. XVI to XXVI; 5. XXVII: but the fourth "essay" at least, if not the first also, is a miscellany of laws not attributable to one writer, as is extensively admitted.



as "I am the Lord"<sup>1</sup> or "I am the Lord your God",<sup>2</sup> possibly permits the inference of an identity of authorship. But a careful examination of the whole context compels the conclusion that a few older portions formed the ground-work of the Book; that this collection of laws was enlarged and qualified by the addition and insertion of new sections or single precepts dating from later periods, till the Book finally assumed the chequered and heterogeneous form in which it was received into the canon.

Now, the questions arise, which are those older sections that may be considered the foundation or nucleus of Leviticus? When were they composed? when were the other portions added? and when was the Book closed and finally revised? It lies in the nature of the subject that questions like these can, in detail, be answered with the greatest caution only; not even the finest critical tact and intuition can guard the scholar from error; for the criteria are eminently subtle and fluctuating, and the matter is ramified with a thousand complications of Hebrew history and antiquities. For the latter reason especially, we shall here confine ourselves to a chronological analysis of the first ten chapters on which the present volume contains the commentary, and in it the arguments in support of our opinions; it seems undesirable to state results without being able to refer to the proofs which the notes on the various sections can alone adequately unfold; and the arrangement of the whole Book and the discussion on the date of its composition will, therefore, more appropriately be reserved for the next volume. The reader will, however, find scattered in the essays on Sacrifices and the Priesthood, numerous facts and arguments which will almost enable him to decide for himself upon these important points.<sup>3</sup> On the first part of the Book we may propose the following conjectures with some degree of confidence.

<sup>1</sup> אני יהוה, XVIII. 5, 6, 21; XIX. 12, 14, 16, 18, 28, 30, 32, 37; XXII. 2, 3, 8, 9 and 16 (אני יהוה מקדשם), 30—33; XXVI. 2; comp. Num. III. 13, 41, 45.

<sup>2</sup> אני יהוה אלהיכם, XVIII. 2, 4, 30; XIX. 2, 3, 4, 10, 25, 31, 34, 36; XXIII. 12, 43; XXIV. 22; XXV. 38, 55; XXVI. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. esp. pp. 43—47, 640—654.



## V. CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE LAWS CONTAINED IN THE FIRST TEN CHAPTERS.

I. Chapters VIII to X: Consecration of Aaron and his sons as priests, and the sanctification of the Tabernacle and its vessels, in close connection with the command in Exodus (XXIX), to which, no doubt, it was originally joined as a continuous composition:<sup>4</sup> the consecration (ch. VIII) is succeeded by a record of the sacrifices offered for the priests and the people on the first day after the conclusion of that ceremony, and meant to complete the preparations for the permanent service of Aaron and his sons; the last verses (23 and 24), the account of fire miraculously descending from heaven to burn the sacrifices on the altar, was appended, on the whole unskilfully and inappropriately, from an earlier document or tradition;<sup>5</sup> then follows the notice of the death of Aaron's sons Nadab and Abihu in consequence of unlawful fumigation, their burial, and some laws occasioned by the event (vers. 1—7); then a fragment (vers. 8—11) containing one very special ordinance respecting abstinence from wine and other strong drink and a very comprehensive statement of sacerdotal duties; next commands concerning the priestly portions in thank-offerings (vers. 12—15); and lastly, a remarkable argument between Moses and Aaron in reference to the meat of the people's sin-offering which had been presented on the day after the consecration (vers. 16—20), an addition manifestly borrowed from another source older than that of the preceding chapter (comp. IX. 15), because it shows the sacrificial laws in a less advanced stage of development,<sup>6</sup> while Moses appears in greater independence of action, and not as a mere agent absolutely guided by a higher will.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See notes on VIII. 1—5.

<sup>5</sup> See notes on IX. 22—24.

<sup>6</sup> See notes on IX. 5—21.

<sup>7</sup> See notes on X. 16—20. The Talmud, starting from the principle that the Law does not observe chronological sequence (אין מוקדם ומאוחר בתורה) proposes the following order: 1. The

ceremonial of consecration during seven days (ch. VIII), with the provisional erection of the Tabernacle;

2. Then the definitive erection on the first day of Nisan in the second year of the exodus (Ex. XL. 17); 3. The "eighth day", or the first sacrifices of the consecrated priests (ch. IX.); 4. The

II. Chapter VI. 1—11: a short and first sketch of the sacrificial ritual, especially of the *public* burnt-offerings, written for the guidance of the *priests* and probably by a priest,<sup>1</sup> comprising 1. Regulations on the ceremonies to be observed at the daily holocausts, and on the perpetual fire to be maintained on the brazen altar (vers. 1—6); and 2. Directions as to the bloodless offerings (מנחה, vers. 7—11) probably with some additions in both parts<sup>2</sup> made by the same writer who subjoined the next portions.<sup>3</sup> This section contains therefore nothing but what concerned the proceedings and privileges of the priests, without alluding to the duties devolving upon the offering Israelite, and it refers merely to the two oldest classes of sacrifice — the holocaust and the *minchah*.

III. Chapter VI. 12—16: likewise an ordinance of a specifically sacerdotal character, relating to the bloodless offering of the High-priest on the day of his consecration, possibly of the same date as the preceding verses; it is, no doubt, of early origin; for half an omer, or the twentieth part of an ephah of flour, sufficed for a מנחה, while later at least one tenth was demanded, and the ritual is infinitely more simple than that afterwards described (in ch. VIII).<sup>4</sup> But considerably later is the following section,

IV. Chapter VI. 17 to VII. 7. It consists of two divisions, each introduced by the words "This is the law of" (זאת הורה), namely 1. VII. 1—7 on the trespass-offering (אשם), and 2. VI. 17—23 on the sin-offering (חטאת); both are added as first injunctions on these new and later classes of sacrifice, and from the same point of view as the previous precepts concerning the holocaust and *minchah* (VI. 1—11), namely, as directions for the priests; but the section concerning the trespass-offering is older; and it illustrates the regulations re-

sacrificial code (Lev. I to VII). Of this arrangement the one feature only is correct that the sacrificial laws occupy the last place; but it is entirely inadmissible to separate Leviticus VIII and IX; and it is evident that, at the consecration of the priests, the Tabernacle was already definitively erected.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. VI. 2, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, in ver. 5 (הקטיר עליה) (חלבי השלמים) and in ver. 10 (חטאת) (וכאשם).

<sup>3</sup> Namely, vers. 12—23 and VII. 1—10; comp. VII. 7; see notes on VI. 1—11.

<sup>4</sup> See notes on VI. 12—16.

specting this latter class by reference to the primitive holocausts: the last verse of the sixth chapter is probably a later addition.<sup>5</sup>

V. Chapter VII. 8—10. A subsequent compiler who found the sacrificial code completed so far (VI. 1—VII. 7) appended a few ordinances on the burnt-offering and the *minchah* which appeared to him important, and he did so from the same point of view, which pervades the whole code, namely, in the interest of the priests, determining their share in those two kinds of offering. These additions are probably even later than chapters I and II, as they claim the hides of the holocausts for the priest, and classify the priestly shares in the *minchah* on a more advanced principle.<sup>6</sup>

But now it was found that enactments concerning a chief class of sacrifice were entirely wanting, namely respecting the thank-offerings (שלמים): as these were earlier in origin than the expiatory sacrifices, they ought to have been treated of immediately after the holocaust and *minchah*; but as the latter series of laws was concluded, nothing was left but to append the ordinances on thank-offerings at the end, and in order to establish some kind of connection with the preceding series, they were likewise introduced with the words וזאת חזרת; these laws form the next portion

VI. Chapter VII. 11—21: but meanwhile a considerable period had elapsed, during which sacrifices had been habitually and numerous offered, and the sacrificial system had developed itself under the influence of an increasing priesthood; therefore the injunctions respecting the שלמים are much more elaborate and more detailed than those concerning the other kinds of sacrifice; the class is separated into two subdivisions, “the praise-offering”<sup>7</sup> and the “vow and free-will offering”;<sup>8</sup> but in spite of the external connection by וזאת חזרת, the principle of the preceding commands, namely the exclusive reference to the priesthood, is not maintained; the precepts relate partly to the mode of sacrifice and the manner

<sup>5</sup> See notes on VI. 17—23 and VII. 1—7.

<sup>6</sup> See Comm. in loc.

<sup>7</sup> על-חזרה, vers. 12—15.

<sup>8</sup> נדר וא נדבה, vers. 16 seq.

of the disposal of the flesh by the Israelites; the "most holy" character of the meat is enjoined with excessive severity; and everything breathes a later and rigorously Levitical character.

VII. Chapter VII. 22—27: two very old laws against eating blood and fat, founded on long usage, and added at the same time as the preceding portion or somewhat later; it was evidently desired that these prohibitions should be expressly and emphatically enforced, though they were probably familiar to everyone.

Now it might be supposed that, after so many additions and appendices, the first code was finally completed. But a later priest discovered that the share of his order in the *עֹלָה* was not mentioned, and he supplied the omission by another appendix, in which he either recorded, fixed, or extended the actual usage of his time in that respect, and thus endeavoured to secure for his class one of the most important sources of its revenue; this is

VIII. Chapter VII. 28—34. Now he believed that the whole system of sacrifices was indeed fully treated of, and he concluded the collection of laws with a formula which it is impossible to conceive more general or more comprehensive (vers. 35—38).

---

Independently of the code just analysed and, on the whole, contemporaneously with it, another one was composed by a different hand (ch. I to III); it embraces, like the first, the oldest and principal sacrifices: but the point of view from which it is compiled is different; it is intended as much for the guidance of the *people* as of the priests, and is mainly confined to *private* offerings. This collection contains indeed but few contradictions if compared with the preceding one, but they are sufficient to prove the distinct origin of both. In the former, a perpetual fire on the altar is ordained (VI. 2, 5, 6), the other does not suppose such a fire to be entertained (I. 7);<sup>1</sup> and in the former, the hides of the holocausts are assigned to the priests (VII. 8), in

---

<sup>1</sup> See notes in loc.

the other this is at least not expressly mentioned, and the whole animal appears to have been burnt (I. 6, 9). This code begins

IX. Chapter I. 1—13, with laws on private and voluntary burnt-offerings consisting of quadrupeds; they date, on the whole, from a comparatively early time; they are indeed less Levitical than the corresponding section in the other code (VI. 1—6), as the contradictions just pointed out prove, but the language and general character argue their later origin. They were placed at the beginning of the Book because, in connection with the next chapters, they contain an apparently coherent system of the principal sacrifices. Then follows,

X. Chapter II. 1—13, a series of laws on bloodless oblations (מנחה), much more elaborate and detailed, and manifestly evincing larger experience than the analogous ordinances in VI. 12—16; and

XI. Chapter III. 1—16, on thank-offerings (שליח), if not more minute, certainly more logical and systematic than VII. 11—21.

To each of these three chapters later additions were made, it may be from the same hand, namely

XII. Chapter I. 14—17, on the burnt-offerings of birds, that is of pigeons and turtle-doves, which were but gradually admitted for such sacrifices;<sup>2</sup>

XIII. Chapter II. 14—16, of the firstfruit-offering (מנחת בכורים), and the use of salt, leaven, and honey, in connection with sacrifices; though the special ordinance with respect to the firstfruit-offering would more logically have been inserted before the general regulations with regard to all classes of *minchah* (or after ver. 10);<sup>3</sup> and

XIV. Chapter III. 17, the prohibition of fat and blood, appended as abruptly as in the former code.<sup>4</sup>

At a considerably later period, the next portion concerning expiatory sacrifices<sup>5</sup> was added. This complicated section must be subdivided on the following leading principles: 1. At first, intentional sins alone

<sup>2</sup> See notes on I. 1—9. This addition is probably contemporary in origin with V. 7—10 which refers to it (ver. 10); see notes in loc.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 487.

<sup>4</sup> VII. 22—27; see pp. 490, 491, and *supra* p. XXI.

<sup>5</sup> Chapters IV and V.

were deemed to require atonement, but later unintentional transgressions likewise;<sup>1</sup> 2. The expiatory offerings had, for a long time, a civil and political no less than religious character, and were presented especially for offences connected with the right of property;<sup>2</sup> and 3. The sheep and goat were originally the specific victims of expiatory offerings, later only and exceptionally, the young bullock was added to them, and almost exclusively for the purpose of theocratic gradation.<sup>3</sup> By applying these principles we obtain the following arrangement.

XV. Chapter V. 20—26: on trespass-offerings (עוֹשֶׂה עֲוֹן) in cases of intentional and violent encroachments upon the right of property; the sacrifice is a ram, besides restitution of the property increased by one fifth of its value;

XVI. Chapter V. 14—19, on trespass-offerings (עוֹשֶׂה עֲוֹן) in cases of unintentional offences against property, whether of the Sanctuary or of private persons; the victim, the restitution, and compensation are as in the preceding instances;

XVII. Chapter V. 1—13: in the course of time the Hebrews advanced to a new class of expiatory sacrifices, the sin-offerings (חַטָּאת), which were endowed with a purely religious character, and were, as a rule, only presented for unintentional transgressions; the victim was a goat; but the separation between the trespass- and the sin-offering was as yet in its beginning; both were still approaching each other in their nature and designation,<sup>4</sup> and the distinction between designed and unintentional offences was not yet strictly maintained.<sup>5</sup> Then follow, lastly,

XVIII. In chapter IV, systematic and nicely graduated ordinances respecting the sin-offering (חַטָּאת); unintentional offences alone were capable of expiation, and the victim was in certain cases a young bullock; which points argue the very late date of the section.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Falling even after the time of Num. XV. 22—31; see notes on IV.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 40, 41.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. vers. 6, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Vers. 2 seq.

22—35.

Three of the four subdivisions of the two chapters just discussed (IV and V) are introduced with special headings;<sup>7</sup> and the four were evidently arranged by the compiler according to the relative holiness of the sacrifices, which was exactly in an inverse ratio to their antiquity; the most sacred class (ch. IV) was the latest, and the most worldly (V. 20—26) the earliest in origin.

When the second code (Chapters I to V) was thus placed before the former one (Chapters VI and VII), the comprehensive conclusion (VII. 35—38) could well be considered to refer to the entire collection or to the double series of laws, and the whole could therefore be looked upon as the Book of Sacrifices.<sup>8</sup>

## VI. THE NAME OF THE BOOK.

As the third Book of the Pentateuch contains numerous ordinances which concern the High-priest and the priests, or mark out and regulate their activity, but treats much less of the "Levites" in the stricter sense, it was rather inappropriately inscribed *Λευιτικόν* by the Septuagint, and hence *Leviticus* by the Vulgate.<sup>9</sup> The Talmud called it more aptly, though not much more exhaustively, "The Law of the Priests" (הֲוֵרַח פִּרְשֵׁי),<sup>10</sup> or "The Law of Sacrifices" (סֵפֶר הֲוֵרַח הַקִּרְבָּנִים), while the Masorah designated it, without any reference to the contents, merely *Vayikra* (וַיִּקְרָא and *He called*), from the first word of the Hebrew text.

<sup>7</sup> V. 20, 14; IV. 1.

<sup>8</sup> The artificial arrangement of Bertheau (Die sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetzgebung in den drei mittleren Büchern des Pentateuchs, pp. 145—168) in sets or "groups of laws", and his fanciful efforts to find everywhere the significant numbers 10 and 7 as principles of distribution, are worthless (comp. Peronne l. c. pp. 109—114; Bunsen, Bibelwerk, V. 237 sqq., 344 sqq.; Künen, l. c. pp. 541—545).

<sup>9</sup> Corn. a Lapide (Comm. in Levit. Argum.) observes without probability, "nomen generis datur dignioribus; nam per Levitas hic sacerdotes intelliguntur, cum Leviticum vocemus hunc librum": if the term *Leviticus* is at all to be defended, it must rather be understood to refer to the *tribe* of Levi which included the Aaronites or priests.

<sup>10</sup> But this designation was also applied to the midrash *Siphrah*; comp. Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vorträge, p. 46.



## VII. ITS IMPORTANCE.

THE peculiar significance of Leviticus in the system of the Pentateuch is obvious. The sacrifices, constituting the centre of public worship, were the principal bond of union between the Israelites and their God; they formed a powerful agency of moral and religious training;<sup>1</sup> and they helped, more effectually than any other institution, to keep alive within the nation the consciousness of its unity and its mission. But the importance of Leviticus in the economy of the New Testament is hardly less manifest: the notions of vicarious suffering and sacrificial death as a means of expiation and grace, in which the later dispensation is centred, cannot be thoroughly understood without an exact knowledge of the spirit of the Levitical laws;<sup>2</sup> hence the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews exerted himself, by every effort of sagacity and dialectic ingenuity, to point out the analogy between the sacrificial doctrines of the Old and the New Covenant; for he felt how much was gained by making the precepts of Leviticus the foundation of the new creed of atonement.<sup>3</sup>

Laws are the concrete expression of a nation's life; they reflect both its history and its political struggles; but the religious statutes reveal with singular distinctness its spiritual aspirations and higher aims; and they reveal them even if they should virtually be nothing else but proposals, and should long remain no more than ideal demands.

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 291—307.

<sup>3</sup> Whether this justifies the *typical*

acceptation of the Hebrew sacrifices, has been examined in its due place, pp. 142—166.



# LEVITICUS.

---

## I.

### LAWS CONCERNING SACRIFICES AND PUBLIC WORSHIP.

CHAPTERS I TO X.

---

#### A. THE PRINCIPAL SACRIFICES.

CHAPTERS I. TO VII.

---

#### PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

ON THE SACRIFICES OF THE HEBREWS AND OF OTHER NATIONS.

#### I. THE ORIGIN OF SACRIFICES.

WHEREVER the rite of sacrifice existed, it was the principal and most significant means of manifesting piety. It formed the centre and kernel of religious worship. It mainly called forth altars, temples, and priests. But sacrifices were offered by nearly every nation of antiquity, with rare exceptions, like that of the Derbices, at Mount Caucasus.<sup>1</sup> Their origin must, therefore, be intimately connected with the very essence of religion.

Indeed it appears that the earliest sacrifices were presented, as holocausts, from motives of *awe* and *fear*. They were designed to appease the terrible beings that were imagined to sway nature and its elements, and arbitrarily to rule over the life and death of man. They disclosed the offerer and the deity in the relative position of *slave* and *master*.

When gradually the powers of the universe were understood and partially subdued; when the fields, however reluctantly, yielded their produce, and herds and flocks multiplied on fertile pastures: an emotion of *reverential gratitude* stimulated the agriculturist and the breeder of cattle to devote the firstlings and choicest fruits of their labour to those divinities who had blessed their work, and whose future favour was implored. A feeling as between *father* and *child* prompted the offerings.

---

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Strab.* XI. xi. 8.

But when men finally triumphed in the hard struggle for material existence, and secured a life of ease and comfort; they were induced, by a sentiment of *joy*, to *share* with the gods to whom they owed it, the best part of their property: sacrificial repasts were held, over which presided a spirit akin to familiarity, though exalted by veneration. It was essentially the relation between *friend* and *friend* which characterised this class of sacrifice.<sup>1</sup>

Few nations proceeded beyond the three classes just specified: they presented either fear-offerings, or thank-offerings, or joy-offerings.<sup>2</sup> They had indeed made most important progress in their religious education, when their feelings towards the deity had from those of the slave been refined into those of the child and of the friend; and within this circle they moved with ample freedom. Occasionally they combined two classes of sacrifice. If they had achieved a success which they attributed, not to their own strength and ability, but to the aid of a god; they devoted to him a part of their gain with mingled feelings of gratitude and submission. Thus, after military victories, they presented the most honourable part of the spoil,<sup>3</sup> and not unfrequently the first captives of war.<sup>4</sup> It is this frame of mind that gave existence to an important class of religious offerings — to *vows*: a person engaged in some uncertain but momentous enterprise, or menaced by some impending danger, pledged himself, in case of good fortune and deliverance, to do homage, by a self-imposed sacrifice, to the deity that had assisted him.

Yet, though vows are most valuable as a manifestation of religious sentiment, they do not advance beyond the sphere of worldliness: like the three classes of sacrifice above described, they contain an element of calculating selfishness. Two most essential steps remained to be made. It was felt in the process of time, that the worshipper must not simply pray for and accept benefits, but that he must try to deserve

<sup>1</sup> Hence the definition that sacrifices are "the expression of the feeling of dependence" (Scholl, Baur), is incomplete, as it does not include the third class; and Schenkel observes correctly, "not till the feeling of dependence is ethically induced — not that is to say till it arises from a function of the conscience — does it properly pass into religion" (*Herzog's Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. p. 64); comp. also *Mansell*, *Limits of Religious Thought*, Lect. IV.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Porphyry (*De Abstin.* II. 24) observes that sacrifices are offered ἢ

διὰ τέρψιν ἢ διὰ χάριν ἢ διὰ χρεῖαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, which classification includes the third kind of offerings, because sacrificial repasts were connected with the thank-offerings (διὰ χάριν); comp., however, *Jamblich. De Myst.* V. 5; see also *Fr. P. Cobbe*, *Religious Duty*, ch. I; *Bernays*, *Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit*, pp. 103, 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Spolia opima*, comp. *Liv.* I. 10; IV. 20; XXIII. 46; *Virg. Aen.* VI. 856; X. 449.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀπαρχαὶ τοῦ πολέμου; see *Sect. XXI. 2*, of this treatise.

them; that he places a barrier between himself and the divine favour by *guilt*, which much be expiated before the altar can be approached. Thus originated *sin-offerings* and *purifications*. A last effort crowned and concluded the system of sacrifices: it centred in the consciousness of the frailty of human nature, of the "deceitfulness" of the human heart, of its evil desires and propensities. Now it appeared no longer sufficient to offer sacrifices for individual sins by which the mind felt oppressed. It was deemed necessary, incessantly to invoke the mercy of heaven to shield the heart from transgressions. Thus *humility-offerings* were presented. In this disposition, the mind yearns to realise the injunction, "you shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy";<sup>5</sup> it passes even to the extreme boundary of sacrifice, which it might overstep with one resolute effort, to enter the purer spheres of elevation by *prayer*.<sup>6</sup> The two last classes of sacrifice, the sin- and humility-offerings, have a tendency entirely different from that of the three former categories. They convert the altar into a tribunal, to which the offerer spontaneously submits: but while, in the sin-offering, God bears to him, the transgressor, the relation of *Judge*; in the humility-offering, the majesty of the Law itself appeals to his conscience and the divine part of his nature. Both prevailed, therefore, among nations in proportion to the refinement of their views and the spiritualisation of their religion; they were unknown to many uncultivated tribes lost in egotism and sensuality;<sup>7</sup> and even the Israelites had to pass through several intermediate stages before they arrived at the highest form of expiatory offerings.<sup>8</sup> But the ancient Hebrews were not permitted to proceed farther. Even the most enlightened among them, regarding, in common with the mass of the people, the oblation of material gifts as an efficient means of Divine worship, were content with preventing, as much as was in their power, the gross abuses to which that practice is liable; and with framing sacrificial laws in which they embodied their own better notions. It was reserved for a later development of religion to recognise the ceremonies as the "shadows" of the Law; though even that dispensation retained the idea of sacrifice, and made it the very centre of its scheme of redemption.<sup>9</sup>

Such appears, in general outline, to have been the origin and succession of the different kinds of sacrifice. Hence it is evident that not thank-offerings, and much less sin-offerings, can have been the

---

<sup>5</sup> Lev. XIX. 2, comp. XI. 44, 45;  
XX. 7, 26; Num. XV. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Gen. IV. 3, 4 and 28.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Sect. XX.

<sup>8</sup> See Sect. XV.

<sup>9</sup> See Sect. IV and XIX.

are not allowed to approach their *king* without a gift, that they constantly be reminded that all their possessions properly belong to him. It was an old aphorism, "Presents win gods as well as kings".<sup>2</sup> The ancient Hebrews were not strangers to a similar notion; they were enjoined "not to appear before God empty";<sup>3</sup> the Hebrew names for gifts in general mean properly *gift* or *present*;<sup>4</sup> and writers in the Old Testament warned the people not to offer faulty or valueless animals, if presented to a prince or a governor, would fail to secure his reception;<sup>5</sup> though, of course, enlightened men proclaimed that the Lord of the universe, does not *require* man's poor offerings.<sup>6</sup> Hence the idea that the richer the gift, the greater the favour secured. The Athenians could never understand why the gods allowed them to be defeated by the Lacedaemonians, since they offered the fairest and most numerous, their enemies scanty sacrifices.<sup>7</sup> In every invocation to the gods, an allusion to offerings previously presented, was deemed most efficacious, to surmount the final issue.<sup>8</sup> Roman authors attributed the security of the empire to the scrupulous observance of sacrificial rites;<sup>9</sup> while, on the other hand, it is reported that the Thracians, a barbarous people of Thrace, who entirely neglected sacrifices, vanished

---

former view is defended by (Excurs. I. in Lev. p. 198), Curtz (Opuscultus, § 117); IV.

ὅτι καὶ οὐκ αἰδούμενοι  
 np. *Plat. Rep.* III. 4 (390 E);  
 1964 (*καὶ οὐκ αἰδούμενοι* καὶ

XVI. 16, 17; comp. Gen. IV. 3, 4; see also XXXII. 21; Ps. XLV. 13.

<sup>4</sup> קָדָשׁ and מִנְחָה; see Sect. V.

<sup>5</sup> Mal. I. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. L. 8—13; Isai. XL. 16; comp. *Talm. Menach.* 110 a.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Plato Alch.* II. 10. 11.

utterly from the earth with their towns and property.<sup>10</sup> It was made a matter of calculation or barter, how much was required to attain a certain end: for "the gods do nothing gratuitously (*ἀμ:σθι*); they sell their goods to men; health might be purchased by a calf, wealth by four oxen; a royal crown costs a hecatomb; while more trifling bounties might be acquired by a cock, a wreath of flowers, or even a handful of frankincense."<sup>11</sup> On ordinary occasions, and when no great boon was demanded, no efforts were made to offer valuable gifts. The Greeks often appropriated to the gods insignificant, if not absolutely worthless parts of the victims; they were therefore taunted and ridiculed by the comic poets for the folly and selfishness which expected benefits for nothing.<sup>12</sup> But when important objects were to be gained, or great events to be signalised, the *number* of sacrifices was deemed most essential. It became a matter of ambition and self-interest to slaughter hecatombs.<sup>13</sup> Marius vowed one in the Cimbric war, Aemilius Paulus in the Macedonian. After the discomfiture at Lake Thrasymene, 300 bulls were sacrificed to Jupiter; white cattle to many other gods of the first rank; and to the rest victims of less value. On one occasion, the Syracusans offered 450 oxen to Jupiter.<sup>14</sup> The Athenians killed annually, in commemoration of the battle of Marathon, 500 goats in honour of Artemis Agrotera.<sup>15</sup> Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, offered a thousand animals of every domestic kind.<sup>16</sup> At the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula, it is computed that about 160,000 victims, principally oxen and calves, were slaughtered in Rome.<sup>17</sup> In fact, the opulent, however wicked, believed that they possessed the power of obtaining from the gods whatever they desired, and of thus triumphing over the poor or the thrifty.<sup>18</sup> From this conception there is but one step to the idea that the gods can be *forced* into compliance with the petitions of the worshippers, and this idea frequently occurs in the Hindoo mythology of later periods.<sup>19</sup> The Hebrews also occasionally carried the number of sacrifices to an excess. It is reported that David, when conveying the Ark of the Covenant from

<sup>10</sup> *Porphyr.* l. c. ll. 8; *Thuc.* IV. 109.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Lucian*, *De Sacrif.* 2.

<sup>12</sup> See *Clem. Alex.* *Strom.* VII. 716, 719.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Athen.* *Deipnos.* l. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Diod. Sic.* XI. 72.

<sup>15</sup> *Plut.* *De Malignit.* *Herod.* c. 26; comp. also *Herod.* VII. 43; *Xen. Hell.* VI. iv. 29 (Jason is supposed to have offered, on one occasion, 1,000 oxen and 10,000 other cattle).

<sup>16</sup> *πάρτα χίλια*, *Porphyr.* *De Abstin.*

ll. 60; comp. cc. 15, 17; see however, *Sect.* IV.

<sup>17</sup> *Sueton.* *Calig.* 14; comp. *Ammian. Marcell.* XXII. 4; XXV. 4; *Seneca*, *De Benef.* III. 27 (Rufus optaverat, ne Caesar salvus rediret ex ea peregrinatione, quam parabat; et adjecerat, *idem omnes et lauros et vitulos optare*); see also *Burton*, *Mission to Gelele*, II. p. 332.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Plato*, *Alcib.* II. 13 (p. 150).

<sup>19</sup> Comp. *Wilson*, *Introduct. to Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, p. XXVI.

the house of Obed-Edom to Jerusalem, killed an ox and a fatling after every sixth step;<sup>1</sup> that Solomon, when his succession was secured, offered 1,000 animals;<sup>2</sup> when he was anointed, 1,000 bullocks, 1,000 rams, and 1,000 lambs;<sup>3</sup> and when he consecrated the Temple, 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep.<sup>4</sup> It is indeed more than probable that most of these numbers are largely exaggerated; as, in fact, Solomon is finally related to have killed animals "that could not be told nor numbered for multitude."<sup>5</sup> But they prove at least that the Hebrew historians not only regarded them as possible, but wished them to be considered as historical, for the greater glorification of their heroes and of the events which they recorded.<sup>6</sup>

In other cases, the sacrifices were conceived as real *food* presented to the gods, who were supposed actually to consume the offering, either by eating it bodily, or by inhaling the smoke when burnt. "The gods", says Lucian,<sup>7</sup> "feed on ambrosia and nectar; but they delight most in the steam of the fat that rises with the smoke of the sacrifices, and in the blood of the victims poured by the offerer round the altar."<sup>8</sup> This notion has by many antiquarians been considered the first origin of sacrifices.<sup>9</sup> The *lectisternia* of various ancient nations require but a passing allusion. They generally consisted of tables covered with the most delicious viands, and of sumptuous couches on which the images of the gods were placed reposing, as if actually partaking of the dainties. They were customary among the Persians. They occur in the apocryphal narrative of Bel and the Dragon in Babylon. They have been noticed among some Tartar tribes.<sup>10</sup> They were familiar to the Greeks and Romans. In Homer, Neptune is described as "sitting down to the sacrificial meal and enjoying it."<sup>11</sup> The gods were even considered to eat the flesh of human sacrifices; and Dionysos bore distinctive names descriptive of that attribute.<sup>12</sup> The early Romans offered to Jupiter Dapalis a piece

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. VI. 13.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Ki. III. 4.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chr. XXIX. 21.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Ki. VIII. 63; 2 Chr. VII. 5; comp. Ezra VI. 17; VIII. 35; 2 Chr. XV. 11; XXIX. 32, 33; XXX. 24; XXXV. 7 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> 1 Ki. VIII. 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Sect. III; Bauer, Gott. Verf. I. 184; comp., however, Sect. IV.

<sup>7</sup> Ikaromenippus, c. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. also Hom. II. IV. 48; Aristoph. Aves, 1516—1524; Plin. Hist.

<sup>9</sup> Spencer, De Legg. Hebr. Ritt. Lib. III, Dissert. 2, cap. 3 (p. 756); Meiners, Gesch. der Religg. II. 1, 7, 9, etc.; Winer, Real-Wörterb. II. 176; Gillian, Menschenopfer, p. 103; Feuerbach, Wesen des Christenthums, p. 20 of the Engl. transl.

<sup>10</sup> Marco Polo, De Regionibus orientalibus, III. 24. See also Sect. X. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Odys. I. 26, ἔνθ' ὅγε τέρπετο δασυὶ παρήμενος; comp. II. I. 424.

<sup>12</sup> He was called ὠμηγερές, ὠμίδιος, or ὠμογάγρος; see Sect. XXI. *init.*

of roast pork with wine.<sup>13</sup> We have a detailed description of the first grand *lectisternia* prepared, at Rome, in honour of Apollo, Mercury, and Neptune, Latona, Diana, and Hercules.<sup>14</sup> On the Capitol, the Romans gave annually to Jupiter a banquet or *epulum*, to which Juno and Minerva were invited, and at which the gods reclined on a couch, while the goddesses, in accordance with Roman views of propriety, sat in chairs.<sup>15</sup> Some ordinances and expressions of the Old Testament compel us to suppose, that similar notions were, in early times, entertained by the Hebrews also. The shew-bread table with the constant and regularly renewed loaves, the type of the ordinary and daily sustenance in the East, points unmistakeably to the cereal food primitively placed before the deity, though, of course, in the Pentateuch, that origin is effaced as much as was at all possible.<sup>16</sup> Animal sacrifices were to be accompanied by vegetable and drink-offerings,<sup>17</sup> and all oblations whatever were to be presented with salt;<sup>18</sup> evidently because human repasts consist not of meat alone, but of bread and wine, and salt is indispensable in the preparation of food. The term "an offering made by fire to the Lord,"<sup>19</sup> used in reference to every class of sacrifice,<sup>20</sup> is in some passages explained by the phrase "food of the offering made by fire to the Lord",<sup>21</sup> or "food of the offering made by fire for a sweet odour";<sup>22</sup> and the offering itself is repeatedly called *food of God*.<sup>23</sup> These phrases

<sup>13</sup> *Assaria pecunia*, *Cato*, De Re Rust. 132. <sup>14</sup> *Liv.* V. 13.

<sup>15</sup> *Valer. Max.* I. i. 1; comp. *Liv.* VII. 2, 27; VIII. 25; XL. 59; *Plin.* XXXII. 10; *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 24, 25, 29, and in general cc. 1—34; *Aristoph.* Plut. 676—680; *Macrob.* Saturn. III. 11. At Rome, however, the food belonged generally to the *epulones* who prepared it; comp. *Cic.* De Orat. III. 19 (73); *Liv.* XXXIII. 42.

<sup>16</sup> See Comm. on Exod. p. 481. — The objections of Bähr (*Symb.* I. 426 sqq.) have no bearing upon the early notions of the Hebrews.

<sup>17</sup> טַבַּחַתָּה and קֶסֶף; see Sect. XI. and XII. <sup>18</sup> See Sect. IX. 1.

<sup>19</sup> אֵשֶׁה לַיהוָה.

<sup>20</sup> Lev. II. 3, 10, 11, 16; VII. 27; Num. XV. 3, 13, 14.

<sup>21</sup> לֶחֶם אֵשֶׁה לַיהוָה; Lev. III. 11.

<sup>22</sup> לֶחֶם אֵשֶׁה לְרִיחַ נִיחֹחַ; Lev. III. 16; Num. XXVIII. 24; comp. Exod.

XXIX. 18; Lev. I. 9, 13, 17; II. 2, 9, 12; III. 5; IV. 31; VIII. 21; XXVI. 31; Num. XV. 7, 10, 13, 14; XXVIII. 6, 13; XXIX. 2, 6; comp. also Gen. VIII. 21; 1 Sam. XXVI. 19; Ezra VI. 10; Ephes. V. 2; and Judg. IX. 13; compare *εὐσχοῦς ἑδὺς αὐτῆς* (*Hom. Od.* XII. 369; see *Lucian*, Prometh. 19).

<sup>23</sup> לֶחֶם אֱלֹהִים; Lev. XXI. 6, 8, 17; XXII. 25; Ezek. XLIV. 7; especially Num. XXVIII. 2 (קֶרְבִּנִי לֶחֶם) and Mal. I. 7, 12 (where the altar is designed *table* שֻׁלְחָן, and the sacrifice *food* אֵכֶל). Jehuda Halevi (*Cusari* II. 26) explains קֶרְבִּנִי לֶחֶם לַאֲשִׁי (Num. XXVIII. 2) "My offering and My bread belong to My fire which I send down upon My altar" (comp. Lev. IX. 24); and Abarbanel (*Introduct.* to Lev. c. IV, p. 294 ed. Veil) "the offering was to be dedicated not to God, but to the fire which consumed it" שלא היה הקרבן לַיהוָה אלא לַשֹּׁחַל אֵכֶלנו שֶׁלֹא היה הקרבן לַיהוָה אלא לַשֹּׁחַל אֵכֶלנו: two interpretations equally



undeniably betray the rude conceptions held by the people in its earliest stages:<sup>1</sup> and even, while in exile at Babylon, the Jews, imitating the custom of the land, "prepared tables to Gad,<sup>2</sup> and filled the goblet for Meni."<sup>3</sup> But it is equally indisputable that the terms in question were gradually understood in a more spiritual or refined sense, and that they were so taken in the Pentateuch.<sup>4</sup> For it is evident, that the expression an offering "for sweet odour" (לְרִיחַ נִיחּוֹחַ) must have originated when the chief sacrifices consisted of incense and other fragrant substances; yet in the Pentateuch, it is retained for the most offensive smell of burnt meat and fat, hides, feathers, and flour; while, on the other hand, it is never employed with reference to the burning of frankincense.<sup>5</sup> It took indeed such deep root in the language that even Josephus spoke of sacrifices as the "daily food" of God;<sup>6</sup> and the apostle Paul described the voluntary gifts sent to him by the congregations as "an odour of sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God."<sup>7</sup>

Viewing the matter in this light, we are enabled to do justice to the progress of the Hebrew mind without forcing the spirit of the Pentateuch. Though acknowledging that "the incense offering burnt to Jehovah every morning and every evening in the sanctuary, corresponds with the Eastern custom of fumigating the apartments and of honouring the guests by perfumes";<sup>8</sup> we are not tempted to attribute this meaning

artificial and untenable; while the rendering of Keil (Levit. pp. 13, 32; comp. Archaeol. I. 199) "eine Speise, die der Mensch wirkt und als Feuerung seinem Gotte zum Geruche der Befriedigung aufsteigen lässt", is forced and philologically impossible.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Dent. XXXII. 38.

<sup>2</sup> גַּד, Jupiter.

<sup>3</sup> מֵנִי, Venus; Isai. LXV. 11; comp. Jer. VII. 18; Ezek. XVI. 18, 19; XXIII. 41; Daniel Sept. XIV. 3—15; Baruch. VI. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. לֹא אֶרְצֶה בְּעֲצֵרֹתֵיכֶם (Am. V. 21) *I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies*; see also Exod. V. 21. The Samaritan translator repeatedly renders רָצָה by רִיחַ (so Lev. I. 4; XXVI. 41); while Onkelos interprets רִיחַ by רָעוּחַ (Gen. VIII. 21; Lev. I. 9; etc.; see *Ebn Ezra* on Gen. VIII. 21); comp. Ezek. XX. 41 (בְּרִיחַ נִיחּוֹחַ אֲרָצָה); Isai. XI. 3; *Maimon. Mor. Neb.* I. 47; *Clericus*, Dissertat. de ling.

Hebr. V. (pp. 6, 7), prefixed to his Commentary on the Pentateuch. Thus Bähr (Symb. II. 348) connecting נִיחּוֹחַ with נָח to rest, explains, "the notion of rest is, like that of peace, equivalent with pleasure or well-being, so that the formula means, the ascending sacrifice is agreeable or welcome to God" (comp. also I. 461—465). Winer (Real-Wört. I. 193) believes, therefore, the phrase אֲשֶׁה רִיחַ נִיחּוֹחַ לַיהוָה to coincide in sense with the words לְרִצְוֹנִי יְהוָה (Lev. I. 3; see Comm. in loc.); while Theodoretus (Quaest. 62 in Exod.) explains it by τὴν κατὰ νόμον γερουμένην λειτουργίαν.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Exod. XXX. 7, 34—38.

<sup>6</sup> Bell. Jud. VI. ii. 1 (τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν προσήν).

<sup>7</sup> Philipp. IV. 18, εὐωδία κατὰ; comp. Ephes. V. 2; Wisd. III. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Knobel, Levit. p. 347; comp. Bauer, Theologie des Alt. Test. p. 312; Kaiser, Bibl. Theol. II. 123; Roschmüller, Ex-



to the precept in the Levitical law. A critical knowledge of the date and origin of the latter removes the prejudices against the purity of its teaching. At the time of its compilation, the stage of gross anthropomorphism was passed. It exhibits a high degree of abstract thought in its conceptions of the deity.<sup>9</sup> All admit that the Pentateuch, in the form handed down to us, shows indeed few traces of a materialistic theology; but it is asserted that most of them were carefully removed by "the revisors of the Old Testament". It is evident that a safe advance is impossible on such shifting ground: for we cannot by any possibility hope to discover the supposed original readings. Had the framers of the sacrificial laws started from anthropomorphic views, they would not have forbidden the use of leaven and honey, since leaven was considered to render the bread more palatable and more nutritious,<sup>10</sup> and honey is in the East regarded as one of the choicest delicacies;<sup>11</sup> while, on the other hand, instead of appointing the blood as the chief means of atonement, they would have rigorously excluded its use, because it was an abomination to taste it.<sup>12</sup> Indeed the very opposite doctrine has been pronounced by a Hebrew writer of so early a date as Asaph. "I will", says God, "take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goats out of thy folds . . . Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?"<sup>13</sup> and it cannot be urged with too great emphasis, that in the expiatory or holiest class of sacrifices, the most important ritual was not the burning of the fat or of other parts of the victim, but the sprinkling of its blood.<sup>14</sup>

However, the two theories just discussed, viz. that the first sacrifices were intended as *presents*, or as *food*, offered to the gods, though correct as matters of fact and experience during long periods, are so entirely unconnected with true emotions of religion, that they could form no first links in a history of the progress of sacrifices. They necessarily remained barren and isolated. For as the culture of the nations that entertained them, advanced, they were refined, modified, and improved, to be finally superseded by a very different train of ideas. They may have formed the original basis of the Hebrew holocausts and thank-offerings; but they had certainly no share in the introduction of the Hebrew sin-offerings, which were prompted by a higher discipline both with regard to the requirements of the soul and the attributes of the deity.

curs. in Lev. p. 197; *Ghillany*, Menschenopfer, p. 369.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Comm. on Gen. p. 199.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Plin.* H. N. XVIII. 26.

<sup>11</sup> See Sect. IX. 9, 10; comp. *Bähr*, Symb. II. 322.

<sup>12</sup> See Sect. IX. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Ps. L. 9, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Sect. IX. 7; XV.

Other opinions are still less plausible. We shall only mention one more. It is supposed, that the first sacrifices were offered as "a federal rite", since common meals were the known and ordinary symbols of friendship, and usually accompanied the conclusion of covenants or leagues.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that the idea of "friendship" with the gods is not the first, but a much later phase of religious life; moreover, the opinion stated neither applies to burnt-offerings nor to sin-offerings, of which those who presented them did not partake at all.

## II. RELATIVE AGE OF THE ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE SACRIFICES.

It is not devoid of interest to enquire, in what order the two great classes of sacrifice, the animal and vegetable, were originally introduced and cultivated. The question might seem capable of a summary decision from the simple consideration that vegetables were the first and most natural food of men in the earliest generations; and that hence vegetable offerings preceded all animal sacrifices. This view might derive support from that narrative in Genesis which represents the elder brother Cain as offering a bloodless, the younger Abel as slaying an animal sacrifice. It has indeed, at first glance, an appearance of probability, and has been advocated by ancient and modern authorities.<sup>2</sup>

However, it is open to discussion, if not objection, from various points. First, it rests on the questionable assumption that sacrifices were presented in the very first stages of primitive existence. But the idea of sacrifices offered up to immortal beings who govern the world, presupposes a degree of culture and experience hardly acquired in the course of centuries. A decisive epoch is reached when the terrors and blessings of nature are traced to a supernatural cause, and the variable chances of human events disclose the direction of a higher wisdom: from that point again, long periods must elapse to the dawn of the notion of a divine power to be worshipped and appeased by acts of submission and self-denial — periods certainly protracted enough to allow the first

<sup>1</sup> Gen. XV. 9—21; XXVI. 27—30; XXXI. 46, 54; comp. *Sykes*, *Essay on Sacrifices*, p. 73; *Mede*, *Works*, II. ch. 7; *Magee*, *On the Atonement*, II. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Aristot.* *Eth. Eud.* VIII. 11 (who believes that the earliest offerings were the firstlings presented, from an impulse of gratitude, after the completion of the harvest, when agriculturists

are most at leisure); *Ovid*, *Fast.* I. 337—348 (*Ante deos homini quod conciliare valeret, Far erat et puri lucida mica salis . . . Si quis erat, factis prati de flore coronis Qui posset violas addere, dives erat*); comp. III. 727 *sqq.*; *Plato*, *Legg.* VI. 22. Moreover, *θύσις* and *θυσία* were etymologically connected with *θεός*.

attempts at breeding of cattle, and to secure the first successes. When, therefore, the impulse was felt to honour the gods by gifts, the choice was open between the produce of the fields and orchards, and the increase of the flocks and herds. What decision was most likely to be taken by untutored worshippers? Guided by the principle that the offerings were acceptable to the deity in proportion to their value, they naturally gave the preference to animal sacrifices; and they were confirmed in this view, when in the process of time, the blood was invested with the power of expiation.<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, the bloody classes of sacrifice are found, nearly everywhere, to have been in special honour. Their superiority was repeatedly and distinctly proclaimed. The emperor Julian said, "the animal sacrifice is more pleasing to the living god than the vegetable and cereal oblations"<sup>4</sup>; and the acceptance of Abel's and the rejection of Cain's sacrifice have been thus accounted for.<sup>5</sup> The history of antiquity records but few deviations. Some religious systems, chiefly in middle and western Asia, in Babylonia, Syria, and Phoenicia, encouraged the vegetable offerings. They favoured especially the burning of frankincense.<sup>6</sup> The Syrian goddess, at Hierapolis, was, in the spring, honoured by trees burnt in the court of her temple. The Hebrew sect of the Essenes rejected bloody sacrifices.<sup>7</sup> Before the Erechtheum in Athens, there stood an altar of Jupiter,<sup>8</sup> and at Delos one of Apollo Genetivus (*Γενήτωρ*), on which no victim was killed; solemn prayers alone were offered; that of Delos was hence called "the altar of the pious"; and there only Pythagoras is related to have worshipped as on an unstained spot.<sup>9</sup> The altar of Venus at Paphos, and that of Mylitta or Beeltis in Babylon, were not permitted to be sprinkled with blood; they were honoured "by supplications alone and the pure flame."<sup>10</sup> It was deemed inappropriate to bring blood upon the altar of the goddess of Peace, because she abhorred slaughter,<sup>11</sup> or upon that of *Terminus*, because he was the guardian of concord and the witness of justice, and should, therefore, remain clean from murder.<sup>12</sup> It is supposed that, at first, the anniversary of

<sup>3</sup> See Sect. IX. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Cyriil. Contr. Julian.* 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐπειδὴ ... τιμιώτερα τῶν ἀφ' ἵχθυν  
ἐστὶ τὰ θύματα τῷ ζῶντι καὶ ζῶντι  
αἰτίῳ θεῷ . . . , καθὼ καὶ ζῶντι μετέ-  
λαβον, καὶ ψυχῆς οἰκειώτερα διὰ τοῦτο  
τῷ τελείῳ προσάγοντι (sc. Abel)  
θυσίαν ἐκνηνομένην.

<sup>6</sup> See Sect. VII.

<sup>7</sup> *Philo, Opp.* II. 458.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Pausan.* I. 26; VIII. 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Porphyr. De Abstin.* II. 28; *Macrobi.*  
*Saturn.* III. 6; *Diog. Laert.* VIII. 12 (13);  
*Clem. Alex. Strom.* VII. 448; *Sponhelm*  
and *Gracius* on Callimach. Del. 283;  
*Creuzer, Symbol.* II. 537, 538.

<sup>10</sup> *Tacit. Ann.* II. 3; *Plin. Hist. Nat.*  
II. 96; comp. *Münter, Relig. der Baby-*  
*lonier*, pp. 22, 25; *Der Tempel d. himm-*  
*lischen Göttin zu Paphos*, p. 20 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> *Aristoph. Pax*, 1019, 1020.

<sup>12</sup> *Phil. Num.* 16.

Rome's foundation was celebrated by vegetable offerings, because it was deemed right to keep that festival pure, and unpolluted by bloodshed.<sup>1</sup> Most of the offerings ordained by Numa were bloodless, consisting of flour, wine, and other simple gifts.<sup>2</sup> The Syrians in early times (τὸ παλαιόν), the Pythagoreans, some castes of the Hindoos, and a few tribes of southern Asia, that abstained from all animal food,<sup>3</sup> considered vegetables alone as pious offerings.<sup>4</sup> Asclepiades held animal offerings to be unnatural, and regarded, therefore, an express prohibition superfluous.<sup>5</sup> Eusebius<sup>6</sup> contended that the early Greeks offered vegetables only, because they did not regard the "soul" or "life" (ψυχὴ) of animals as essentially different from that of men, and hence viewed the killing of beasts in the light of carnage. It was an old Attic custom, to accuse all those of murder who had taken part in an animal sacrifice, those who had fetched the water, sharpened the knife, and performed the slaughtering; till at last the instrument was declared guilty of the crime and thrown into the sea.<sup>7</sup> A similar rite was observed in Athens at a sacrifice in honour of Zeus Polieus, the protector of the city: the priest who had killed the victim was obliged to flee, while the axe which he had used was brought to judgment and condemned.<sup>8</sup>

However, all these instances are isolated exceptions. Nations which presented vegetable offerings exclusively to some deities, devoted animal sacrifices to others. So Bel, the god of the sun and of fire and of all animal life, received in his temple in Babylon, on two altars, old and young animals. The Hindoo sect of the Shivaites, in almost implacable opposition to the Vishnuites, offered only animal sacrifices; for they looked upon Shiva as the principle of fire and of animal existence and generation.<sup>9</sup> Among the Hindoos, therefore, both classes were evidently of equal antiquity: the "horse sacrifice" or Asvamedha was their chief and noblest offering;<sup>10</sup> and the Vedas contain distinct precepts with regard to animal sacrifices. It is stated that though the

<sup>1</sup> *Plut. Rom. 12*, καθάραν καὶ ἀναιμακτον ᾤοντο δεῖν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς γενέσεως τὴν ἑορτὴν φυλάττειν.

<sup>2</sup> *Plut. Num. 8*; *Plin. Hist. Nat. XVIII. 2*.

<sup>3</sup> *Porphy. Abstin. IV. 15*; II. 36; comp. *Plato, Legg. VI. 22*, p. 782. *Horat. Ars Poet. 391—393* (Silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum Caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus, Dictus ab hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones).

<sup>4</sup> Ἀγνὰ θύματα.

<sup>5</sup> *Porphy. De Abst. IV. 15*.

<sup>6</sup> *Demonstr. Evang. I. 10*.

<sup>7</sup> *Porphy. De Abstin. II. 30*; *Aelian. Var. Hist. VIII. 3*. The day on which this took place, was called *Διυπόλεια* and *Βουρένια*; comp. *Aristoph. Nubes 984*.

<sup>8</sup> *Pausan. I. 24*; *Acl. H. A. XII. 34*.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Stahr, Die Religionssysteme des Orients*, pp. 103—108.

<sup>10</sup> See Sect. VII.

Pythagoreans abstained from animal food, yet, if they offered an animal for themselves,<sup>11</sup> they partook of its flesh:<sup>12</sup> it is, therefore, manifest that they did offer, at least occasionally, animal sacrifices. The observation of Eusebius, evidently too vague to be correct, is unsupported by conclusive evidence; and the frequency of animal offerings among the Greeks requires no proof. The tradition that animals were first killed for sacrifices on the behest of an oracle, when their vast increase began to be dangerous to the fruits and fields,<sup>13</sup> is utterly untrustworthy: for men offered to the gods not what they wished to destroy, but what they prized most. Porphyry<sup>14</sup> indeed collects elaborate arguments against all bloody sacrifices, which he would permit exclusively for appeasing the *demons*, whether good or bad;<sup>15</sup> and he contends that the gods accept more readily frank-incense, cakes, flour, and especially the firstfruits, than the most splendid animal sacrifice,<sup>16</sup> especially as for this purpose not the noxious, but just the most harmless and most useful animals are killed.<sup>17</sup> But the testimony of Porphyry must be received with extreme caution, since, as a strict Pythagorean, he deemed the killing of animals criminal, and was biassed by his uncompromising advocacy of an absolute abstinence from animal food, which he regarded as injurious to the body and hostile to the elevation of the soul.

It seems, therefore, safest to conclude that vegetable and animal offerings were nearly coeval in origin; that both were presented promiscuously; that agriculturists naturally offered more frequently the former, breeders of cattle more especially the latter; while the poor of either class were of course compelled to limit themselves to the former alone. The narrative in Genesis regarding the first offerings may with equal propriety be used in support of this view, since Cain and Abel are represented as *brothers*.

But the worshippers knew a sacrifice more precious still than animals, that of their fellow-men or of themselves. Hence we find human sacrifices of every form and variety practised among nearly all ancient nations.<sup>18</sup> Their origin is evidently of a comparatively later date. They seem to imply a development of religious feeling carried to an enthusiastic excess, and hence to belong to a period, when the principle of sacrifice, natural, if not laudable, from certain points of view, became pernicious and detestable by its blind and irrational exaggeration. It has indeed been supposed that the first bloody sacrifices consisted of

<sup>11</sup> Ὅτε δὲ εἰς ἀπαρχήν τι τῶν ζώων  
ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν μερίδιαν τοῖς θεοῖς.

<sup>12</sup> Porphyry. De Abstin. II. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Plut. Sympos. VIII. viii. 3.

<sup>14</sup> De Abstin. II. 12—14.

<sup>15</sup> L. c. c. 36.

<sup>16</sup> L. c. cc. 15, 16; comp. cc. 12, 59.

<sup>17</sup> L. c. c. 22. <sup>18</sup> See Sect. XXI.

human beings for whom animals were in later time substituted:<sup>1</sup> but this view seems to involve a bound contrary to the nature of the human mind and its laws of advancement.

It will be clear from the preceding remarks that all efforts made to point out successive stages in the materials used for vegetable oblations, must be artificial. They are legitimate on the supposition only that sacrifices were nearly contemporaneous with the existence of men on earth. But this supposition has been proved to be erroneous; the first vegetable offering must, therefore, have been composed of the best and most valuable products of the earth that could be procured, the more so as even these were commonly considered as a poor substitute for the more acceptable, because more costly, sacrifice of animals. Yet it may be interesting to consider the gradations conjecturally adopted by a thoughtful ancient writer. According to Porphyry,<sup>2</sup> the vegetable oblations consisted successively of herbs burnt with their leaves and roots, and often with their stalks; the fruits of trees, especially acorns presented with the leaves of the oak; of cereals, chiefly barley (*καριθαί*), coarsely ground and sprinkled over the altar,<sup>3</sup> of dishes prepared from ground barley, and burnt on the altar, or of wheat and cakes baked from wheaten flour; of the firstlings of other productions, especially flowers, consumed on the altar, whether singly or tied in wreaths; of other objects distinguished for beauty or fragrance; of wine, honey, and oil: and then only, after a long interval, and as a proof of horrid degeneracy, animals were sacrificed, killed at first from ignorance, then from wild bloodthirstiness or cowardly fear; whence men received and deserved the epithets of "godless, evil-minded, and irreligious."<sup>4</sup> It is manifest that these and similar views<sup>5</sup> are poetical rather than historical. They are evidently based on the legendary traditions of a golden age when men subsisted on vegetable food alone, and the whole animal creation lived in harmony and peace.<sup>6</sup>

An order or succession with regard to the origin of sacrifices can only be proved in reference to their internal significance and tendency; and the proof has been attempted in the preceding Section.

### III. HISTORY OF SACRIFICES AMONG THE HEBREWS.

It is needless to observe that the Hebrews, from very early times, offered sacrifices to their gods or God. Indeed, almost as far as their

<sup>1</sup> So Theophrastus, in *Porphyry*. Abst. II. 20, 27.

<sup>2</sup> De Abst. II. 9, 29, 60; comp. also III. 5, 6; VII. 27. <sup>3</sup> *Οὐλοχυρεῖοθαι*.

<sup>4</sup> *ἄθεοι, κακόντροι, κακόθροοι*.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Ovid Fast.* I. 337—362; *Phil. Symp.* VIII. viii. 3.

<sup>6</sup> See Comm. on Genes. pp. 91 and 79, and the ancient writers there quoted.

annals reach into the past, they record pious offerings designed to express either submission or thankfulness. We need not go the length of Talmudists and Rabbins, who contend that even Adam presented offerings;<sup>7</sup> for they suppose the skins of which God made garments for the first couple<sup>8</sup> to have been those of sacrificial animals: an opinion as trustworthy as the statement of the same authorities that these animals were oxen with one horn on the forehead.<sup>9</sup> But the Bible represents the first brothers as the first sacrificers, and attributes to them the two chief classes of oblations, the animal and vegetable.<sup>10</sup> The patriarchs are stated to have offered sacrifices on every suitable opportunity. When Noah had escaped the dangers of the Deluge, he evinced his gratitude by a magnificent offering consisting of "every clean beast and every clean fowl."<sup>11</sup> Not only did Abraham, Isaak, and Jacob build altars on various occasions when they "invoked the name of the Lord";<sup>12</sup> but Jacob sacrificed when he had effected a reconciliation with Laban, his incensed pursuer;<sup>13</sup> and again when he finally left Canaan to settle with his family in Egypt.<sup>14</sup> In fact, sacrifices were considered to have been so firmly established, even in those remote generations, that a command given to Abraham for offering up his own son, was deemed possible.<sup>15</sup> The patriarchal oblations comprised not only the bloodless kind,<sup>16</sup> but also holocausts<sup>17</sup> and animal thank-offerings.<sup>18</sup> They did not, however, include the expiatory sacrifices<sup>19</sup> — a significant fact which has been accounted for elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, sacrifices accompanied by appropriate and symbolical rites, seem from primitive times, to have been employed for the conclusion of treaties and the confirmation of solemn promises or vows.<sup>21</sup> It has been conjectured that the Book of Genesis intends to convey a distinct gradation and climax in the successive sacrifices of Cain and Abel, of Noah, and of Abraham; that it desires to represent Abel simply as the pure-minded offerer, Noah as the type of the human race conscious of its sinfulness and frailty, and Abraham as the self-sacrificing man con-

<sup>7</sup> *Talm.* Sabb. 28 b; Abod. Sar. 8a; Chull. 60a; comp. *משיח* ad Midr. R. Beresh. cap. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. III. 21.

<sup>9</sup> *Talm.* II. cc.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. IV. 3, 4; see pp. 10, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Gen. VIII. 20.

<sup>12</sup> *קרא בשם יי*; comp. Gen. XII. 7, 8; XIII. 4, 18; XXI. 33; XXVI. 25; XXXIII. 20; XXXV. 7. On prayer in connection with sacrifice see Sect. X. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Gen. XXXI. 54.

<sup>14</sup> XLVI. 1. <sup>15</sup> XXII. 1—19.

<sup>16</sup> *מנחה*, Gen. IV. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *עולה*, VIII. 20; XXII. 13.

<sup>18</sup> *זבח*, XXXI. 54; XLVI. 1.

<sup>19</sup> *חטאת* and *אשם*.

<sup>20</sup> See Sect. I, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> See p. 10; Comm. on Gen. p. 366, 367, 440; *Plato*, *Critias*, c. 11 (pp. 119, 120); comp. Deut. XXVII. 2—8; Josh. VIII. 30—35; Ps. L. 5.



quering his natural affections by the strength of faith.<sup>1</sup> But such system of sacrifices cannot be supposed in a composition which entirely omits the sin-offerings, while it passes far beyond them in the sacrifice of Abraham.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it feasible organically to connect the sacrifices of Genesis and Exodus with those of Leviticus, and thereby to explain the later mention of the expiatory offerings.<sup>3</sup> For according to the narrative of the Pentateuch, the relation between God and Israel had not changed since the time of Abraham, through whom a Divine covenant was concluded with his descendants for ever;<sup>4</sup> indeed, the compact of mercy that was to exist between the deity and man had been finally fixed in the time of Noah, after the Deluge.<sup>5</sup>

The patriarchal sacrifices were offered on temporary altars which, as a rule, were constructed "of earth",<sup>6</sup> that is, of the fresh, green turf,<sup>7</sup> or frequently of simple, unhewn stones "unpolluted" by the application of iron tools.<sup>8</sup> For it seems that the ancients avoided the destructive metals as much as possible in connection with sanctuaries. Thus, whenever it was necessary, in the holy groves of Rome, to use iron instruments for digging the ground within their precincts or the adjoining field, or if merely an iron instrument was carried through them, a *piaculum* was required to be made by the sacrifice of a swine. A similar expiation was indispensable in the temple dedicated to the Arval brothers, in the grove of their goddess Dia, whenever the stylus was employed for engraving on the marble tablets there kept for the records of the sanctuary.<sup>9</sup> The altars were not restricted to particular localities; it may be, that if a choice was left, hills or shady trees or groves were preferred. Among the Greeks and Romans, the altars of the upper gods (*Ολύμπιοι*) were higher structures (*βωμοί*, *altaria*), those of the lower gods (*Χθόνιοι* and *ἐπιχθόνιοι*) only grates (*ἐσχάραι*) not of stone, or originally holes dug in the ground and covered with wicker-work; because the sacrifices of the former deities were mostly performed on heights, those of the latter in caverns.<sup>10</sup> Such distinction was of course

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *F. D. Maurice*, *Doctrine of Sacrifice*, Serm. I to III.

<sup>2</sup> See Sect. XXV. vi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Keil*, *Comm. on Lev.* p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. XII. 2, 3; XXII. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. IX. 8—17; see *Comm. on Gen.* pp. 222 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Exod. XX. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Hor.* Od. III. viii. 3, 4; *Ovid*, *Trist.* V. v. 9; *Metam.* IV. 753; *Lucan*, *Phars.* IX. 988; etc.

<sup>8</sup> Exod. XX. 25; Deut. XXVII. 5;

see *Comm. on Exod.* p. 379; comp. *Ovid*, *Fast.* II. 537, where the sacrifices for the manes of the departed are described (*Tegula porrectis satis est velata coronis*).

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Cato*, *De Re Rust.* c. 140; *Plato*, *Critias*, c. 11 (p. 119); *Marini*, *Atti Dei Fratr. Arv.* pp. 218, 309, 339, 363; *Döllinger*, *Gentile and Jew*, II. 88; see Sect. X. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Saubert*, *De Sacrif.* p. 297; *Creuzer*, *Symbolik*, III. 764, 765.



impossible among the Hebrews. The place where the opportunity for the offering arose, was unhesitatingly chosen for its performance.<sup>11</sup> God is distinctly represented to have proclaimed the principle, "In all places where I shall let My name be mentioned, I will come to thee, and I will bless thee;"<sup>12</sup> a principle worthy of being coupled with the noble utterance, "Thus says the Lord, The heaven is My throne, and the earth My footstool: where is the house that you can build to Me? and where is the place of My rest?"<sup>13</sup> The prophets describe the happy time when all nations of whatever clime will worship God in any place. "In that day", says Isaiah, "there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border of it to the Lord; ... and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day and shall offer sacrifices and oblations, and shall make vows to the Lord and perform them."<sup>14</sup> Nor was this conception foreign to other ancient nations. The Hindoos presented their chief offering of the juice of the *soma*<sup>15</sup> in their dwellings, in a chamber appropriated to the purpose, in which a perpetual light was maintained; in fact, "there is no mention of any temple, or any reference to a public place of worship, and it is clear that the worship was entirely domestic."<sup>16</sup> The Greeks sometimes simply laid out in the streets or hung up before their houses the firstfruits, or other fruits, or pots with dressed vegetables intended as offerings to the gods.<sup>17</sup> The old Teutons did not consider it compatible with the majesty of the gods to enclose them in the walls of temples, and hence worshipped them freely in groves,<sup>18</sup> as was especially the case with the goddess Hertha or Tanfana.<sup>19</sup> The Scythians were not accustomed to erect images, altars, and temples, except to Mars.<sup>20</sup> The Syrians in Hierapolis permitted no images of the Sun and the Moon; since these deities were manifest to every one by their

<sup>11</sup> Gen. VIII. 20; XXXI. 54; XLVI. 1; Exod. XXIV. 4; comp. Gen. XXVIII. 18, 19.

<sup>12</sup> Exod. XX. 24. The opinion that these words imply the selection of *one* holy place at a time, and therefore enjoin the *unity* of public worship (*Richm*, Gesetzgebung Mosis im Lande Moab, pp. 25, 26), is against the spirit of the context. The remarks of Geiger on this passage (*Zeitschr. der deutsch-morgenl. Gesellsch.* XIX. 1865, pp. 603—609), though ingenious, are based on the well-known principles of his „Urschrift“; he considers תּוֹכִיךָ as the correct reading, not תּוֹכִיךָ, which he

regards as opposed to the genius of the Hebrew language. Be this as it may, the general result is the same.

<sup>13</sup> Isai. LXVI. 1; comp. 1 Ki. VIII. 27; 2 Chr. II. 4, 5; VI. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Isai. XIX. 19, 21; comp. vers. 22—25; Zeph. II. 11; Mal. I. 11; Zech. XIV. 20, 21; 1 Tim. II. 8; see, however, Isai. II. 2, 3; Ps. LI. 18, 21.

<sup>15</sup> See Sect. VII. B.

<sup>16</sup> *Wilson*, Rig-Veda I. pp. XXIII. XXIV.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Döllinger*, Gentile and Jew, I. 230. <sup>18</sup> *Tacit.* Germ. c. 9.

<sup>19</sup> *Tacit.* Germ. c. 40; Ann. I. 51.

<sup>20</sup> *Herod.* IV. 59.

splendour in the skies, and required no visible representation.<sup>1</sup> The Persians sanctioned no statues and altars whatever, but "considering the heaven as Jupiter, sacrificed on a high place";<sup>2</sup> they looked upon such erections even as folly (*μωρία*), because "they did not believe the gods to have the same nature with man",<sup>3</sup> as the Greeks did.<sup>4</sup> If it is, besides, remembered that, in the history of the Hebrew patriarchs, no peculiar or fixed ritual of sacrifices is prescribed; that evidently the mode of offering was left to custom or individual option; that every Hebrew was permitted to perform the rites, though these sacred functions were commonly entrusted to the most authoritative members, as the chiefs of the family or the firstborn of the house;<sup>5</sup> and that even the Midianite priest Jethro is related to have offered to Jehovah holocausts and eucharistic sacrifices, in which Moses, Aaron, and the elders of Israel participated, because he had learnt to revere the power of the Deliverer of Israel:<sup>6</sup> it will be admitted that the allusions contained in the earlier portions of the Pentateuch with reference to primitive sacrifices, imply nothing that needs to be contested; they refer to a state of simplicity in religious worship, which bears the stamp of probability and truth.<sup>7</sup> They exhibit, indeed, one very important distinction from the usages of the rest of the ancient world. The sacrifices are invariably stated to have been presented to Jehovah, the only God of heaven and earth;<sup>8</sup> whereas it is indisputable that the belief in Jehovah wavered among the Hebrews for many centuries;<sup>9</sup> that idols were made and

<sup>1</sup> *Lucian*, *Dea Syr.* c. 34; comp. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo*, XV. iii. 13 (p. 732).

<sup>3</sup> *Herod.* l. 131, *Οὐκ ἀνθρωπογενεῖας δρόμους εἶναι.*

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Herod.* III. 29, 37, where he describes the contempt of Cambyses for all images of the gods.

<sup>5</sup> See the *Treatise on Priesthood* before chapt. VIII; Sect. V.

<sup>6</sup> *Exod.* XVIII. 12; see *Comm.* on *Exod.* p. 319.

<sup>7</sup> It is indeed remarkable that all the instances of patriarchal sacrifices above quoted, with one single exception which refers to Jacob, the latest of the great patriarchs (*Gen.* XLVI. 1; comp. XXXV. 14), either occur in sections written by the later Jehovist (*Gen.* IV. 3, 4; XXXI. 54), or were interpolated by him in Elohist portions (*Gen.* VIII. 20; XXII. 13; comp. *Comm.* on *Genes.* II. cc.). It appears, therefore, that sacri-

fices were, at the earlier date of the Elohist, not yet so predominant and frequent, and that they were not invested with such paramount importance. This fact may also tend to show that he desired to describe *Moses* as the true originator of sacrifices among the Israelites; but it cannot prove that sacrifices were unknown or unusual in his time, which is against the historical records of the Hebrews. The Jehovist may, therefore, be considered to have aptly inserted the sacrifices in the narrative of Genesis, although the distinction between clean and unclean animals (VIII. 20.) is, perhaps, inappropriate, and plainly enough betrays his school, system, and age.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. also *Genes.* XIV. 18—20.

<sup>9</sup> *Hos.* IX. 1, 4, 5; X. 9; *Am.* II. 4; *Zeph.* I. 4, 5; *Isai.* XLVIII. 8; *Jer.* II. 4—9; etc.

adored even by men of pure and pious intentions;<sup>10</sup> that images and religious symbols of pagan gods were placed in the very Temple of Jehovah, an act of detestable pollution;<sup>11</sup> that their inveterate propensity to idolatrous iniquities was prevalent up to the time of the Babylonian captivity,<sup>12</sup> when it was a well-founded complaint, "The people of Israel, with their kings, their princes, their priests, and their prophets, say to the block, Thou art my father, and to the stone, Thou hast brought me forth";<sup>13</sup> and when they were reproached with surpassing in every crime and perversity even the ill-famed people of Sodom;<sup>14</sup> that the fearful rites of Moloch which had contaminated the land throughout all previous periods of their history,<sup>15</sup> were hardly abandoned at the termination of their national life, so that Ezekiel still was compelled to exclaim, "Thus says the Lord God, How? do you pollute yourselves after the manner of your fathers? and fornicate after their abominations? For when you offer your gifts, when you make your children pass through the fire, you pollute yourselves with all your idols, *even to this day.*"<sup>16</sup> But the authors of the Book of Genesis intended to delineate the patriarchs as the special favourites of God, whom He deemed worthy of His familiar communion, guided in His truth, and shielded from the common errors of their time and people. Duly balancing this fundamental peculiarity of the narrative, we shall be bound to admit that, in its references to sacrificial acts, it judiciously abstains from introducing features not in harmony with the practice of primitive generations.

But the case is totally altered when we enter on the Biblical records of subsequent periods. The Books of Exodus and Leviticus are replete with statements which defy the laws of national development, imply a bound in religious progress destructive of all regular continuity, and strikingly contrast with the impartial testimony of history.

1. All sacrifices were thenceforth to be offered at one place exclusively, first "at the door of the Tabernacle before the Lord", where the altar of burnt-offerings stood (Exod. XL. 6), and God was expected

<sup>10</sup> Judg. VIII. 27; XVIII. 14, 17—19, 24; comp. Exod. XXXII. 1—6.

<sup>11</sup> Jer. VII. 30; XXXII. 34; Ezek. V. 11; XXIII. 38; 2 Ki. XXI. 4, 5, 7; XXIII. 4, 7, 11, 12; 2 Chr. XXXIV. 33; comp. Jer. VII. 9, 10; Zeph. I. 5 ("they swear by the Lord and swear also by their idol"); Ezek. VIII. 6, 10—12; 2 Ki. XVII. 33, 40; 2 Chr. XXXVI. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Ezek. II. 3; V. 6, 7; XXIII. 35; Isai. LXV. 1—7.

<sup>13</sup> Jer. II. 26—28; comp. IX. 13; XVI. 11; XIX. 13; XXIII. 25—27, 30 *sqq.*; XXXII. 32; Ps. CVI. 36.

<sup>14</sup> Ezek. XVI. 47, 48.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 5, 7; 2 Ki. XXIII. 10; Jer. III. 24; VII. 30, 31; XXXII. 35; Ps. CVI. 37, 38.

<sup>16</sup> Ezek. XX. 30, 31; comp. XVI. 20, 21; XXIII. 37, 39; and in general 2 Ki. XVII. 7—23; XXIII. 4—20, 24; especially Sect. XXII.

to "meet" the people;<sup>1</sup> and afterwards in the Temple to be erected in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> Contravention of this command was considered a heinous crime. It was certain to bring down upon the offender the severest vengeance of God. Nay, later, when the Levitical system was developed in its full rigour, the injunction was extended even to animals destined for food: he who killed a beast for this purpose, whether within or without the camp, was guilty of a deed of iniquity; "Blood shall be imputed to that man; he has shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people."<sup>3</sup> It is, then, evident that the law in question was deemed of the utmost consequence. It was indeed regarded as one of the most effectual safeguards against heathen abuses.<sup>4</sup> It placed the sacrifices under the direction and supervision of the appointed priests. It was designed to cement the unity and mutual good-will of the people, since all met for the holiest ends.<sup>5</sup> But it is equally manifest that the precept involved insuperable obstacles which rendered its strict observance impossible.

It may be doubted whether it could be fully obeyed even during the wanderings in the desert, when the Tabernacle formed the centre of the Hebrew hosts. We have the distinct authority of the Book of Deuteronomy that such was not the case; for after commanding that no offerings should be presented at any other place but the common Sanctuary, it continues, "You shall not do after all the things which we do here this day, every man whatever is right in his own eyes."<sup>6</sup> But the ordinance was absolutely impracticable after the conquest of Canaan, when the people were scattered over the length and breadth of the country, both in the east and west of the Jordan. Was it possible to carry out even the comparatively limited command that bid every male Israelite to appear, with his offerings, three times annually at the national Temple?<sup>7</sup> Could one town accommodate and support such vast numbers of pilgrims? For though the males only are mentioned as the sacrificers and the offerers of festive gifts, *the whole nation* was supposed to congregate at that hollowed spot, "And thou shalt rejoice before the

<sup>1</sup> Exod. XXIX. 42; Lev. I. 3; IV. 4; XII. 6; XV. 14, 29; XVI. 7; XVII. 2—6; XIX. 21; or simply "before the Lord" (לפני יהוה), as Lev. III. 1, 7, 12; IX. 2, 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. XII. 5—7, 11, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. XVII. 3—5; comp., however, Deut. XII. 15; see *infra* and Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Lev. XVII. 7, in connection with the preceding verses; see also *Spencer, De Legg. Ritt. I. viii. sect. I.*

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Joseph. Antiqq. IV. viii. 7* (ὅπως συνιόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνευχόμενοι προστελεῖς ὧσι). It is utterly untenable to suppose, with Abarbanel (Introd. to Levit. c. IV), that the law was designed to effect a gradual *diminution* of sacrifices by the difficulties that attended their performance (see Sect. IV).

<sup>6</sup> Deut. XII. 8; see *infra* p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. XXIII. 17; Deut. XVI. 16, 17.

Lord thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite who is within thy gates, and the stranger, and the orphan, and the widow, that are among you, in the place which the Lord thy God has chosen to let His name dwell there."<sup>8</sup> This explicit statement is made with regard to Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles; it naturally applies to Passover also; for this was emphatically a domestic festival; the peculiar commands regarding the paschal lamb had the one object of symbolically impressing the *unity* of the families and of the entire people;<sup>9</sup> it was to be sacrificed in no other place but at the national altar;<sup>10</sup> therefore not the males alone, but entire families were obliged to attend: this is so clearly involved in the spirit of the law that it might have appeared superfluous expressly to state it. It is not easy to understand how those who lived in distant parts of the country could perform the journey from Jerusalem home, and thence again to the capital, within the short interval of the six weeks intervening between the conclusion of Passover and the Feast of Pentecost. It is incredible that they should have left their homes just within the period of the harvest and at the most pressing season of agricultural labours and duties. Could the commonwealth exist if all the citizens, abandoning their avocations and leaving their abodes, gave themselves up to periodical festivities, twice every year protracted during seven days?<sup>11</sup>

But the difficulty increases if we consider that sacrifices were ordered for many special occasions in the life of individuals. Every woman who had given birth to a child, whether male or female;<sup>12</sup> whoever was healed of leprous diseases;<sup>13</sup> whoever had lived in a house infested by leprous impurities;<sup>14</sup> whoever had suffered from certain "running issues out of his flesh";<sup>15</sup> was ordered to offer particular sacrifices regulated by the Law, in the Tabernacle or Temple. Can it be seriously entertained that in all these cases the injunction was literally complied with? Who can imagine the inconvenience and trouble that militated against it in the first named emergencies alone?

Again, if a man felt an internal impulse to do homage to God as the Ruler of his destinies and the Judge of his deeds, he had to travel to Jerusalem to offer a holocaust.<sup>16</sup> If he wished to evince his gratitude

<sup>8</sup> Deut. XVI. 11; comp. vers. 14, 15; and 1 Sam. I. 21 ("And the man Elkanah and all his house went up to offer to the Lord the yearly sacrifice and his vow").

<sup>9</sup> Exod. XII. 3—10, 46; Deut. XVI. 4—7; see Comm. on Exod. pp. 178, 179, 182.

<sup>10</sup> Deut. XVI. 5—7.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. XVI. 8, 15.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. XII. 1—6.

<sup>13</sup> XIV. 1—32.

<sup>14</sup> XIV. 33—57.

<sup>15</sup> XV. 1—15, 25—30.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. I.

for Divine blessings and benefits, he could not perform his devotion by a eucharistic sacrifice at home, but was obliged to delay it till he was able to undertake the journey, whether near or distant.<sup>1</sup> If, oppressed by sin in its thousandfold forms, he was anxious to make atonement before God and to restore his peace of mind, he was forbidden, unless happening to live in the capital, to satisfy at once his spiritual craving.<sup>2</sup> Hebrew tradition maintains that persons who lived in the provinces, offered all private sacrifices on the first great festival following the vow or obligation;<sup>3</sup> but more than four months elapsed between Pentecost and Tabernacles, and nearly six months between the conclusion of Tabernacles and Passover: therefore, granted even that this arrangement is in accordance with the spirit of the law (as in many instances it certainly is not), must not the sacrifices have lost much of their beneficent influence, when after such intervals the pious frame of mind which at first prompted the sacred acts, was weakened or changed? Would not, therefore, the ordinances in question have checked, rather than promoted, the growth of religious life? Were they not calculated almost to compel the people to the erection of altars in greater proximity to their abodes, or to make them join the worship of the heathens by whom they were surrounded?<sup>4</sup> The compilers of the Levitical laws cannot have been blind to this danger. If they yet insisted on their statutes with unmitigated severity, they evidently considered the effects of a scattered worship, beyond the controlling power of the priests, as even more fatal. They preferred the possibility of a less active sacrificial service to the certainty of idolatrous degeneracy. They would rather lessen the ardour, than imperil the purity of public devotion.

But to arrive at this view, and to act accordingly, they required the guidance of long and varied experience. They saw that the Hebrews, despising the reproof and admonition of occasional teachers, were constantly leaning towards every pagan rite. They found this propensity prevailing not only during the time of the conquest and during the period of the Judges, but even after the completion of Solomon's Temple. They perceived with sorrow, that scarcely any of the lofty expectations

<sup>1</sup> Lev. III.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. IV. V.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Maimonides*, Pref. to *Yad Chazak*. להביא כל הקרבנות שיש על האדם בחוב או בער ברנל ראשון שפגע בו.

<sup>4</sup> Even Winer who, on the whole, praises the Levitical institutions of the Pentateuch, sees in the exclusiveness of the central sanctuary "a defect of

the Mosaic worship" (*Real-Wörterb.* I. 442; comp. *Ranmer*, *Vorlesungen*, I. 125), and expresses his conviction (I. 508), that "an untutored people whose faith so much depended on their form of worship, could not have fully satisfied their religious feelings, unless they were permitted to offer sacrifices at other places besides Jerusalem."



that had been attached to that national centre, were realised. The religious and moral elevation of the people, as a whole, had not advanced. The political animosities of the tribes did not abate. On the contrary, almost immediately afterwards, an event happened — the secession of the Ten Tribes, with their adoption of the Apis-worship — which perpetuated both the political and religious rupture of the nation. The Levitical reformers were of opinion that too great laxity had up to their time been tolerated in religious matters. They were no doubt aware that the unsettled condition of the preceding epochs had not permitted severer measures. But they believed that the influence of the priests supported by the power of theocratic kings, allowed, in their age, a more peremptory course. They clung to the opinion that the *idea* of a national Sanctuary was radically sound and even imperative; and they indulged in the hope, that by a rigorous injunction of its exclusive sanctity, they might at last secure those religious and political benefits which had, at the outset, been anticipated. Hence the Deuteronomist repeatedly and distinctly enforced the command, "Take heed that thou offer not thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest;"<sup>5</sup> "thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn . . . or the firstlings of thy herds or of thy flocks" etc.;<sup>6</sup> and he extended the injunction to all vows and free-will gifts, and to the celebration of the great festivals.<sup>7</sup> But he significantly added, "You shall not do after all the things which we do here this day, every man whatever is right in his own eyes."<sup>8</sup> To what period in the history of the Israelites does this remark refer? If we consider the natural context of the narrative, it would relate to the time of the Hebrew wanderings in the desert;<sup>9</sup> for the chief contents of the Book of Deuteronomy profess to have been pronounced by Moses, in the east of the Jordan, in the land of Moab, before the entrance of the people into Canaan.<sup>10</sup> But that is impossible. How could the author suppose that sacrifices were offered at all places promiscuously, while Moses, the ostensible proclaimer of the Levitical laws, the zealous and inflexible champion of the new faith, watched and directed the people, and while the Tabernacle formed the very heart and life of the Hebrew journeys and encampments? Therefore, although not denying to that statement a certain historical value with regard to the period prior to the conquest of Palestine,<sup>11</sup> we must regard it to point chiefly to the time of the Deuteronomist himself, that

<sup>5</sup> Deut. XII. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. ver. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. XII. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Deut. XII. 11, 14, 26, 27;

<sup>9</sup> Vers. 1, 9, 10.

XIV. 22—27; XV. 19, 20; XVI. 2, 5—7, 11, 15, 16; XXVI. 2; see also XVII. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Deut. I. 1, 5; XXXI. 1 *sqq.*; see *infra* p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> See *supra* p. 20.

is, to a very late phase in the history of the Hebrew commonwealth. It almost seems to imply that the idea of one common Temple for the whole nation was, at his time, a recent and unpopular proposal which it was deemed necessary to enforce with firmness.<sup>1</sup> It is an incidental admission, on his part, that priestly authority had, not even in the long interval between the age of Moses and his own, succeeded in establishing that unity of Hebrew worship which he considered the strongest support of a pure religion of Jehovah.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the final author of Leviticus, tenaciously pursuing the same idea and discarding the leniency of the Deuteronomist, interdicted sacrifices at all other places except the common Sanctuary under the awful penalty of excision;<sup>3</sup> and living in an era of a complete hierarchical organisation, he could venture, from that point of view, to frame his sacrificial laws with uncompromising stringency.<sup>4</sup>

The history of sacrificial offerings among the Hebrews, from the time of Moses to the destruction of the first Temple, may, therefore, be sketched as follows. Whether the Hebrews performed any sacrifices in Egypt, and if so, whether they observed the traditional rites of their race, or adopted the deviating practices of the Egyptians, we have no means of ascertaining. For the Hebrew records pass over the long period of four hundred years with a few rapid outlines, while the statements of heathen writers are fanciful, contradictory, and mostly fabulous.<sup>5</sup> However, according to national traditions, the Hebrews were, in Egypt, addicted to idolatry.<sup>6</sup> If they offered sacrifices at all, they probably, in the progress of time, imitated more and more those of the people among whom

<sup>1</sup> The passage hardly proves that the Deuteronomist did not suppose a Tabernacle to have existed in the time of Moses (see XXXI. 14, 15; comp. *George*, *Jüd. Feste*, pp. 43, 44). *Richm* (*Gesetzgebung Moses im Lande Moab*, p. 30) says justly, "The Deuteronomist puts into the mouth of Moses what he could say of his own contemporaries, that they sacrificed, at their option, in any place they liked"; and he adds, "This appears to me certain that Moses himself, if he be the main author of Levitic. XVII. 1—9, and of other sacrificial laws, could not possibly have used words like those of Deut. XII. 8"; or in other terms, the corresponding precept in Leviticus cannot have existed when the passage of Deuteronomy

under discussion was written (see Introduction).

<sup>2</sup> Honest critics who start from the supposition of a more recent origin of the fifth Book of the Pentateuch, have, from that passage, involuntarily concluded that the Deuteronomist was unacquainted with the law in Leviticus, or did not attribute it to the time of Moses; so De Wette (*Opusc. Theol.* p. 165): "Videtur noster (sc. the Deuteronomist) eam legem vel ignorasse vel certe ad Mosaica tempora non retulisse."

<sup>3</sup> כָּרָן, Lev. XVII. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. p. 20 and *infra* p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> See Comm. on Exod. pp. XXIII. *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Josh. XXIV. 14 ("Put away the gods which your fathers served on the



they lived. Indeed the author of the Book of Exodus considered others as dangerous and unfeasible.<sup>7</sup> Hence the only sacrifice attributed in the Pentateuch to the Israelites in Egypt, that of the paschal lamb, is intrinsically improbable. Not only would it pre-suppose, on the part of the Hebrews, a degree of religious culture not warranted by their abject condition; but it could not possibly have been carried out in one night and before the eyes of the Egyptians. The author of the Book of Exodus introduced it as the prototype of the paschal sacrifice common in his days, which he desired to invest with sanctity and importance, and he adroitly blended it with the main thread of his narrative.<sup>8</sup>

It is possible that, during their migrations in the desert, the Hebrews were more accustomed to the rites of sacrifice.<sup>9</sup> The zeal of Moses and his brother Aaron contributed to enforce the observance of religious ceremonials. The construction of a portable Tent, in which sacrifices were performed, as a part of the regular service, may have exercised an influence in the same direction. But it would be hazardous to conclude from these circumstances too much. The accounts of the Pentateuch prior to the occupation of Canaan, are derived from vague traditions: they require extraneous confirmation to be received as historically reliable. But this confirmation is nowhere supplied; on the contrary, everything points strongly to opposite inferences. The Pentateuch sets down the duration of the wanderings at forty years, but it barely relates the events of two. The hosts of the Israelites which, according to the Bible, amounted to upwards of two millions of souls, could not be supported, for any length of time, in a small peninsula, mostly composed of barren tracts, and ordinarily affording scanty subsistence to no more than a limited fraction of that number: the ingenuity incessantly lavished in attempts to prove such a possibility, has yet been unable to produce convincing arguments. How, then, could the multitude of beasts required by the ordinances of the Pentateuch, have been obtained and spared for the manifold classes of sacrifice? Would not the regular and daily offerings alone have absorbed more cattle than the pasturage of the district of Sinai was able to feed? At the consecration of the Tabernacle, the chiefs of the tribes are said to have offered, besides costly vessels of silver and gold, 252 animals.<sup>10</sup> The

---

otherside of the stream, and in Egypt" — (וּבְמִצְרַיִם); Ezek. XX. 7, 8; XXIII. 3, 8; comp. Exod. XXXII. 4; Lev. XVII. 7; Deut. XII. 6. Considering, therefore, the variety of passages in support of this view, it avails little to regard, as

some have done, וּבְמִצְרַיִם in Josh. XXIV. 14, as a spurious interpolation.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. VIII. 21—24; comp. V. 1—3; VIII. 4. <sup>8</sup> See Sect. XVII.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Exod. XVIII. 12; XXIV. 5; etc.

<sup>10</sup> Num. VII. 12—88.

*public* burnt-offerings amounted to no less than 1245 victims annually.<sup>1</sup> The paschal festival as described to have been celebrated in the second year after the exodus, would, on a very moderate computation, have demanded between 50,000 and 60,000 lambs.<sup>2</sup> How could animals be procured for the various other offerings above enumerated? Indeed the prophet Amos,<sup>3</sup> generally measured and moderate in his expressions, lets God distinctly say, "Have you offered to Me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, o house of Israel?"<sup>4</sup> But you have borne the tabernacle of your king (idol)<sup>5</sup> and the statues of your images,<sup>6</sup> the star of your god which you made to yourselves." He thus corroborates by a clear and comprehensive testimony what spontaneously offers itself on a simple examination of the facts, namely, that in the desert, the Hebrews so far from offering the sacrifices later known as Mosaic, abandoned themselves to every form of Sabæan idolatry.<sup>7</sup>

From the conquest of Canaan to the building of the Temple by Solomon, all sacred functions are supposed to have been performed at the Tabernacle, whether this was the magnificent and complex structure described in the Book of Exodus, or simply a portable shrine sufficient for the requirements of wandering tribes.<sup>8</sup> Now, the Book of Joshua relates not only that the Tabernacle, which contained the Ark with the Cherubim and the two tablets of the Law,<sup>9</sup> and in which a sacred light<sup>10</sup> burnt from evening to morning,<sup>11</sup> was by that leader brought to Shiloh and kept there;<sup>12</sup> but that it was considered the only legitimate sanctuary for the performance of sacrifices: the erection of an altar at any other place was deemed revolt against Jehovah and hostile treachery against His people; the mere suspicion roused against the east-jordanic tribes, almost plunged the nation into a civil war.<sup>13</sup> But these statements of the Book of Joshua must be subjected to very essential modifications. It is true, that at Shiloh stood a time-honoured

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Num. IX. 1—14.

<sup>3</sup> V. 25, 26.

<sup>4</sup> It matters little for our purpose whether we lay stress upon *ל* or not; comp. *Spencer*, *Legg. Ritt. Lib.* III. Diss. II. ch. 1; see also *Ebn Ezra* on Lev. VII. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Moloch, so Acts VII. 43.

<sup>6</sup> Understood to mean the images of Saturn (*כִּיקָן עֲלֵמִיכָם*), to whom offerings were presented by the old Arabians on the seventh day, and who was conciliated by human sacrifices

also; comp. *Bauer*, *Gottesd. Verf.* II. 15—17; *Gesen.* *Comm. üb. Jesai.* II. 343; *Fatke*, *Bibl. Theol.* I. 190—193; *Gramberg*, *Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des Alten Testaments*, I. 473.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. also *Isai.* XLIII. 23, 24. On *Ezek.* XX. 25, 26 see Sect. XXI.

<sup>8</sup> See *Exod.* XXXIII. 7; comp. *Gramberg*, *Rel. Id.* I. 12, 13.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Sam. IV. 3, 4; 1 Ki. VIII. 9.

<sup>10</sup> נֵר אֱלֹהִים.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Sam. III. 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Josh.* XVIII. 1; XIX. 51; XXII. 9.

<sup>13</sup> *Josh.* XXII. 16, 19, 22, 23, 26—29.

Tent or Tabernacle of the Hebrews.<sup>14</sup> It was, for protracted periods, probably during the whole time of the Judges up to Samuel, the chief centre of public worship.<sup>15</sup> There, at regularly recurring seasons of the year, religious festivals were celebrated; thither the Hebrews repaired with their families, but generally not more than once a year, to perform sacrifices and vows; and there the people or their delegates assembled for national deliberations.<sup>16</sup> But on the other hand, it is indisputable that, during the whole of this epoch, not only were public convocations held in many towns except Shiloh; but sacrifices were frequently performed at other places where the Tent did not then stand, whether these localities were believed to have been hallowed by the presence of the patriarchs, or had long been sacred spots among the Canaanites, or simply happened to offer themselves opportunely for the occasions. For we are informed that the people met also in Shechem,<sup>17</sup> where even a "Sanctuary of the Lord" is mentioned,<sup>18</sup> certainly distinct from the Tabernacle which was then in Shiloh.<sup>19</sup> They assembled at Mizpah in Gilead,<sup>20</sup> where Jephthah addressed his adherents "before the Lord",<sup>21</sup> and at Mizpah in Benjamin,<sup>22</sup> where the whole people came together "to the Lord;"<sup>23</sup> at Gilgal<sup>24</sup> and at Hebron.<sup>25</sup> They habitually went to Bethel, Gilgal, and Beer-sheba to obtain oracles or to offer sacrifices.<sup>26</sup> In some of the towns there were no doubt ancient temples or houses of worship, as is certain with respect to Bethel, Hebron, and Mizpah in Benjamin.<sup>27</sup> The Israelites are expressly mentioned to have there met "before the Lord"; but this term does not permit us to identify those places with Shiloh, by explaining them as appellative nouns; for though this expedient has a semblance of

<sup>14</sup> מִשְׁכָּן or אֹהֶל. Ps. LXXVIII. 60; comp. 2 Sam. VII. 6; it is also called by the distinctive names אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (Josh. XVIII. 1; XIX. 51; 1 Sam. II. 22); or בֵּית יְהוָה (1 Sam. I. 7, 24) and בֵּית הַיְכָל (Judg. XVIII. 31), or הֵיכָל יְהוָה (1 Sam. I. 9; III. 3).

<sup>15</sup> Judg. XVIII. 31; 1 Sam. III. 3; XIV. 3; especially Jer. VII. 12.

<sup>16</sup> Judg. XXI. 12, 19; 1 Sam. I. 3, 21; II. 19; comp. XX. 6; see Comm. on Genes. p. 741; comp. C. H. Graf, *De Templo Silonensi*, pp. 25 *seqq.* It cannot be concluded from 1 Ki. IX. 25 and 2 Chr. VIII. 13, that every Israelite journeyed thither *three* times annually.

<sup>17</sup> Josh. XXIV. 1.

<sup>18</sup> מִקְדָּשׁ יְהוָה, ver. 26.

<sup>19</sup> XVIII. 1; XXII. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Judg. XI. 11.

<sup>21</sup> לִפְנֵי יְהוָה.

<sup>22</sup> Judg. XX. 1.

<sup>23</sup> אֶל יְהוָה, comp. XXI. 1, 5, 6; 1 Sam. VII. 5, 6; X. 17; 2 Ki. XXV. 23, 25; 1 Macc. III. 46. Bertheau (on Judg. XX. 1) argues "the wandering sanctuary was brought to the various places of national assembly" (so also *Öhler* in Herz. X. '51): with how little justice, is evident from the facts here discussed.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Sam. XI. 15; XIII. 8; XV. 21.

<sup>25</sup> 2 Sam. V. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Am. IV. 4; V. 5; VIII. 14; comp. Gen. XXI. 33; XXVI. 25; XLVI. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Comp. Judg. XX. 18; 1 Sam. XV. 7—9; 1 Macc. III. 46.

probability with regard to Mizpah and Bethel,<sup>1</sup> it is inapplicable to Gilgal and Hebron. Nor does it justify us in supposing the assemblies to have taken place round an *image* of Jehovah;<sup>2</sup> for though this is, in some cases, not improbable,<sup>3</sup> it is not likely in all: the altar erected for the sacrifices which usually accompanied public meetings, was dedicated to Jehovah; and before Him, therefore, the proceedings could well be said to have taken place.<sup>4</sup> Again it is recorded that the people *sacrificed* at Bochim<sup>5</sup> and Bethel.<sup>6</sup> Individual households offered, in their homes, regularly private sacrifices,<sup>7</sup> as the family of Jesse in Bethlehem<sup>8</sup> or that of Ahithophel at Giloh in Judah;<sup>9</sup> though the assistance of Levites seems from comparatively early periods to have been deemed desirable.<sup>10</sup> Gideon the Manassite presented an offering at Ophrah;<sup>11</sup> Manoah the Danite at Zorah;<sup>12</sup> Samuel, whether an Ephraimite or Levite, did the like at Mizpah, Ramah, Gilgal, and Bethlehem;<sup>13</sup> Saul at Gilgal<sup>14</sup> and during his pursuit of the Philistines;<sup>15</sup> David in Jerusalem and on the threshing-floor of Araunah;<sup>16</sup> Absalom, with David's sanction, in Hebron;<sup>17</sup> Adoniah, the son of David, near En-rogel;<sup>18</sup> Solomon and the people, before the completion of the Temple, "in high places."<sup>19</sup> Elisha did not remonstrate at Naaman's avowed intention of sacrificing to Jehovah in his Syrian home;<sup>20</sup> and later prophets, as Isaiah, Zephaniah, and even Malachi hopefully predicted the time when sacrifices would be performed at all places.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, we find, after the age of Eli, the principal Tabernacle, with a regular service, at Nob, in the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Joseph. Ant.* V. ii. 9; *Michael. Orient. Bibl.* V. 241—243; *Vitringa, De Synag. Vct.* p. 323 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Sect. XII.

<sup>3</sup> *Judg.* XI. 11; XX. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. 1 *Sam.* VII. 5, 6, 17; XI. 15; XIII. 8, 9; XV. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Judg.* III. 5.

<sup>6</sup> XXI. 4.

<sup>7</sup> In the manner of the *sacra gentilia* of the Romans; *Liv.* V. 52; *Cic. Legg.* II. 9, 19; *Offic.* I. 17; see *Harung. Relig. d. Röm.* I. 226 *sqq.*

<sup>8</sup> 1 *Sam.* XX. 6.

<sup>9</sup> 2 *Sam.* XV. 12; comp. *Job* I. 5; XLII. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Judg.* XVII. 4—13.

<sup>11</sup> *Judg.* VI. 11—20, 26 *sqq.*

<sup>12</sup> XIII. 16, 19, 20.

<sup>13</sup> 1 *Sam.* VII. 9, 10, 17; IX. 12, 13; X. 8; XI. 15; XVI. 2, 5.

<sup>14</sup> 1 *Sam.* XIII. 9 *sqq.*

<sup>15</sup> XIV. 32—35; although at this time the *Ark* of the Covenant was with him in the camp; see ver. 18.

<sup>16</sup> 2 *Sam.* VI. 17 (comp. ver. 13); XXIV. 25; comp. XV. 32.

<sup>17</sup> 2 *Sam.* XV. 7—9.

<sup>18</sup> 1 *Ki.* I. 9.

<sup>19</sup> 1 *Ki.* III. 2, 3. See Comment. on *Gen.* pp. 737—740. These instances also prove sufficiently the precarious nature of the opinion that "prophets" or "pious men" were permitted to sacrifice at any place, because they were free from the temptations of idolatrous abuse, or because they actually chose the place in the name of God (*Michael. Mos. R.* §. 188; *Hengstenb. Authent. d. Pent.* II. 40, 41, 58, 59; *Öhler, l. c.* pp. 619, 650, 651).

<sup>20</sup> 2 *Ki.* V. 17, 19.

<sup>21</sup> See *supra*, p. 17.

territory of Benjamin;<sup>22</sup> and after the bloodshed there committed by the direction of Saul,<sup>23</sup> we meet it again, in David's and Solomon's reign, at Gibeon, where it was erected on "the great height."<sup>24</sup> But during these periods, sacrifices were freely performed at other places also, without any derogation from the piety of the offerer or the acceptableness of his gift. By command of "the angel of the Lord", David himself built, on the threshing-floor of Araunah or Arnon the Jebuzite, an altar where he "offered burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, and invoked the Lord, and He answered him from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt-offering."<sup>25</sup> But even if sacrifices had then been exclusively performed at Nob and Gibeon, they would not have possessed the sanctity with which they were invested by the laws of the Pentateuch: for during the whole of this period, comprising the time of Samuel's leadership, of Saul's and David's, and partly of Solomon's reign, the Tabernacle was deprived of its most essential part, the Ark of the Covenant, containing not only the tablets of the Law, or the "testimony" of a supernatural revelation, but also the mysterious figures of the Cherubim, the emblems of God's watchful presence, and the holy mercy-seat, the pledge of His grace and forgiveness: indeed, without the Ark, the Tabernacle, like a body without a soul, lost its significance as the chosen abode of Jehovah; it was virtually not more hallowed than any ordinary place of worship.<sup>26</sup> Now, the Ark was, in the time of Eli, taken by the Philistines,<sup>27</sup> and brought to Ashdod, where they placed it in the temple of Dagon.<sup>28</sup> Seven months later,<sup>29</sup> they removed it to the territory of the Israelites, to the boundaries of Beth-shemesh.<sup>30</sup> Shortly afterwards, it was by the inhabitants of this town sent to Kirjath-jearim, where it was received into the house of Abinadab, and guarded by his son Eleazar.<sup>31</sup> There it remained "a long time",<sup>32</sup> considerably more than "twenty years";<sup>33</sup> and from thence Saul took it occasionally to

<sup>22</sup> 1 Sam. XXI. 1—10; XXII. 10.

<sup>23</sup> XXII. 16—19.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Ki. III. 4; 1 Chron. XVI. 39; XXI. 29; comp. Comm. on Exod. pp. 620, 621. According to the Talmud (Zevach. 118b), the Tabernacle was in Shiloh 300 years, in Nob and Gibeon 57, and in Gilgal 14 years—which are purely conjectural figures.

<sup>25</sup> 1 Chr. XXI. 18, 26; 2 Sam. XXIV. 18, 25.

<sup>26</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. IV. 3—22; V. 6, 7; VI. 20; etc. See Comm. on Exod. pp. 479, 480, 494. A better right, there-

fore, had the people of Beth-shemesh to sacrifice in their town, when in possession of the Ark, though not of the Tabernacle (1 Sam. VI. 15).

<sup>27</sup> 1 Sam. IV. 11.

<sup>28</sup> V. 1, 2.

<sup>29</sup> VI. 1.

<sup>30</sup> VI. 12—20.

<sup>31</sup> VII. 1.

<sup>32</sup> וַיְרַם הָיִם אֵם.

<sup>33</sup> VII. 2. The Hebrew historian, evidently uncertain as to the exact duration, ventured to fix it at 20 years; but as the Ark was brought into the house of Abinadab about 6 months after the death of Eli, and taken again

accompany him on his war-expeditions, to serve him as a Divine oracle, and to enhance the sanctity of his altars and his sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> Then David, surrounded by a large concourse of people, fetched it from the house of Abinadab,<sup>2</sup> to remove it to Jerusalem; but terrified by a fearful accident, he left it, on the way, in the house of Obed-Edom, where it was preserved for three months;<sup>3</sup> then, however, David carrying out his resolve, transported it to Jerusalem,<sup>4</sup> where it thenceforward remained.<sup>5</sup> And when in the eleventh year of Solomon's reign, after the completion of the Temple, the Tabernacle with its vessels was brought from Gibeon to Jerusalem, the Ark was deposited, in its due place, in the Holy of Holies of the new Sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, from

from thence by David long after the death of Saul, and after the subjugation of all the hostile tribes around (comp. 2 Sam. VI. 2, 3, and VII. 1), it must have been kept there more than half a century; for the reign of Saul alone comprised at least 20 years (*Joseph. Antiq.* VI. xiv. 9; *Clem. Alex. Strom.* I. 140), or according to other traditions 40 years (*Acts* XIII. 21; *Joseph.* l. c. in conformity with the usual text, Ἐβασίλευσε—ὁ Σάουλ—Σαμουήλου ζῶντος ἐτη ἑκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι; whereas another reading confirmed by the statement of Clemens Alexandrinus l. c., has τελευτήσαντος δὲ δύο); to which must be added the whole time of Samuel's public activity up to Saul's coronation, and about 8 years of David's reign (2 Sam. V. 5).

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. XIV. 18, 34, 35; comp. XV. 34. It appears, indeed, to have been no unusual practice for military leaders to take with them the Ark as the most powerful protection of the army; comp. 1 Sam. IV. 3 *sqq.*; 2 Sam. XV. 24, 25; and so probably Judg. XX. 26—28 (comp. vers. 18, 23; XXI. 2), where we find the Ark in Bethel, while the Tabernacle was evidently elsewhere, since the Israelites had to erect an altar for the performance of sacrifices, Judg. XXI. 4. A similar custom prevailed among other nations (comp. 2 Sam. V. 21).

<sup>2</sup> Abinadab is, in 2 Sam. VI. 2, stated to have lived in בעלי יהודה, which, however, is no doubt identical with קרית יערים (1 Sam. VII. 1), as this is also called קרית-בעל (Josh. XV. 60); comp. *Gramberg, Relig. Ideen*, I. p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. VI. 2—11.

<sup>4</sup> Vers. 12—17; comp. 1 Chr. XV. 28.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. XV. 24, 25, 29. It does not concern us here to enquire whether the Ark mentioned in the passages just quoted from the historical Books, was the Ark, or one like that described in Exodus, and whether it contained the Tablets of the Law, and had the Mercy-seat and the Cherubim: though the fact of its long absence from the "Tent of Meeting", to which, according to the Pentateuch, it inseparably belonged, and the careless placing of it in the houses of private individuals, render the existence of the sacred implements, which the Book of Exodus attributes to the time of Moses, more than doubtful.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Ki. VIII. 1—6. We may thus briefly complete the history of the Ark. In the time of the divided empire, it was taken away, probably by some idolatrous monarch, though it is unknown by whom, and on what occasion; it was ultimately restored to its place by the pious king Josiah (2 Chr. XXXV. 3), and probably destroyed or lost at the demolition of the Temple



the time of Eli, the Tabernacle was incomplete, and could not, according to the injunctions of the Pentateuch, be considered a true "Tent of Meeting."<sup>7</sup> It cannot, therefore, be surprising to find, during this period, holy acts performed and sacrifices offered, in places neither sanctified by the presence of the Ark nor of the Tabernacle, as the instances above referred to abundantly prove.<sup>8</sup> It is true, that the Books of Chronicles furnish different accounts in nearly all the points just discussed; and as they are frequently adduced in support of the current views, it is advisable briefly to characterise their nature and tendency. The alterations are the more striking by their systematic consistency; they breathe throughout a Levitical and theocratic spirit; and to this spirit facts and events are unscrupulously rendered subordinate. Thus the Chronist introduces Levites when the Ark was brought to Zion by David,<sup>9</sup> on which occasion he makes them sing a hymn of praise manifestly borrowed from various Psalms of the period of the exile.<sup>10</sup> He represents Solomon acquainted with the "Mosaic" Tabernacle,<sup>11</sup> the regulations of the Book of Numbers with respect to its transport,<sup>12</sup> and the sacrificial ritual of the Pentateuch,<sup>13</sup> familiar also to Abijah, the son of Rehoboam.<sup>14</sup> He describes the Book of the Law "found" in Josiah's time distinctly as the work of Moses.<sup>15</sup> He reports the slaughter of an enormous number of sacrifices, contrary to all

by Nebuchadnezzar; but according to an old tradition, Jeremiah, at the command of God, took it, together with the Tabernacle, to Mount Pisgah, and concealed it in a cavern, which he closed and fastened, and which will not be discovered before the appointed time of Israel's restoration (2 Macc. II. 4-8): therefore, the Holy of Holies of the later Temple was empty (*Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. v. 5, ἐκεῖτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλως ἐκρυπτόν*; *Tacit. Hist. V. 9*), or, as Jewish authorities state, had instead of the Ark an altar-stone (לפיד) raised three digits above the ground, and used, on the Day of Atonement, by the High-priest, to put the censer upon (*Mishn. Yom. V. 2*; Bartenur. in loc. explains לפיד by יסוד *foundation*, sc. of the world).

<sup>7</sup> The tent (אהל) mentioned in 2 Sam. VI. 17 and 1 Chr. XVI. 1, is not the old Tabernacle, but one specially erected by David to receive the Ark of the Covenant; it was probably con-

structed on the model of the latter, with curtains, though in a very simple form (2 Sam. VII. 2; XI. 11); comp. 1 Chr. XVI. 39, where the משכן ידוע is mentioned in contradistinction to that אהל; though the Chronist, in a later passage (XXI. 29), makes both identical; see *infra* p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. VII. 5, 6, 9, 10, 17; IX. 12, 13; X. 17; XI. 15; XIII. 9 *sqq.*; XX. 6; 2 Sam. XXIV. 25; 1 Ki. I. 9; III. 2, 3.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Chr. XV. 26; comp. 2 Sam. VI. 13.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Chr. XXVI. 8-36; comp. Ps. CV. 1-15; XCVI. 1-13; CVI. 1, 47, 48.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Chr. I. 2-6; comp. 1 Ki. III. 2-4.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Chr. XXIII. 26; comp. Num. III. IV. VII.; but see also 2 Chr. XXXV. 3.

<sup>13</sup> 2 Chr. II. 3; comp. 1 Ki. V. 15 *sqq.*

<sup>14</sup> 2 Chr. XIII. 11; comp. 1 Ki. XV. 1-8.

<sup>15</sup> ביד משה 2 Chr. XXXIV. 14; comp. 2 Ki. XXII. 8.

probability,<sup>1</sup> to which may be added his statement that king Jehoshaphat levied in Judea alone an army of 1,160,000 men,<sup>2</sup> which was probably more than the entire population of the province: indeed he does not seem always to have realised to his mind the figures he mentions; for he contends that David had laid aside for the building of the Temple "100,000 talents of gold, and 1000,000 talents of silver", besides brass and iron "beyond weight";<sup>3</sup> and again that his body guard consisted of 288,000 men, while in the older account it is stated at 600 men.<sup>4</sup> He amply adorns his narrative with miracles,<sup>5</sup> and with additions, alterations, and expansions in the Levitical sense to such a degree that the very spirit of his sources is perverted, which, in the main, were probably an enlarged and augmented edition of the canonical Books of Samuel and Kings.<sup>6</sup> He refers the institutions mentioned in the middle Books of the Pentateuch, or in Ezekiel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, to the earlier times, especially those of David and Solomon. He describes the service of the Tabernacle, with store-houses, treasuries, and an organised system of officials, in a manner evidently betraying the combined features of various later epochs.<sup>7</sup> He connects genealogically celebrated men of subsequent times, as Samuel, Heman, and Asaph, with the patriarchs, especially Levi;<sup>8</sup> in fact, he considers the whole caste of the Levites as holy, and continually represents them as exercising decisive influence on the course of history. As a rule, he is anxious to vindicate the kings of Judah, in opposition to the statements of earlier historians.<sup>9</sup> But he fictitiously attributes every variety of idolatry to king Joram,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chr. XV. 11; XXIX. 32, 33; etc.; see p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chr. XVII. 14—18.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chr. XXII. 14; comp. also XXIV. 4—7.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Sam. XV. 18; comp. 2 Chr. XIII. 3, 7; XIV. 8, 9; XXV. 5; XXVI. 13; etc.; see the lists in *Kuenen*, *Histoire critique des livres de l'ancien Testament*, I. pp. 484, 485; comp. on the other hand, 1 Ki. IX. 14; 2 Ki. XVIII. 15.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Chr. XXI. 26, 28; XXVIII. 1—19 (where it is related that David received "in writing by the hand of God" — בכתב מיד יהוה — the model of the Temple with all its accessory buildings and utensils; comp. Exod. XXV. 9); 2 Chr. VII. 1—3; XXVI. 16—21.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Kuenen*, l. c. pp. 466—477; see 1 Chr. XV. 12, 13 (comp. 2 Sam. VI. 6, 7); 1 Chr. XXI. 29, 30; 2 Chr. I. 3—5

(comp. 1 Ki. III. 4); 1 Chr. XXII. 2—5 (comp. 1 Ki. V. 20, 23); XXII. 8 (comp. 1 Ki. V. 17); XXIX. 17, 18; 2 Chr. III. 4 (comp. 1 Ki. VI. 3); VIII. 11 (comp. 1 Ki. VII. 8); IX. 14 (comp. 1 Ki. X. 5; 2 Ki. XVI. 18); XV. 10—15 (comp. 1 Ki. XV. 12, 13); XXIV. 13, 14 (comp. 2 Ki. XII. 13, 14); XXIX. 7 *sqq.* (comp. 2 Ki. XVI. 10 *sqq.*); XXXI. 3—11; XXXIII. 4, 5, 11—13 (comp. 2 Ki. XXI. 4, 5); XXXVI. 6, 7 (comp. 2 Ki. XXIV. 1, 2).

<sup>7</sup> 1 Chr. IX. 1—34.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Chr. VI. 1—15, 18—32.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. 2 Chr. XII. 1 and 1 Ki. XIV. 22—24; 2 Chr. XIII. 2 and 1 Ki. XV. 2—5; 2 Chr. XIV. 2, 4; XVII. 6 and 1 Ki. XV. 14; XXII. 44; 2 Chr. XXIV. 2 *sqq.* and 2 Ki. XII. 3 *sqq.*; 2 Chr. XXV. 2 and 2 Ki. XIV. 3, 4; etc.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Chr. XXI. 11.



evidently because his wife was the daughter of Ahab, king of *Israel*.<sup>11</sup> For untheocratic kings, as Joash and Ahaz, he invents punishment and misfortune.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, he omits injuring traits in the history of his favourites. He is silent about David's unlawful use of the ephod,<sup>13</sup> his concubines,<sup>14</sup> and his crimes against Bathsheba and Uriah;<sup>15</sup> he suppresses all mention of his cruelty against the Ammonites,<sup>16</sup> and of his infamous surrender of five of Saul's descendants to the Gibeonites to be "hung up before the Lord";<sup>17</sup> he passes over the fearful and unnatural confusion in David's family;<sup>18</sup> and makes no allusion to the foreign wives and idolatry of Solomon.<sup>19</sup> The result of all this may be thus summed up. The Books of Chronicles are the work of *one* author; for they disclose throughout the same systematic re-arrangement of history. They were written at a time when the eloquence of the prophets had been succeeded by the direction of the priests. The author, a Levite, anxious to glorify his tribe and to secure its material prosperity, may, in modifying the earlier records, have undertaken a task congenial and acceptable to his contemporaries, who had themselves undergone a signal change; yet his work is a grave offence against the spirit of truth and honesty.<sup>20</sup> He shows neither the ability nor the desire for writing an impartial and faithful history. Recognising no higher, scarcely knowing another, interest than that of Levitical priesthood, he is betrayed into the most obvious and invidious prejudices against all other classes and intellectual pursuits. He, therefore, deserves no authority

<sup>11</sup> 2 Ki. VIII. 18.

<sup>12</sup> 2 Chr. XXIV. 23—25, comp. 2 Ki. XII. 18; 2 Chr. XXVIII. 20—24, comp. 2 Ki. XVI. 8 *sqq.*

<sup>13</sup> See Sect. XXII. init.

<sup>14</sup> פִּלְגֶּשֶׁתִּים, 1 Chr. XIV. 3; comp. 2 Sam. V. 13. <sup>15</sup> 2 Sam. XI. 2—XII. 26.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Sam. XII. 31.

<sup>17</sup> 2 Sam. XXI. 1—9.

<sup>18</sup> 2 Sam. XIII—XX.

<sup>19</sup> Further details may be found in *De Wette*, Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Band 1; and Einleitung §§ 190, 191; *Gramberg*, Die Chronik nach ihrem geschichtlichen Character und ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit, etc.; and Religions-Ideen I. 81—93; 162—168; 248—261; *Davidson*, Introduction to the Old Testament, II. 81—85; *Kuenen*, l. c. p. 464, 465, 485—493; *Graf*, Geschicht. Büch. d. A. T. pp. 114—247.

<sup>20</sup> It is neither possible nor desirable to attempt a defence of the Chronist by some vague remarks like these, "Faudrait-il conclure que l'auteur des Chroniques eut été de mauvaise foi? N'oublions pas qu'il a écrit sous l'empire de principes dont personne de son temps ne songeait à contester la valeur" (*Kuenen*, l. c. p. 493); especially if every single damaging detail is admitted, and the alleged difference between "l'ancienne école rationaliste", which is censured in its representative *De Wette*, and "la bonne méthode historique" (*ibid.* p. 494), amounts to nothing else but that the latter is more veiled and guarded in its phraseology; but we are inclined to believe that the ends of Biblical science are better served by a distinct and unequivocal expression of results.

whatever as a source of history, at least on points connected with public worship; and disavowing his statements, we resume our sketch.

It may naturally be expected that the building of Solomon's Temple materially augmented the splendour of the sacrificial service. Large numbers of worshippers were no doubt attracted by the fame of the king's wealth, power, and wisdom. The magnificence of the sacred edifice, exaggerated by report, contributed to allure visitors not always prompted by the purest motives of devotion, and often utterly estranged from a religious life.<sup>1</sup> But the Temple was by no means the only and exclusive place of worship. Solomon himself set the example of defying all hierarchical institutions. He not only himself, though no Levite, offered three times every year burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, and incense, upon the holy altars;<sup>2</sup> but he built "a high place for Chemosh the abomination of Moab, on the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon": he adopted, in fact, the religious rites of all his foreign wives.<sup>3</sup> It may be, that the exclusion of non-Levites from priestly functions in the Temple, could gradually be enforced, as the power of the Levites became, in the course of time, more commanding, and their spirit more rigorous.<sup>4</sup> But it was certainly impossible to insist upon the absolute unity of worship, and to compel the Hebrews to sacrifice in Jerusalem alone. From Solomon's immediate successors to the very termination both of the empire of Ephraim and of Judah, we find kings and people, and often prophets and priests, inveterately addicted to all pagan rites, which they performed at whatever place they chose, as will be proved by the unreserved admissions of the Hebrew writers themselves.<sup>5</sup> Additions and modifications in the service of the Temple were unscrupulously introduced not by priests alone but by worldly rulers, evidently unfettered by the existence of binding laws. Solomon occasionally offered the sacrifices, not on the brazen altar, but in the Court of the Temple generally.<sup>6</sup> When king Ahaz (B. C. 743—728), zealously intent upon the improvement of religious institutions, had seen, at Damascus, a new altar, he sent an exact model of it to the priest Uriah, who without hesitation reproduced the heathen fabric, placed it in the Court of the Temple, for which purpose he removed the old brazen altar to another position: the king himself sacrificed on the new structure, ordered Uriah to use it thenceforth for all offerings and libations, and

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Isai. l. 11—13; XXIX. 13; etc.; see Sect. IV.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Ki. IX. 25; see the Treatise on Priesthood, ch. V.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 7, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. 2 Chr. XXVI. 16—21.

<sup>5</sup> See Sect. XXII; comp. p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Ki. VIII. 64.

reserved to himself the decision with regard to the old altar: a Mosaic ordinance on the subject seems to have been entirely unknown.<sup>7</sup> Nay, the heights (רִמְדָּה), used for sacrifices throughout the land, were left untouched even by some of those pious kings who sincerely desired to establish a pure worship in harmony with the views of the best and most enlightened teachers, by the kings Joash, Asa, and Jehoshaphat, Amaziah, Azariah, and Jotham.<sup>8</sup> This significant fact irresistibly suggests the conclusion, that, in the age of those kings, either the prohibition of worship on heights formed no part of the Law, or the Law was so imperfectly diffused that its ordinances were little known even to theocratic kings. How completely institutions supposed to have originated in the time of Moses, and to have been enjoined by him in writing, were neglected for centuries, is manifest from that remarkable occurrence in the reign of Josiah, when "the Book of the Law"<sup>9</sup> or "the Book of the Covenant"<sup>10</sup> was "found" in the Temple, when the king learnt, with mingled surprise and consternation, the curse-laden illegality of idolatrous worship,<sup>11</sup> and when he ordered a celebration of the Feast of Passover, such as had not been kept "from the days of the Judges who judged Israel, and all the days of the kings of Israel and of the kings of Judah."<sup>12</sup> Finally, the regular pilgrimages to Jerusalem supposed to have been undertaken three times annually, were never, and in fact could never be, carried out in the manner ordained by the Pentateuch. The extraordinary sacrifices commanded by the same code could, in most cases, not be offered up in Jerusalem. Hence, there remained, for the service in the Temple, besides occasional visits of the pious from near and far, chiefly the celebration of the festivals<sup>13</sup> and the performance of the daily sacrifices by the appointed priests.

2. We can, therefore, hardly be surprised at various minor discrepancies between the sacrificial ordinances of the Pentateuch and the practice of pious leaders in later times. The Law prescribes *male* victims for burnt-offerings;<sup>14</sup> yet on an occasion of peculiar solemnity and importance,

<sup>7</sup> 2 Ki. XVI. 10—16: the Chronist takes care not to mention the new altar (2 Chr. XXVIII. 20—24).

<sup>8</sup> 1 Ki. XV. 14; XXII. 44; 2 Ki. XII. 4; XIV. 4; XV. 4, 35; comp. 1 Ki. III. 2, 3; 2 Chr. XV. 17; XX. 33; XXXIII. 17. On the discrepancy between 1 Ki. XV. 14 and 2 Chr. XIV. 2, 4; between 1 Ki. XXII. 44 and 2 Chr. XVII. 6, see Sect. XXII; on the alterations of the Books of Chronicles, *supra*.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Ki. XXII. 8, סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית.

<sup>10</sup> XXIII. 2, 21, סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית.

<sup>11</sup> XXII. 11, 13; XXIII. 4—20, 24.

<sup>12</sup> XXIII. 21. Nehemiah (VIII. 17) mentions a similar neglect of the Feast of Tabernacles from the time of Joshua down to his own. These points, together with the momentous inferences they involve, will later be examined with greater minuteness. Comp. *George, Jüd. Feste*, pp. 13 *sqq.*

<sup>13</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. I. 3, 21; IX. 25; etc.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. I. 3, 10; see Sect. VIII. 2.

the people assisted by the Levites sacrificed *cows* as holocausts.<sup>1</sup> Samuel killed a sucking lamb<sup>2</sup> for a burnt-offering,<sup>3</sup> although the lawful age was above one year old.<sup>4</sup> According to the Pentateuch, a holocaust accompanied by a bloodless offering was to be presented both morning and evening;<sup>5</sup> but in the time of Elijah, one chief daily sacrifice seems to have been performed at noon, while the morning sacrifice was not necessarily an animal, but simply a bloodless oblation;<sup>6</sup> even in the reign of Ahaz it was probably the practice to present a holocaust in the morning and a bloodless offering in the evening.<sup>7</sup> Libations consisted, in earlier times, not only of wine, but also of oil or water.<sup>8</sup> It seems to have been customary that the priests received their due portions of meat *boiled*, and not *raw*; but in the former case, they could not so easily choose the pieces at their pleasure; therefore the sons of Eli demanded the raw flesh,<sup>9</sup> as is alone lawful according to the Pentateuch.<sup>10</sup>

But in some instances, the very nature of the sacrifices is different in the Pentateuch and in history. The thank-offerings (תִּשְׁבָּחֹת) are in the Law distinctly characterised as "offerings of safety" or as "praise-offerings"; and their specific features cannot possibly be mistaken.<sup>11</sup> But in earlier times, they were, like the holocausts, employed for the confirmation of compacts and treaties, of mutual vows and solemn pledges. Thus, when the Israelites at Mizpah promised by an oath never to intermarry with the tribe of Benjamin, because it was convicted of detestable immorality, "they built there an altar, and offered up burnt-offerings and תִּשְׁבָּחֹת":<sup>12</sup> the repast connected with the latter and forming their distinctive peculiarity, was deemed a bond of union and brotherhood.<sup>13</sup> A similar meaning must no doubt be assigned to the תִּשְׁבָּחֹת which, not long before the same date, the Israelites offered at Bethel: repeatedly defeated by the Benjamites, and oppressed with bitter grief, they resolved to persevere in the just warfare, and concluding an alliance of determined and unyielding resistance, they presented "holocausts and תִּשְׁבָּחֹת".<sup>14</sup> Again, in earlier periods, תִּשְׁבָּחֹת or "safety-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. IV. 14, 15. The reason that the cows were consecrated to God because they had drawn the holy Ark (*H'iner*, Real-Wört. I. 192; *Gramberg*, Rel. Id. I. 113) is insufficient to account for a manifest contravention of the Law.

<sup>2</sup> טֹלֵא חֹלֶב.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See Sect. VIII. 3. <sup>5</sup> See Sect. XIII.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Ki. XVIII. 29; 2 Ki. III. 20.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Ki. XVI. 15. <sup>8</sup> See Sect. XII.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Sam. II. 15—17; comp. also Judg. VI. 18, 19.

<sup>10</sup> The remarks of Michaelis (Mos. R. IV. § 206) and of Hengstenberg (Auth. des Pent. II. 87, 88) are not to the purpose.

<sup>11</sup> See Sect. XIV.

<sup>12</sup> Judg. XXI. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. ver. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Judg. XX. 26. It is artificial to explain in this passage the תִּשְׁבָּחֹת as identical with עֹלֹת, since they were likewise burnt entirely (שָׁלֵם); and it is arbitrary to take the תִּשְׁבָּחֹת merely as an accessory to the עֹלֹת, and to deny them a direct relation

offerings" seem to have been customary when help or rescue was *prayed for*.<sup>15</sup> Saul, terrified at an expected attack of the Philistines, offered  $\text{דְּמִיָּצִי}$ , besides holocausts;<sup>16</sup> and so David when a pestilence raged.<sup>17</sup> Later, however, they were confined to occasions when deliverance *had been obtained* and was *thanked for*;<sup>18</sup> and thus exclusively they appear in the Levitical Law.

Again, the expiatory offerings, themselves of later adoption, obtained the development exhibited in the Pentateuch, only by gradual stages: at first, trespass-offerings ( $\text{זֶבַח עֲוֹנוֹת}$ ), generally including pecuniary restitution, were introduced, chiefly for offences connected with the rights of property; then the sin-offerings ( $\text{זֶבַח חַטֹּאת}$ ), for all transgressions inadvertently committed; but for some periods they were accompanied by a proportionate fine paid to the priests; till at last they were offered alone, and rendered more impressive by the solemnity of their ritual.<sup>19</sup>

The question, then, arises: Did Moses lay down any distinct laws with regard to religious worship? and if so, are the precepts embodied in the three middle Books of the Pentateuch traceable to his authority? If it is difficult to reply categorically to the first point, history gives an unequivocal denial to the second. It proves that, for many centuries after Moses, the Levitical ordinances were neither practised nor known; that primitive notions and institutions prevailed for protracted periods; that a long and severe struggle was fought between monotheism and pagan idolatry; till gradually and late, theocratic views conquered, and revolutionized the religious life of the nation. It is true that sacrifices were offered at all times with some fixed though simple ceremonies;<sup>20</sup> they were regarded as acts of piety and virtue; and while their neglect was denounced as wickedness and revolt,<sup>21</sup> their compulsory suspension appeared as a dire curse and visitation;<sup>22</sup> they always formed a prominent feature in the picture of perfect and godly excellence,<sup>23</sup> and

to the sad event. Comp. also Exod. XXIV. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Called by the Rabbins  $\text{חַפְלָה עַל הָעֶוֶן}$ .

<sup>17</sup> 2 Sam. XXIV. 25.

<sup>18</sup> Termed  $\text{הַדָּמָה עַל הָעֶוֶן}$ .

<sup>19</sup> See Sect. XV.

<sup>20</sup> Compare Judg. II. 5; VI. 16—21, 25—27; XIII. 16, 19; XX. 26; XXI. 4; 1 Sam. I. 3, 21; II. 13—17, 28; III. 14; VI. 14, 15; VII. 6, 9; IX. 13; X. 8; XI. 15; XIII. 9; XV. 15, 22; XVI. 3—5; XX. 6; XXI. 5—7; 2 Sam. VI. 13, 17,

18; XV. 12; XXIV. 25; 1 Ki. I. 9, 25; III. 4; VIII. 5, 63; IX. 25; X. 5; XII. 32; XIII. 1 *sqq.*; XVIII. 29; 2 Ki. III. 20; esp. 2 Ki. XVI. 13—15; Hos. V. 6; VI. 6; Ps. XX. 4; XXVII. 6; L. 8, 9; LXVI. 15; CX. 3; CXVI. 17; CXXI. 2; 1 Chr. XXIII. 31; Ezra III. 4; Sir. XXXVIII. 11; Matth. VIII. 4; Acts XXI. 26.

<sup>21</sup> Eccl. IX. 2; Isai. XLIII. 23, 24; comp. Matth. XXIII. 16.

<sup>22</sup> Comp. Hos. III. 4; Joel. I. 9, 13, 14; II. 14, 17.

<sup>23</sup> Comp. Jer. XVII. 26; XXXIII. 16, 22.

were hence expected to be most abundant in the days approaching the Messianic age.<sup>1</sup> The prophet Joel, who lived about B. C. 800, lamented that, at the time of the locust plague, "bloodless offerings and drink-offerings<sup>2</sup> were cut off from the house of the Lord, and the priests, the Lord's ministers, mourned";<sup>3</sup> and with greater vehemence still, he exclaimed, "Gird yourselves and moan, ye priests; wail, ye ministers of the altar; come, be all night in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God: for the bloodless offering and the drink-offering is withheld from the house of your God"<sup>4</sup> — which offerings, as a rule, formed the accompaniments of animal sacrifices. But it is equally certain, that even the regular sacrificial service was neglected at all times. The king Hezekiah (B. C. 728—699) commanded the priests and Levites, "Hear me, ye Levites, sanctify now yourselves, and sanctify the house of the Lord God of your fathers, and carry forth the filthiness out of the holy place: for our fathers have trespassed . . . and have turned away their faces from the habitation of the Lord . . .; also they have shut up the doors of the porch, and put out the lamps, and have not burnt incense nor offered burnt-offerings in the holy place to the God of Israel."<sup>5</sup> Even Malachi, in the time of Nehemiah, who so zealously laboured for the practical introduction of the institutions of the Pentateuch, severely complained of the general neglect of the chief sacrificial laws.<sup>6</sup> The pious and gifted teachers who occasionally arose in the nation, never ceased to inveigh against the equal and simultaneous corruption of people, priest, and prophet,<sup>7</sup> which would have been impossible, had the priests occupied the position and been charged with the functions assigned to them in the Pentateuch.

Therefore, what is natural and probable in itself, is clearly confirmed by the recorded events. The Levitical system of sacrifices is not the work of one generation, but the result of succeeding ages. Its beginnings may reach back to very early times, possibly to those of Moses; but its progress and development were slow and gradual. It could not, from its nature and end, be built up by one man, however able and energetic. It rooted in the life of the people, and was the sum of the national experience. It gathered in one focus the scattered ideas and customs that had imperceptibly spread. It converted vague aspirations into distinct notions; it proposed a principle and created a unity. This is the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the discrepancies pointed out between the Pentateuch and the historical

<sup>1</sup> Jer. XXXIII. 17, 18; Isai. XIX. 21; LVI. 7; LX. 7; see Sect. IV.

<sup>2</sup> מנחה ומסך.

<sup>3</sup> Joel I. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Joel I. 13.    <sup>5</sup> 2 Chr. XXIX. 5, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Mal. I. 7, 8, 14; comp. III. 6—10.

<sup>7</sup> See the Treatise on Priesthood, ch. II.



Books: but that conclusion derives additional force from the *fluctuations discoverable in the Pentateuch itself*. The laws which it propounds are by no means all finally and irrevocably fixed; they betray a part of that motion and spiritual growth, of which they are the result; they are in some respects indefinite, in others contradictory.

Various arrangements, as the share of the priests in the thank-offerings and in the firstborn animals, and the law of the tithes, are totally different in Deuteronomy and the three preceding Books of the Pentateuch; and they exhibit a steady extension of the privileges of the tribe of Levi, as has been specified elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

Deuteronomy prohibits the killing merely of *sacrifices* at any place but the central Sanctuary, but permits the killing of animals for *food* in all abodes; while Leviticus includes the latter also in the same prohibition.<sup>9</sup> But the former demands the celebration of the festivals, and the offering of the tithes, firstfruits, and firstborn animals, in Jerusalem,<sup>10</sup> which it supposes to be the chief seat of priestly jurisdiction:<sup>11</sup> this centralisation, if not abandoned, is not so expressly urged in Leviticus.<sup>12</sup>

In Deuteronomy, it is merely commanded to "pour out upon the earth like water" the blood of the animals slaughtered at home for private use;<sup>13</sup> while the Book of Leviticus regards blood with a religious awe so strong, that it orders even the blood of animals killed in the chase to be covered with earth.<sup>14</sup>

For a very long time, the blood of animals alone was prohibited, and not the fat.<sup>15</sup> But when the latter was, in the course of time, regarded, similarly to the blood, as a seat or principle of animal life, it was likewise deemed too holy for human consumption. However, the interdiction, involving so considerable a loss for an agricultural people, and arising as it did from the laws of public worship, was limited to the sacrificial animals, the ox, the sheep, and the goat;<sup>16</sup> and as at the time when it was made, all the clean animals were to be killed at the Sanctuary, and thus marked as offerings, its operation was practically restricted to the place of common worship: but finally it

<sup>8</sup> See the Treatise on Priesthood, ch. IV.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Lev. XVII. 3, 4; Deut. XII. 13—15. The expedient by which it has been attempted to reconcile this discrepancy, namely that the law in Leviticus treats of the period of the wanderings in the desert, that in Deuteronomy of the time of the settlement in Canaan, is untenable; for the injunction in Leviticus concludes with the

words, "this shall be a statute for ever to them throughout their generations" (ver. 7).

<sup>10</sup> Deut. XIV. 23—26; XV. 20; XVI. 5—7, 11, 15; XXVI. 2.

<sup>11</sup> XVII. 8 *sqq.*

<sup>12</sup> Comp. George, *Jüd. Feste*, pp. 38—40. <sup>13</sup> Deut. XII. 16, 29; XV. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. XVII. 13; see Sect. IX. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Deut. XII. 15, 16, 23—25.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. VII. 23—25.

was extended, like the interdiction of the blood, to "all habitations" and "all generations."<sup>1</sup>

The thank-offerings<sup>2</sup> were originally *one* class, and their flesh was uniformly allowed to be eaten both on the day of the sacrifice and the following day.<sup>3</sup> But subsequently, they were divided into praise-offerings<sup>4</sup> and vow- and voluntary offerings,<sup>5</sup> and then the consumption was, for the former or holier class, limited to the day of the sacrifice itself, while, for the latter, the original period was preserved.<sup>6</sup>

In the later legislation, the minimum of fine flour required for a cereal offering is fixed at one tenth part of an ephah, which was demanded even from the very poorest.<sup>7</sup> But it appears that originally a smaller measure was accepted; for we find that each offering of the High-priest on the day of his initiation was only half that quantity;<sup>8</sup> if at the time when the simple ritual for that solemn occasion was written,<sup>9</sup> the law or custom which demanded one tenth of an ephah, had already been established, it would certainly have been applied on an occasion of the highest importance both for the religious and social life of the nation.

It will be expected that the expiatory sacrifices, themselves revealing traces of several successive stages, exhibit fluctuation in a more than ordinary degree. We shall specify a few instances.

In one passage, simply *a young bullock*<sup>10</sup> is prescribed for expiating a transgression of the whole people;<sup>11</sup> in another, *a kid of the goats*,<sup>12</sup> to be accompanied by a burnt-offering.<sup>13</sup> How is this double divergence to be accounted for? So decided a difference in one of the most important of all theocratic commands cannot be slightly estimated. The historical principle offers again the only clue for solving the difficulty. It appears that, at first, the goat was the animal peculiarly reserved for expiatory sacrifices. For, at the time of their introduction, the principal species of clean domestic animals had, by long usage, been appropriated for the other and older sacrifices, the burnt- and thank-offerings; and yet it appeared desirable to fix a special victim for sacrifices so distinct as those of expiation. Possibly, at first, a less comely animal may even have appeared particularly appropriate for the stern and serious offerings associated with the sublimest attributes of the deity. Therefore, the earliest sin-offerings consisted of goats or sheep, both male and female,<sup>14</sup> and those killed on the Hebrew festi-

<sup>1</sup> Lev. III. 17; see Sect. IX. 10.

<sup>2</sup> זבח שלמים. <sup>3</sup> Lev. XIX. 5—8.

<sup>4</sup> זבח חודה. <sup>5</sup> נדר או נדבה.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. VII. 15—18; see Sect. XIV.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. V. 11; comp. Sect. XI.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. VI. 13.

<sup>9</sup> VI. 12—16.

<sup>10</sup> פר קדש. <sup>11</sup> Lev. IV. 13, 21.

<sup>12</sup> שעיר עזים.

<sup>13</sup> Num. XV. 22—26.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. V. 6, 15, 18, 25; IX. 3.



vals, of kids of the goat:<sup>15</sup> when king Hezekiah, after the purification of the Temple, presented a sin-offering, comprising bullocks, rams, lambs, and goats, the latter alone were distinguished by the significant ceremony of imposition of the hand, and were hence chiefly regarded as having effected the expiation.<sup>16</sup> However, the idea of atonement had long been associated with the oldest class of offerings, the holocausts; it is, therefore, intelligible that the latter were at first not discarded as a means of expiation, even after a new kind of offering had been exclusively set apart for that purpose; and hence we cannot be surprised to find burnt-offerings and sin-offerings presented jointly for remission of sins; such was the case in the second passage above referred to,<sup>17</sup> and on the principal festivals.<sup>18</sup> But later, it naturally occurred to the Levitical mind that the noblest animal was due to the noblest sacrifice; and then it was ordained that the sin-offering of the whole congregation and of its representative, the High-priest, should be a young bullock:<sup>19</sup> this arrangement recommended itself the more strongly when the theocratic system had been so far worked out as to establish a clear gradation between the whole people, the High-priest, the rulers, and the common Israelite, and when, therefore, the less valuable animals, as goats and sheep, were required as sin-offerings for the two latter sections of the community. On this principle of gradation alone we can explain the law, that, on the Day of Atonement, a goat was offered for the whole people, but a bullock for the High-priest, who required even a higher degree of purity than the people itself.<sup>20</sup>

In one passage, sin-offerings (חטאת) are prescribed for all and every case of Levitical impurity. "If a soul touch any unclean thing, whether it be a carcase of an unclean beast, or a carcase of unclean cattle, or the carcase of unclean reptiles, . . . or if he touch the uncleanness of man, whatever uncleanness it may be wherewith a man

<sup>15</sup> Num. XXVIII. 15, 22, 30; XXIX. 5, 11, 16.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Chr. XXIX. 20—24. It is not impossible that, for some time, goats one year old were offered (עז בת שנתה), Num. XV. 27; comp. VI. 14), because they are more valuable; but that later, when it was particularly desired to bring the expiatory sacrifices within the means of the humblest, an older or cheaper goat (שעירת עזים) was admitted (Lev. IV. 28): but this surmise rests on the nice discrimination between the terms עז and שעיר עזים alone

(comp. Sect. VII); we cannot therefore speak with decision. But it is certainly gratuitous to explain this difference as well as the greater one above pointed out with regard to bullock and goat, by an assumed distinction between sins of commission and sins of omission (see notes on Lev. IV. 22—35; comp. also Gramberg, Rel. Id. I. 134).

<sup>17</sup> Num. XV. 22—26.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. Sect. XIII.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. IV. 3—21.

<sup>20</sup> See notes on XVI. 5 *sqq.*

defiles himself . . . then he shall bring a female from the flock . . . for a sin-offering."<sup>1</sup> The command cannot be more comprehensive or more general. Yet, in the later legislation, the cases of impurity to be atoned by sin-offerings are very limited, and singly specified,<sup>2</sup> while for all the rest washing or bathing with water was sufficient to restore cleanness.<sup>3</sup> Evidently, then, when first sin-offerings were introduced, it was thought advisable and possible to order them for every emergency of defilement; but when this was found impracticable, the sacrifice was restricted to the principal cases; while a more convenient emblem of purification was ordained for the rest. This is a rare and remarkable kind of vacillation in the Levitical law — the abandonment of a general principle, which had been adopted in the enthusiasm of a new idea, in favour of expediency and feasibility.

At first, the blood of the expiatory sacrifices, whether sin- or trespass-offerings, was, like the blood of the holocausts, simply sprinkled "round about upon the altar."<sup>4</sup> Later, however, when the sacredness of those sacrifices, and chiefly of the sin-offerings, was enhanced, because they were considered more specially the sacrifices of the theocratic community or the theocratic citizens, a part of the blood, the proper means of atonement, was put upon the *horns* of the altar, which more prominently symbolised the presence of the deity; and in some solemn cases, not on the horns of the brazen altar in the Court, but of the golden altar in the Holy itself, and on other still more significant parts of the Sanctuary.<sup>5</sup>

In fact, the laws of the Pentateuch with regard to the sin-offerings, involve the strongest proof of their later origin; for they are so pure, so elevated, so free from worldly alloy, that they cannot possibly be placed before the barbarous and lawless times of the Judges, when even human sacrifices were performed and deemed meritorious. They presuppose so long and so earnest a religious education, that they form the termination, and not the beginning, of a spiritual career. They exhibit so immeasurable a contrast to the views and practices of the heathens, that they could only be conceived after a complete triumph over pagan theology.

One additional circumstance will complete the basis for our conclusions and inferences. It is surprising that the whole of Deuteronomy, which purports to be a recapitulation of the Law,<sup>6</sup> and inculcates anew nearly all the precepts of the preceding Books, does not mention any

<sup>1</sup> Lev. V. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Sect. XV.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. VI. 20, 21; XI. 24—25, 31—33, 40; XVII. 15, 16; etc.

<sup>4</sup> על המזבח סביר, Lev. VII. 2, 7; comp. I. 5, 11.

<sup>5</sup> See Sect. X. 7, and Comm. on VI. 17—VII. 6.

<sup>6</sup> מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה, Dent. XVII. 18.

portion of the sacrificial rituals of Leviticus, nor even indirectly refer to it. In fact, it contains nothing beyond general allusions to holocausts, thank-offerings, and free-will gifts, in the manner of Genesis and Exodus;<sup>7</sup> it has a few fundamental provisions, regarding faultlessness of the victims,<sup>8</sup> the duty of exclusively sacrificing at the central sanctuary, the dedication and offering of the firstfruits and tithes, and the prohibition of blood.<sup>9</sup> But it is silent about the Tabernacle and its service, about the daily sacrifices and the shew-bread,<sup>10</sup> and various offerings of purification.<sup>11</sup> It does not make a single mention either of sin-offerings or trespass-offerings, those specifically Hebrew sacrifices;<sup>12</sup> nor does it name any festival sacrifice, except the Pesach, although it describes the festivals themselves with fulness and with its usual eloquence.<sup>13</sup>

From all these premises we are irresistibly forced to the conclusion that the minute and complicated sacrificial legislation of Leviticus originated at a considerably later time than that of Deuteronomy; and as the Book of Deuteronomy can, from internal evidence, not have been written earlier than the seventh century before the present era, and is probably the "Book of the Law" or the "Book of the Covenant" found in the Temple during the reign of Josiah,<sup>14</sup> the sacrificial laws of Leviticus were not compiled before the Babylonian period, and came into operation in the second Temple only, after the return of the Jews from captivity.

On account of the great historical importance of this result, we shall briefly recapitulate the reasons from which it is derived.

1. The Levitical ordinances were neither known nor carried out before the exile: they were unknown in the time of the Judges, when Jephthah offered his daughter as a burnt-sacrifice with the knowledge of the whole people, and when prominent and pious leaders of the nation publicly performed priestly functions in places not hallowed by the presence of the Ark; nor in the time of David and Solomon, who, descended from Judah, on many occasions assumed the prerogatives of the Levites; nor in the time of the later kings; for Josiah (B. C. 642—611) was seized with astonishment and despair when he heard

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Deut. XVII. 6; XXVII. 6, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. XV. 21; XVII. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. XII. 5—27; XV. 19—23; XXVI. 1 *sqq.* <sup>10</sup> Exod. XXV—XXVIII.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Num. XIX.

<sup>12</sup> The word חטאת, even in the sense of *sin*, occurs in the whole of Deuteronomy but four times (IX. 18, 21, 27; XIX. 15), עשן in the meaning of *guilt* not at all.

<sup>13</sup> Deut. XVI. 9—17; XII. 26, 27; comp. Num. XXVIII. 11—31.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 35; though Gramberg (l. c. pp. 306—308) believes that it was the Book of Exodus or a part of it (comp. *ibid.* pp. 504, 522); and Hartmann (Pentat. pp. 568 *sqq.*) a code of laws compiled from the three middle Books. The sneers of Oehler (in Herz. XII. 227) do little credit to his critical tact.

"the words of the Book of the Law," the contents of which were entirely new to him;<sup>1</sup> which would have been impossible, had the precept of Deuteronomy regarding the septennial and public recital of the Law existed.<sup>2</sup>

2. The execution of those ordinances argues a degree of religious education utterly at variance with the multifarious forms of perverse idolatry to which the Hebrews were addicted up to the sixth century.

3. The priests whom history proves to have long been powerless and needy, appear in the Levitical law as men of influence and wealth; indeed even the Book of Deuteronomy represents their position as so little secured that it never ceases to make the most pathetic appeals on their behalf, and recommends their helplessness to the benevolence and charity of the other tribes.<sup>3</sup> Their ascendancy was gradual, but steady; it is impossible to believe that they would have renounced any of the privileges once obtained; it is against all evidence to assume that the Deuteronomist lowered the priestly demands "in order to adapt them to real or possible circumstances"; or that he "abandoned some of them because they were never carried out", and because he saw the necessity of greater moderation:<sup>4</sup> those demands were the ideal emanations of a theory, and they inevitably grew with the growth of the Levitical system.

4. The Deuteronomist is more lenient and less authoritative in some of the Levitical injunctions.

5. The Book of Leviticus manifests a decided progress in the depth and purity of religious notions and in the spiritual character of public worship, especially with regard to the expiatory offerings not even mentioned in Deuteronomy: it bespeaks a very matured stage in the internal history of the nation.<sup>5</sup>

6. The minuteness of the sacrificial ritual laid down in Leviticus, accords perfectly with the spirit of post-Babylonian times, and finds a faithful reflex in the thoroughly Levitical Books of Chronicles.

7. The Book of Leviticus, as a whole, cannot be placed before the sixth century, from various intrinsic reasons, among which are the exact description of the Babylonian exile and the allusion to the return of the captives.<sup>6</sup>

It must, therefore, be supposed that the sacrificial laws were

<sup>1</sup> 2 Ki. XXII. 11 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Deut. XXXI. 9—13.

<sup>3</sup> Deuter. XVIII. 1 *sqq.*; etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Gramberg*, *Rel. Id.* I. 153, 155; comp. pp. 229, 394.

<sup>5</sup> Hence the opinion that Deutero-

nomy exhibits a more advanced or purer theology (*Riehm*, *Gesetzgebung Mosis im Lande Moab*, pp. 16—22) is untenable, or requires at least material modifications.

<sup>6</sup> See the Introduction.

gradually framed on the practice customary among the Hebrews from early times and steadily modified and improved, till they assumed, in the seventh century, the form which they bear in Deuteronomy, and were ultimately, on the basis of the latter, developed into the elaborate system laid down in Leviticus.<sup>7</sup> The subject has indeed been similarly viewed by some of the acutest and most consistent critics.<sup>8</sup> The opposite opinion, which claims a higher antiquity for the middle Books, overlooks or disregards the irrefragable arguments derived from the development of the Hebrew hierarchy.<sup>9</sup> Jeremiah wrote, "Thus saith the Lord of hosts... I spoke not to your fathers nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices":<sup>10</sup> he could not possibly have used such language had he known the Books of Leviticus and Numbers, and considered them as Mosaic;<sup>11</sup> but the terms are quite compatible with the existence and diffusion of Deuteronomy; they seem to lead to the inference that, in Jeremiah's time, the complicated Levitical laws of sacrifice began to be compiled and to be forced upon the people as Divine, and that the prophet opposed them as injurious innovations calculated to impair the heart by the burden of an external service.<sup>12</sup> He indeed mentions "the Law" (הַתּוֹרָה) and its interpreters:<sup>13</sup> but his allusions refer to Deuteronomy,<sup>14</sup> and not to other Books of the Pentateuch. Yet some portions of Leviticus are most probably of earlier origin.<sup>15</sup> For it must be admitted that the author of Deuteronomy had before him, and occasionally referred to, at least the full outlines of the narrative and legislation of the three middle Books,<sup>16</sup> which manifestly formed the groundwork of his own composition.<sup>17</sup> He clearly distinguishes the

<sup>7</sup> How such expansion was possible, is clear from the instance Deuter. XXIV. 5, 9, which verses contain nothing but the general injunction to consult the priests in cases of leprosy, but which, in Leviticus, are worked out into a complex system of religious and sanitary supervision.

<sup>8</sup> As Vatke, Bohlen, George, Reuss (in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop. 2 Sect. XXIII. pp. 186, 187), a. o.

<sup>9</sup> So De Wette (Dissertatio qua Deuteronomium . . . recentioris cujusdam auctoris opus esse monstratur; Stud. und Kritik. 1837, Heft 4, pp. 933, 969; comp. George, Jüd. Feste, pp. 7 sqq.), Bleek (Stud. 1831, Heft 3, p. 506), Bähr (Symb. II. 6), Gramberg (Rel. Id. I. 153,

sqq., 307), who, however, did not fail to discover in Levit. and Num. traces of the post-Babylonian time, a. o.

<sup>10</sup> Jer. VII. 21, 22; comp. Gramberg, Rel. Id. I. 140, 143.

<sup>11</sup> It is scarcely probable that they indeed existed, but were rejected by him as unauthoritative compositions of priests (so De Wette, Beiträge, I. 185).

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Jer. VII. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Jer. II. 6; VIII. 8; XVIII. 18; comp. XI. 3, 4; XXXI. 32, 33; XXXIV. 13, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Jer. XXXIV. 19 and Deut. XV. 12. <sup>15</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Deut. IV. 5; V. 12, 16; VI. 1, 17; XX. 17; XXIV. 8, 9.

<sup>17</sup> "Priores libros noster (auctor Deuteronomii) non solum novisse et legisse,

covenant concluded at mount Horeb from that sanctioned, through Moses, in the land of Moab;<sup>1</sup> for he considers the former to have been broken by the disobedience of the Israelites in the desert, and to have therefore required a renewal and fresh confirmation, for re-constituting the Hebrews as the people of God.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, impossible to allow that "Deuteronomy — except some few later additions — is a work of reformation and occasionally even of opposition written in Judea in antagonism to the older and Ephraimitic portions of the four earlier Books,"<sup>3</sup> the promised proofs of which opinion cannot possibly overthrow the obvious relation of the fifth and the three middle Books of the Pentateuch.

For the sake of completeness, we subjoin a brief review of the objections that have been, or that might be, raised against the opinion just advocated.

It has been urged that the plan of Deuteronomy is to prescribe laws, not to the learned priests and Levites, but to the unlearned people;<sup>4</sup> and that thus the omission of the sacrificial precepts in Deuteronomy may be accounted for. However, the people were deeply concerned in being accurately informed of the times, the classes, and the modes of their offerings; above all, they had a vital interest in the ordinances of holocausts and the private expiatory offerings, which were designed to preserve the theocratic sanctity of the nation: and hence the sacrificial laws are, in Leviticus, distinctly addressed to all the Israelites,<sup>5</sup> except the enactments applying to the priests, which are aptly enjoined on them alone.<sup>6</sup>

Again, it is contended that, in the middle Books, Moses is predominantly legislator, in Deuteronomy prophet. But Deuteronomy abounds in laws, many of which cannot be compared, in importance, with the laws of sacrifices.<sup>7</sup>

Critics who assign to the compilation of the Levitical code an

sed in sinu gestasse, memoria comprehendisse, et in hoc libro scribendo tamquam exemplar sibi proposuisse videtur. Deuteronomium enim prioribus libris tamquam fundamento niti quaevis pagina docet" (*De Wette*, Opuscul. Theol. p. 160). "Est Deuteronomium epitome seu summarium priorum librorum in popularem, uti videtur, usum concinnatum simulque adhortationibus exornatum" (*ibid.* p. 167).

<sup>1</sup> Deut. XXVIII. 69; XXIX. 9—14; comp. V. 2—5, 23—31; IV. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Deut. XXVII. 9; XXVI. 16—19.

<sup>3</sup> *Geiger*, in the Zeitschr. d. deutsch-morgenländ. Gesellsch. XIX. 1865, p. 604.

<sup>4</sup> *Riehm*, Gesetzgeb. Moses im Lande Moab, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Lev. I. 2; IV. 2; VII. 29; etc.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Lev. VI. 2, 17; etc.

<sup>7</sup> Compare, moreover, the prophetic portions Exod. XXIII. 20—23; Lev. XXVI. etc.

early date, are constantly tempted to interpret the Hebrew sacrifices in a more or less grossly anthropopathic sense, so as to harmonise with the notions of primitive ages; they take them as meals placed before God; they explain the shew-bread and the daily burnt-offerings as the regular food, and the festival sacrifices as the exceptional and more splendid repasts of the Deity; while they see in the incense-offering an imitation of the eastern custom of honouring distinguished guests by fumigations.<sup>8</sup> They are therefore necessarily vague in their estimate of the Levitical system, the spirit of which they are hardly able to seize and to appreciate.<sup>9</sup>

It is true that the first author, or the Elohist, mentions Moses as the framer of the sacrificial service; but this view of the Elohist deserves no greater weight than it is intrinsically worth: he was naturally anxious to secure authority for most important ordinances; and he connected them, therefore, with an honoured name of the distant and glorified past. As it is admitted that Moses fixed in writing no sacrificial laws,<sup>10</sup> the historical records of the Hebrew commonwealth can alone assist us in tracing their origin and growth; and these records prove indisputably that there existed no settled or uniform rules of private and public worship; that all was uncertain and arbitrary; that the Levitical code was not fixed without long and doubtful combats; and that even after it had been worked out, it struggled through many generations for popular favour and acceptance. It is, therefore, too much to assert, that "on the Mosaic foundation, a sacrificial practice was formed in the course of the succeeding centuries,"<sup>11</sup> or that "it is based on an older law of sacrifices."<sup>12</sup> For during protracted periods, there was no definite foundation whatever, except the general and patriarchal usage,<sup>13</sup> which long after Moses, as the tribe of Levi gradually gained predominance, began to assume a specific or Levitical tendency. The Elohist insists upon the performance of sacrifices at the central sanctuary and by the Aaronites exclusively; hence he could not, in compiling his laws, have been guided by the practice of the Tabernacle, which admitted sacrificial acts at any place and by any Israelite of whatever tribe. Had even the slightest basis or regulation existed, or

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 7—9.

<sup>9</sup> This applies, for instance, to Knobel's remarks (Levit. p. 347): "Gewiss hat wenigstens der gebildete Hebräer im Opfer keine Speisung Jehovah's und in den Festopfern keine Festmähler für Jehovah gefunden, sondern nur gedacht, dass man Jehovah allezeit and an den Festen gesteigert zu ver-

ehren und dabei der allgemein üblichen und herkömmlichen Weise zu folgen habe."

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Knobel*, l. c. p. 348.

<sup>11</sup> *Knobel*, l. c.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 350.

<sup>13</sup> For the passages Lev. XX. 24—26; XXII. 28; XXIV. 5; contain nothing that goes beyond that sphere.



had any reliable tradition assigned the precepts to a man so revered as Moses is represented to have been, the perpetual fluctuations in nearly every point of the sacrificial service would have been impossible.

Nor is it at all necessary to suppose that because the author of the Levitical laws *attributed* them to Moses, he believed them, at least partially, to be traceable to him. Literary fictions of this kind were frequent throughout antiquity, and occur repeatedly even in the preserved fragments of Hebrew literature: almost the whole of Deuteronomy was written in the name of Moses, the Book of Daniel in that of Daniel, long after the age of these men; and the Book of Enoch boldly professes to be the work of Enoch, in the seventh generation after Adam. "The writers had absolutely no taste for genuine history and no notion of criticism; they deemed history important not for the sake of its truthfulness, but for its underlying significance; they did not, therefore, scruple to modify it for the furtherance of their objects, or to enrich it with additions."<sup>1</sup> The Levitical laws can, in no essential point, be Mosaic, because they were, in no essential point, observed centuries after Moses. Yet the composition, on the whole, carefully and skilfully upholds the historical situation. God directs the Israelites through Moses, from the Tabernacle, on Mount Sinai, or in the fields of Moab.<sup>2</sup> The offerings are invariably performed at the "Tent of Meeting."<sup>3</sup> Moses is to make estimates or valuations which were later given by the High-priest or the priests.<sup>4</sup> Some animals or parts of animals are to be burnt "without the camp".<sup>5</sup> The ashes of the altar of burnt-offering are to be taken "without the camp".<sup>6</sup> Persons affected with certain kinds of uncleanness are to stay "without the camp."<sup>7</sup> Several specified perquisites are to be allowed to "Aaron and his sons,"<sup>8</sup> who form the objects of other ordinances also.<sup>9</sup> Some laws, evidently recommended as examples for imitation in the practice of the Temple, are expressly adapted to the period of the migrations and encampment in the desert;<sup>10</sup> while others are enacted for the time of the occupation of Canaan.<sup>11</sup> The law includes detailed commands respecting the transport of the Tabernacle and its utensils,<sup>12</sup> commands which, from the time of

<sup>1</sup> *De Wette*, Beiträge, II. 405.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. I. 1; VII. 38; XXV. 1; XXVI. 46; XXVII. 34; Num. I. 1; XII. 5; XXXVI. 13.

<sup>3</sup> מִזְבֵּחַ, I. 3; III. 8, 13; IV. 7, 14; VI. 9, 23; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. V. 15, 18, 25; XXVII. 2 *sqq.*, 12, 14, 16, 23, 27; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. IV. 12, 21; XVI. 26, 27.

<sup>6</sup> IV. 12; VI. 4; etc.

<sup>7</sup> XIII. 46; XIV. 3, 5; comp. vers. 34 *sqq.*

<sup>8</sup> II. 3, 10; VI. 9; VII. 39; etc.

<sup>9</sup> I. 7, 8, 11; II. 3; III. 13; VI. 2, 7, 9, 13, 18; VIII. 9; XIII. 7, 39; etc.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. XVII. 1—6.

<sup>11</sup> XIV. 34 *sqq.*; XXV. 2 *sqq.*

<sup>12</sup> Num. III. IV.



David, entirely ceased to be applicable: because they are meant to reflect the relative position and religious character of the tribes in the author's time. The local colouring is maintained, with peculiar fidelity, in Deuteronomy. The speeches are represented to have been delivered in the east of the Jordan (בְּעֶבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן), and are particularised by the most accurate statements of time and place.<sup>13</sup> The people are on the point of crossing the river.<sup>14</sup> The possession of Canaan is made dependent on the faithful observance of the Law.<sup>15</sup> The Israelites are charged, after the conquest of the land, to pronounce the blessing on mount Gerizim, and the curse on mount Ebal,<sup>16</sup> to erect large stones and to write the Law upon them;<sup>17</sup> and in fact, the Book is throughout so composed that minds unprepared by historical research can hardly detect the fiction. But this proves nothing more than that the revisor thoughtfully designed the form and consistently carried out the disposition of the work, as might justly be expected from a man of his superior and manifest ability. Those who insist upon this circumstance as a proof of authenticity<sup>18</sup> might with equal propriety urge the general coherence in the narrative of the *Iliad* as an indisputable indication of its historical truth; and it is well known that the composition and tendencies of the Homeric books offer more than one analogy to those of the Pentateuch. We refrain, in this place, from entering into the question whether the author's expedient of assigning to Moses his own laws or those of his time, and of thus claiming for them an exceptional sanction, can be justified before the tribunal of a pure morality; it suffices to know that he pursued a lofty aim with unwavering earnestness, and that he hoped to attain it more easily by a literary artifice, which was then not uncommon.

A few remarks will complete the history of the Jewish sacrifices. As their lawful performance was, by the Pentateuch, made dependent on the existence of the Temple, they were interrupted at its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar and during the Babylonian exile. After the return of the Jews and the completion of the second Temple, they were continued with greater regularity and scrupulousness; they were even, at times, encouraged and supported by heathen kings, as Antiochus the Great, who granted to the Jews an annual sum for sacrificial animals, besides a liberal allowance of flour, wheat, and

<sup>13</sup> Deut. I. 1—5; comp. III. 20, 24; XI. 30.

<sup>14</sup> I. 7, 8; IV. 14, 22, 26; VI. 1; IX. 1; etc.

<sup>15</sup> IV. 1; VI. 18; VIII. 1; etc.; comp. however, IX. 4—7. <sup>16</sup> XI. 29.

<sup>17</sup> XXVII. 2—4; comp. *Richm*, Ge-

setzung Mos. im Lande Moab, pp. 106—116.

<sup>18</sup> *Havernick*, Einl. in das A. T. I. 2. pp. 409, 410; 472 *sqq.*; 575 *sqq.* (2nd edit.); *König*, Alttestamentliche Stud. II. 147—165; etc.

salt.<sup>1</sup> But some Syrian kings exacted a tribute for every sacrifice offered to Jehovah, till Demetrius Nicator repealed the tax.<sup>2</sup> In the time of the Maccabees, during the supremacy of the Syrian invaders, the Temple service was entirely suppressed, but restored after the defeat of Antiochus Epiphanes, to be finally discontinued when the war under Titus had ended with the destruction of the national Sanctuary. A vestige of the old sacrificial worship has been preserved among the small sect of the Samaritans alone, who at Nablous, the ancient Shechem, still offer the annual paschal sacrifice.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV. PURER NOTIONS ON SACRIFICES.

In a higher degree, perhaps, than other ceremonial observances, the rites of sacrifice were liable to be severed from motives of true morality, and thus to lose their beneficent influence. The elements of edification were encumbered and almost oppressed by outward acts and even coarse manipulations. Prayer or spontaneous confession, even if it accompanied the imposition of the hand,<sup>4</sup> could obtain neither prominence nor weight.<sup>5</sup> Sacrifices, therefore, easily became ineffectual for religious elevation; they deteriorated into a lifeless *opus operatum*; they were apt to engender that hollow and pharasaical hypocrisy which, under the studied appearance of righteousness, conceals iniquity and corruption. The Israelites were pre-eminently subject to such debasement. Irresistibly attracted by the numerous forms of superstition which surrounded them, and but rarely induced by some powerful mind to adopt the worship of Jehovah, soon again to relapse into their usual and more congenial creeds, they showed little readiness to understand the deeper import of the sacrifices: they failed to employ them either as manifestations of pious submission and gratitude, or as aids for recovering the peace and purity of their hearts. The danger of an unintelligent and mechanical service was naturally greatest in the earlier periods when the authority of public-spirited advisers was the principal and the precarious source of national instruction, because no written Law existed or was diffused to guide and to enlighten. Yet the admonitions and warnings of such noble teachers were equally incessant and impressive; and they contained the germs of a universal religion. "I desire mercy", says Hosea, "and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Ant. XII. iii. 3; see Sect. VIII. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. Antiq. XIII. iv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Comm. on Gen. pp. 332, 333; Stanley, Jewish Church, I. 513—520;

Jos. Mills, Three months in Nablus, 1865.

<sup>4</sup> See Sect. X. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. the description in Stanley, Jewish Church, II. 410.

God more than burnt-offerings." <sup>6</sup> Amos, indignantly denouncing a false service devoid of rectitude, writes, "I hate — says God — I despise your feast-days, and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies: for if you offer Me burnt-offerings, and your bloodless offerings, I will not accept them; nor will I regard the thank-offerings of your fat beasts... but let justice flow like water, and righteousness like a never-failing stream." <sup>7</sup> More emphatically still Isaiah inveighs against the profitless and sinful worship ungraced by piety. He predicts the most awful calamities "because the people honour God with their lips while their hearts are far from Him, and their fear of the Lord is a precept taught by men." <sup>8</sup> He proclaims with rising vehemence, "Of what avail is the multitude of your sacrifices? says the Lord: I am satiated with burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fattened beasts; and for the blood of bullocks, and of lambs, and of he-goats I have no desire . . . Bring Me no more oblations of falsehood; incense is an abomination to Me, the new-moons, and sabbaths, and convocation of festive meetings; I cannot bear iniquity and solemn assembly . . . And when you spread forth your hands, I hide My eyes from you: even when you multiply prayer, I do not listen: your hands are full of blood. Wash yourselves, make yourselves clean, remove your wicked deeds from My eyes, cease to do evil, learn to do good, seek justice, restrain the insolent, procure justice to the orphan, plead for the widow." <sup>9</sup> It is a maxim in Proverbs, "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination; how much more when he offers it with a deceitful mind!" <sup>10</sup>

But these and similar exhortations, however powerful, remained long unavailing; they required renewed injunction even during the latest periods of the commonwealth. In the prophecies of Jeremiah, God asks with stern reproof, "To what purpose does incense come for Me from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a distant land? your burnt-offerings are not acceptable, and your sacrifices are not pleasing to Me"; and he adds the reason, "Because you have not hearkened to My words, and have rejected My Law." <sup>11</sup> And considerably more than a century later, Malachi finds cause for bitter complaint: the sacrifices were not presented in the true spirit; avaricious priests polluted the altars by offering maimed and sick, yea even stolen animals; and God, offended and revolted, proclaims, "Who among you would close the doors, that you might not kindle fire on My altar in vain? I have no

<sup>6</sup> VI. 6; comp. VIII. 13; IX. 3, 4; XIV. 3.

<sup>9</sup> I. 11—17.

<sup>7</sup> V. 21—24; comp. IV. 4, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Prov. XXI. 27; comp. XV. 8;

<sup>8</sup> Isai. XXIX. 13, 14; comp. Eccl. V. 1; Matth. XV. 7—9.

XXVIII. 9; Eccl. IV. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Jer. VI. 19, 20; comp. XXXI. 31—33.

pleasure in you, says the Lord of hosts, and I will accept no offering at your hand."<sup>1</sup>

In the mean time, however, the notions of the deity and the true requirements of religion advanced in depth and refinement. Thoughtful men began to look upon sacrifices, as upon other ceremonials, as less and less essential; while, in the same proportion, they attached greater significance to inward piety and to a life of truth and duty. In a Psalm attributed to Asaph, God declares, "I do not reprove thee on account of thy sacrifices, for thy burnt-offerings are continually before Me; I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goats out of thy folds; for every beast of the forest is Mine, and the cattle on a thousand hills . . . If I were hungry, I would not tell thee: for the world is Mine and the fulness thereof. Do I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats? Offer to God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows to the most High: and call upon Me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me."<sup>2</sup> Another Psalm expresses more briefly the same sentiment, "I will praise the name of God with song, and will extol Him with thanksgiving: this will please the Lord better than ox or bullock with horns and hoofs;"<sup>3</sup> and similarly, "To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice;"<sup>4</sup> or "Has the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams."<sup>5</sup> In the account of the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, the chief stress is evidently laid on the frame of mind of the offerers, not on the nature of their gifts.<sup>6</sup>

Some passages go even beyond this point. "Sacrifice and offering", says a Psalmist, "Thou dost not desire, this didst Thou reveal to me; burnt-offering and sin-offering Thou dost not require. Then said I, Behold, I come with the scroll of the Book written in my heart; to do Thy will, my God, is my delight, and Thy Law is within my mind."<sup>7</sup> And again, "O Lord, open Thou my lips, and let my mouth relate Thy praise. For Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it; Thou

<sup>1</sup> l. 10; comp. vers. 7, 8, 13, 14. It is, therefore, extremely unsafe to contend, "the better feeling of consecration, and of self-dedication by way of symbol, or contrition expressed by offering, entered into the rite from at least Abraham's time, probably before" (*Rowl. Williams*, *The Hebrew Prophets*, l. p. 234), an opinion rendered more doubtful still by a comparison

with the results stated in the preceding section.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. L. 8—15; comp. *Isai.* XL. 16; see also *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 13, 14, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. LXIX. 31, 32.

<sup>4</sup> Prov. XXI. 3. <sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. XV. 22.

<sup>6</sup> See Comm. on Genes. p. 136; comp. Ps. XV. 1—5; XXIV. 3—6; L. 5—23; also *F. D. Maurice*, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*, Sermon I.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. XL. 7—9.

delightest not in burnt-offering: the sacrifices of God are a humble spirit; a humble and contrite heart, o God, Thou dost not despise."<sup>8</sup> Or, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before God the exalted? shall I come before Him with burnt-offerings, with yearling calves? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He has declared to thee, o man, what is good: and what does the Lord require of thee, but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?"<sup>9</sup> Terms like these seem almost to imply an absolute rejection of the sacrificial service, and to insist upon an internal approach to God's holiness alone. But such conclusion would be wholly unwarranted. The beautiful penitential Psalm from which we have quoted, concludes with a prayer for the restoration of Jerusalem and the Temple, "then shalt Thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt-offering and entire holocausts; then will they offer bullocks upon Thy altar."<sup>10</sup> Joel, interpreting a terrible locust plague as the Divine retribution for wickedness, indeed beautifully exhorted the people, "Rend your heart, and not your garments"; but he exhorted them also to turn to God "with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning."<sup>11</sup> Jeremiah, wrath at the intolerable callousness engendered by a false formalism, exclaimed, "Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Put your burnt-offerings to your sacrifices, and eat flesh; for I spoke not to your fathers, nor commanded them at the time when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices. But this I commanded them, saying, Obey My voice, and I will be your God, and you shall be My people; and walk you in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well to you."<sup>12</sup> But does this prove that Jeremiah entirely repudiated the sacrificial service? Nothing would be more erroneous. He elsewhere declared, "Thus says the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel; neither shall the priests, the Levites, want a man before Me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle bloodless offerings, and to perform sacrifice continually."<sup>13</sup> Or does

<sup>8</sup> Ps. LI. 17—19.    <sup>9</sup> Mic. VI. 6—8.

<sup>10</sup> Ps. LI. 20, 21. Some have attempted to prove that these verses are a later addition; but without success: the correct exposition is given by *De Wette*, *Psalmen*, p. 345; comp. also *Hitzig*, *Ps. I.* 277, 291; *Hupfeld*, *Ps. III.* 29; *Delitzsch*, *Ps. I.* 407, 408.

<sup>11</sup> Joel II. 12, 13.

<sup>12</sup> VII. 21—23; comp. vers. 3—10; III. 16, where the prophet speaks of the time when public worship will no longer be bound to the Ark of the Covenant.

<sup>13</sup> Jer. XXXIII. 17, 18; comp. XVII. 26; XXXI. 14; XXXIII. 11.

that passage at least, as has been contended,<sup>1</sup> testify to the merely *optional* character of the offerings set forth in the Levitical law? This is antecedently impossible from the simple fact that Jeremiah could not have referred to the contents of Leviticus at all, as has above been proved.<sup>2</sup> But it is also overthrown by the slightest comparison with the Levitical legislation. Optional were indeed the sacrifices and oblations voluntary from their nature, as the private holocausts, and the private thank-offerings; and herewith of course corresponds the wording of the text:<sup>3</sup> but the law of the *public* holocausts to be offered daily and on festivals, is plainly categorical;<sup>4</sup> the expiatory sacrifices are distinctly and positively commanded as indispensable instruments for restoring purity of mind or body.<sup>5</sup> The case is similar with respect to Deutero-Isaiah, the gifted and noble-minded author of the last portion of the Book of Isaiah.<sup>6</sup> In one passage, he seems to rise to the highest and most spiritual form of worship. He first addresses the pious, "Thus says the Lord, the heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool: where is the house which you could build to Me? and where is the place for My rest? For all these things has My hand made, and all these things were called into existence, speaks the Lord: but upon him will I look who is humble and lowly in mind, and who trembles at My word." Then abruptly turning to the wicked, and describing their sacrifices as abominations, because performed in iniquity, he adds, "He who kills an ox, slays a man;<sup>7</sup> he who sacrifices a lamb, strangles a dog; he who offers an oblation, offers swine's blood; he that burns incense, worships an idol."<sup>8</sup> He declares, therefore, even the lawful sacrifices presented to Jehovah really like deeds of murder and idolatry, unless proceeding from an honest and unstained mind. Yet he is far from disparaging sacrifices in general. Drawing an enthusiastic picture of the happy time when justice, and uprightness, and charity, will reign triumphant, he promises that then God will bring even strangers to His holy mountain; for, says He, "I will make them rejoice in My house of prayer; their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted on My altar; for My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations."<sup>9</sup> The compulsory suspension of sacrifices,

<sup>1</sup> See *Rashi* on *Talm.* Chul. 5a, s. v. DDD; *D. Kimchi* on Lev. I. 2 and Jer. VII. 23; *Maimon.* Mor. Neb. III. 46 (see *infra*); a. o.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. I. 2, 3, 14; II. 1; III. 1; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. VI. 1—6; XXIII. 12, 13, 18, 19, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. IV. 2, 3, 13, 14, etc.; V. 1 *sqq.*, 14 *sqq.*, 17 *sqq.*, 20 *sqq.*; etc.

<sup>6</sup> Chapt. XL. to LXVI.

<sup>7</sup> That is, acts as if he slew a man.

<sup>8</sup> LXVI. 1—3; comp. XLIII. 23, 24.

<sup>9</sup> Isai. LVI. 7; comp. LVIII. 2—10, where the uselessness of fasting without works of kindness is described with equal force and beauty; LXVI. 20; see *Gesenius* Comm. II. cc.



whether occasioned by drought and famine, or hostile invasion and oppression, was always lamented as a national disaster.<sup>10</sup> In fact, sacrifices were never omitted in descriptions of the Messianic age, when distant nations are expected to accumulate offerings to Jehovah,<sup>11</sup> and when kings will present their choicest treasures and the fatlings of their herds.<sup>12</sup> In this respect, legislators, priests, and prophets; shared the views of the bulk of the people; offerings satisfied the religious aspirations of all alike. This is admitted even by many of those who differ from our views on the relation between the Pentateuch and the ante-Babylonian prophets, and derive therefrom very heterogeneous inferences.<sup>13</sup> It may be that priests encouraged the people, from selfishness, to multiply sacrifices;<sup>14</sup> but they can least be supposed to have been, on principle, averse to ritualism, or to have outgrown it. It is, therefore, too much to say, "The whole sacrificial system to which the priests administered awakened, in the highest spirits of the Jewish Church itself, a feeling almost amounting to aversion;" and less exact still is the remark, "The contempt, the irony, the disgust expressed by the prophets at the very thought of the slaughtered victims, has a strength which must be of universal significance, and which could hardly be exceeded by the disdainful language of western philosophy or modern Puritanism."<sup>15</sup>

Yet the Levitical sacrifices have frequently been classed among the institutions permitted merely on account of the people's "hardness of heart."<sup>16</sup> They were so regarded by most of the Fathers of the Church, by Justin the Martyr, Origen, and Tertullian, by Jerome, Epiphany, and Chrysostom, by Cyrill and Theodoret,<sup>17</sup> and by several later writers,<sup>18</sup> especially the catholic theologians.<sup>19</sup> This opinion was advocated chiefly on dogmatic grounds; it was deemed inappropriate that the people

<sup>10</sup> Hos. III. 4; Joel I. 9, 13 *sqq.*; etc. comp. also Dan. VIII. 11, 12; IX. 27; XI. 31; XII. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Isai. XIX. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Isai. LX. 7; comp. Ezek. XL—XLVIII; espec. XL. 39; XLII. 13; XLIV. 29; XLV. 18—25; XLVI. 20; Zeph. III. 10; Zech. XIV. 20, 21; Mal. I. 11; III. 3, 4.

<sup>13</sup> So *Öhler*, in Herzog's Real-Encycl. XII. 226; *Delitzsch* in Drechsler's Comm. on Isai. III. 394, 385; *Philippon*, Israelitische Religionslehre, II. 193.

<sup>14</sup> *Talm.* Berach. 23; Pesach. 17.

<sup>15</sup> *Stanley*, Jewish Church, II. 424, 425. — Hengstenberg (Authent. des Pentat. II. 627) calls a similar view not unjustly, though perhaps too harshly,

"an absurd assertion"; comp. also *Drechsler*, die Unwissenschaftlichkeit im Geb. der alttest. Crit. p. 170 *sqq.*; *Küper*, Jeremias librorum sacr. interpres atque vindex, p. 49 *sqq.* — See some good remarks on the subject in *Palfrey's* Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities (Boston 1835). I. p. 240.

<sup>16</sup> Matth. XIX. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Spencer*, Legg. Ritt. Lib. III. Diss. II. ch. 1; see also *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. I. 55—95, 102, 103.

<sup>18</sup> As Petavius, Grotius, and others.

<sup>19</sup> As Bellarminus, Peccerius, Gregorius de Valencia, etc.

enlightened by revelation should have forms of public worship in common with heathens; many, therefore, depreciated the value and origin of the sacrifices, which others, looking chiefly to the Pentateuch, were inclined to represent as Divine.<sup>1</sup> But no one has more elaborately defended the view in question than Maimonides. He asserted<sup>2</sup> that Moses did not introduce, but was reluctantly compelled to retain, the sacrifices, to which the Hebrews, like all other nations, were accustomed from early ages, and which it would have been as impossible then to abolish or to prohibit, as if in his own (Maimonides') time some prophet declared, "God forbids you to pray to Him, and to fast, and to implore His help in time of need; but your worship shall wholly consist of meditation unaccompanied by any ritual" — a doctrine which no doubt all would reject, because so entirely in antagonism to their habits: although, therefore, Moses would fain have preferred leading the Israelites to religious truth by supplication, study, and discerning knowledge, he was prudently induced to use the sacrificial service as an auxiliary to enjoin the cardinal truths of the existence and unity of God, to whom alone, as the Lord of Creation, homage was due; which end he hoped materially to promote by opposing, as strikingly as possible, his ritual to that of pagan nations,<sup>3</sup> and especially by ordaining the slaughtering of animals held sacred by the Egyptians, Hindoos and others.<sup>4</sup> But nothing can be more directly opposed both to the letter and the spirit of the sacrificial code. The arguments of Maimonides, like those usually offered by him, are a perplexing combination of logical phraseology and traditional conservatism; they spin a deceptive web round the unguarded reader; they lull him, for a time, into the illusion of rational deduction; but they cannot long hide from him the conviction that the matter has not been advanced a single step; and that, at best, old errors have been classified or reduced to a specious system: they may be admired and extolled by men who consider it a gain to array prejudices in a philosophical garb, but they cannot deceive or win critical minds. Thus Maimonides refers to the principle frequently urged by him with great emphasis, that "the miracles consist in a change of the nature of existing *objects*; but that God never by a miracle changes the nature

<sup>1</sup> As Deyling (Obs. Sacr. II. 4); Budacius (Hist. Eccl. V. T. p. 143—145); Ernesti (Vindic. arbitr. div., Opusc. theol. p. 245); comp. also *Saubert*, De Sacrif. I. 1; *Carpzov*, Appar. Crit. pp. 699—705; *Oehler*, in Herzog's Real-Encyclopædie, X. pp. 616, 617; *Nägelsbach*, der Gottmensch, I. 335 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Moreh Neboch. III. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Lev. XVII. 5—7.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Fayikrah rabbah* on Lev. XVII. 3; *Michaelis*, Mos. R. § 189; *Spencer*, De Legg. Hebr. Ritt. Lib. III. Diss. 2. cap. 3; also *Hochstädter*, Religionsphilosophische Erläuterungen zur biblisch-reinen Glaubens- und Pflichtenlehre (fasc. 2), 1864, pp. 45 sqq.



of *man*"; and he continues with a long chain of syllogisms insinuating indeed by apparent analogies, but totally irrelevant to the subject. The advance from the multifarious forms of gross idolatry to the spiritualistic doctrine of one incorporeal God, is infinitely more decided than from the performance of sacrifices to their suppression: a legislator who interdicted idolatry under punishment of death and excision, would not have hesitated to disclaim sacrifices, had he deemed them objectionable; nor would he have surrounded them with sacred solemnity, had he deemed them unessential. Hence we may understand and excuse the vehemence of Nachmanides in denouncing the opinion of Maimonides as a sinful profanation of Divine behests. Yet Abarbanel<sup>5</sup> not only adopted and developed the theory of Maimonides, but, pursuing an incidental remark of the latter, he strenuously laboured to prove that several Mosaic enactments — for instance, the exclusiveness of the Temple as the place, and of the Aaronites as the ministering agents of the sacrifices — exhibit the legislator's desire to *restrict*, as much as he could venture, the custom of offerings. His observations in support of Maimonides, and in refutation of Nachmanides, however honourable to his liberality of thought, are not derived from statements of the Pentateuch, but from extraneous sources, and from his personal bias which he strives to justify by every effort of his peculiar ingenuity.<sup>6</sup>

The sacrifices form unquestionably an indispensable part, nay a main pillar of the Mosaic theology. They may indeed, in a certain sense, not incorrectly be described as a means both of religious discipline and of religious education; but the compilers of the Pentateuch thus employed them as a *παιδαγωγός* because they were convinced of their intrinsic value as instruments of grace; they would not have used them for the highest ends, had they considered them a despicable heirloom of heathen falsehood, which they would have shrunk from countenancing by injunctions meant to be of unchangeable and eternal application.

We may admit that the ceremonial law of the Pentateuch, and more especially the sacrificial system, is symbolical in its character, and that the writers, evidently men of high cultivation and of considerable power of thought, and conscious of this symbolical form which they occasionally explained, attached importance not so much to the act of offering nor to the value of the oblation, as to the piety of

<sup>5</sup> Introd. to Levit. c. IV.

<sup>6</sup> Especially unfortunate is his interpretation of 2 Chr. XXIX. 5—7, in which he does not recognise a lament

of King Hezekiah at the long neglect of the sacrificial service, but simply a complaint at the prevalence of idolatry; see p. 38.

heart thereby revealed:<sup>1</sup> but it would be erroneous to assert that they were themselves fully accustomed to abstract religious notions, which they clothed in symbols merely in accommodation to the untrained understanding of the people. We may also admit that the ceremonial law of the Pentateuch, and the emblems which it employs, are, on the whole, simple and intelligible, worthy of a monotheistic religion, not compromising its primary principles, and free from hair-splitting casuistry, as is more evident if compared with its later Talmudical development: yet it grew out of, and was fitted for, some of the earlier — though not the earliest — phases of intellectual culture; it is adapted, it may be thoughtfully and efficiently, to a modest degree of national education only; and when it claims to be final and unalterable — when it declares, "You shall neither add to it, nor take away from it"<sup>2</sup> — it becomes injurious and objectionable in the extreme. It was doubtless, for many ages, beneficial in its operation; it constantly fostered the feeling of dependance on God and His will; it helped to separate the Jews from the heathens and their customs;<sup>3</sup> it usefully occupied the senses of an untutored people; it admitted at least the possibility of disclosing to their minds the deeper ideas of religion.<sup>4</sup> But ceremonials practised after that stage, when the symbol has ceased to be one with its meaning, unable to move the soul and heart, or to occupy the intellect, are not only unjustifiable, but become a dangerous obstacle to religious worship in spirit and in truth.

It appears, therefore, that the Jewish mind possessed no aptitude to free itself from the bonds of ritualism, and to conceive a purely internal faith. Though capable of the loftiest abstractions of monotheistic doctrines, it required and seized the aid of ceremonials. So far from gradually rising above them, the Jews developed them, in the post-Biblical times, into a system unexampled in intricate minuteness, and rendered innocuous almost solely by the power of the fundamental truths of Mosaism. Occasionally, the necessity of sacrifices was disclaimed by some independent sect, excelling in simple virtue and righteousness, as the Essenes or Ebionites;<sup>5</sup> or by a class of men, who Jews by descent and education, rose to an ideal conception

<sup>1</sup> Comp., on the one hand, *O. Müller*, Proleg. pp. 110, 119, 257, 332; *Stuhr*, Die Religionssysteme des Orients, pp. 41 sqq.; *Bauer*, Die Religion des A. T. I. pp. 246, 255, 314; on the other hand, *Crenzer*, Symbol. passim; *Hengstenb.* Auth. des Pent. II. 617—623; *Bähr*, Symbol. I. 8 sqq.; *Kurtz*, Opfere.

p. 35; *Öhler* in Herzog's Real-Encycl. X. 620.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. IV. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Ephes. II. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Bauer*, Gottesdienstl. Verfass. I. 104—106.

<sup>5</sup> *Joseph.* Ant. XVIII. i. 5; comp. *Philo*, Quod omnis probus liber, c. 12 (Opp. II. 458, comp. p. 633).

of the ritual commands. Thus Philo declared,<sup>6</sup> "The mind (*νοῦς*), when without blemish and properly purified by perfect virtues, is itself the most holy sacrifice,<sup>7</sup> being entirely and in all respects pleasing to God." Jesus Sirach<sup>8</sup> taught: "He that keeps the Law, brings offerings enough;... he that requites a good turn offers fine flour, and he that gives alms sacrifices praise . . . The offering of the righteous makes the altar fat, and the sweet savour thereof is before the Most High . . . Do not think to bribe (God) with gifts, for such He will not receive; and trust not to unrighteous sacrifices; for the Lord is Judge, and with Him is no respect of person." And the apostle Paul<sup>9</sup> enjoined, "Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable, unto God, which is your reasonable service."<sup>10</sup> But such examples and doctrines either remained without abiding influence on the progress of thought among the Jews, and like a delicate branch soon withered off from the main stem; and either they helped to form other religious communities, and to impart to them vigour and vitality; or they were blended with fantastical alloy, which virtually rendered them profitless and unavailing. So the Kabbalists held, that after the advent of the true Messiah no animal sacrifice would be required, since he would himself effect all that can be hoped for by sacrifices; "the Messiah will deliver up his soul and pour it out unto death, and his blood will atone the people of the Lord."<sup>11</sup> Even in the New Testament, the ceremonial law, though rendered subordinate to piety and love, is by no means declared superfluous, much less abrogated. Jesus said, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the Law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought you to have done, and not to leave the other undone."<sup>12</sup> "The curse of the Law"<sup>13</sup> or its "yoke of bondage"<sup>14</sup> is not the scrupulous adherence to rituals, but the neglect of moral duties. "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother has ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way: first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."<sup>15</sup> Indeed Christ acknowledged the sacrifices as binding. After having healed the leper, he bid him to present the offering prescribed in the Pentateuch for

<sup>6</sup> De Victim. c. 5.

<sup>7</sup> ἡ εὐαριστάτη θυσία.

<sup>8</sup> XXXV. 1—15; comp. VII. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Rom. XII. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν; comp. Hebr. XIII. 16; 1 Petr. II. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Isai. LIII. 12; Sheloh — . XV. 10.

שני לוחות הברית — fol. 242a; see also Sommer, Theol. Sohar. p. 94.

<sup>12</sup> Ταῦτα δὲ ἔδοξε ποιῆσαι, καὶ ποῦνα μὴ ἀφείναι, Matth. XXIII. 23; Luke XI. 42.

<sup>13</sup> Galat. III. 13, κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

<sup>14</sup> Ζυγὸν δουλείας, Galat. V. 1; Acts

<sup>15</sup> Matth. V. 23, 24. •

such occasions,<sup>1</sup> and he himself took part in the ceremonies of the paschal sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> It has indeed been supposed that he was averse to offerings:<sup>3</sup> but this can neither be proved by his clearing the Temple from buyers and sellers and money-changers,<sup>4</sup> nor from his remark, "I am able to destroy the Temple of God, and to build it in three days,"<sup>5</sup> which is hardly a figure of speech to indicate the abolition of the ceremonial service and the immediate introduction of a spiritual worship; while his alledged declaration quoted from the gospel of Matthew of the Ebionites, "I am come to repeal the sacrifices, and unless you desist from sacrificing, the wrath of God will not desist from you,"<sup>6</sup> are of very questionable authority. Animal and vegetable oblations were indeed discarded by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and he declared that "it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins."<sup>7</sup> Yet he was far from renouncing the idea of offering itself; he centred his creed in the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice; he merely urged that an internal and moral relation is necessary between the guilty and the victim; that such connection does not exist between man who is responsible and the animal which is no free agent; that, therefore, the sin of the former cannot be atoned by the blood of the latter; that it can only be propitiated by the death of a being at once human and, like God, guiltless.<sup>8</sup> This may be the "spiritualisation of sacrifice;"<sup>9</sup> but even in this conception, the idea of sacrifice reveals its fundamental and irremediable defects: it belongs to an elementary stage of religious life; it flows from illusory and imperfect views of the attributes of the deity; it converts into a transcendental operation what must be a spontaneous emotion of the human heart. Nor ought it to be palliated by vague metaphors: it may be true that the notion of sacrifice is so bound up with our nature that it always manifests itself in some form; and that "no theory, religious or philosophical, dispossesses the heart of it";<sup>10</sup> but the sacrifice of self-denial and of self-conquest is different from the sacrifice offered to the Deity to secure His favour or His pardon; the former is the offspring of a true and active faith leading to ennoblement and to moral vigour; the latter, theoretically unjustifiable, may practically engender spiritual torpor and contemptible pietism. It

<sup>1</sup> Matth. VIII. 4; Mark. I. 44; Luke V. 14; comp. Acts XXI. 20, 26; XXIV. 17, 18; see Lev. XIV. 10 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Matth. XXVI. 17—20; Luke XXII. 7—15; comp. Mark. XIV. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu*, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Matth. XXI. 12, 13; Mark. XI. 15—17; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Matth. XXVI. 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Epiphanius*. *Hæreses*. XXX. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Hebr. X. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Hengstenberg*. *Opfer*, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Die Verklärung des Opfers*, *Hengstenberg*. l. c. p. 45; comp. 1 Petr. II. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *F. D. Maurice*, *Doctrine of Sacrifice*, pp. 45, 61, *et passim*; *F. P. Cobbe*, *Religious Duty*, pp. 316—323.

is, therefore, historically incorrect to say, that "sacrifices are the incarnation of prayer";<sup>11</sup> it would be more proper to define prayer as the idealisation of sacrifice. The religious sentiments may be identical in both, since every true sacrifice requires the frame of mind demanded or created by prayer, and every true prayer must involve some inward or external sacrifice; but those sentiment were naturally first embodied in a material and then in a more spiritual form.<sup>12</sup> It would, however, be superfluous to recount the arguments which reason and experience suggest against sacrifices, even if they had not been put forth by others with equal spirit and learning.<sup>13</sup>

Now Talmudical and Rabbinical writings contain indeed maxims highly creditable to their authors and the times in which they lived. "The humble-minded is by God considered to have offered all the sacrifices; for it is said, The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit."<sup>14</sup> "Sacrifices, whether great or small, are equally acceptable, provided the heart is turned to God."<sup>15</sup> "Acts of justice are more meritorious than all the sacrifices."<sup>16</sup> Or more strongly, "Unless the mind be purified, the sacrifice is useless; it may be thrown to the dogs."<sup>17</sup> "He who engages in the study of the Law, requires neither holocaust nor bloodless offering."<sup>18</sup> The words, "A day in Thy courts is better than a thousand",<sup>19</sup> were explained to mean, "God said to David, I prefer thy sitting and studying before Me to the thousands of burnt-offerings which thy son Solomon will offer on the altar."<sup>20</sup> When, after the destruction of the Temple, sacrifices became unlawful, the value of *prayer* and of absorbed devotion was more and more acknowledged and appreciated.<sup>21</sup> It was a maxim, "He who prays is considered as pious as if he built an altar and offered sacrifices upon it;"<sup>22</sup> or "prayer is deemed sacrificial

<sup>11</sup> *Hengstenb. l. c.* p. 19, evidently after Outram, "preces utique sacrificia spiritualia, etsacrificia symbolicae preces"; comp. *De Sacrif.* pp. 108, 228, 229; *Keil*, *Archäol.* I. 192; *Oehler*, l.c.; *Kurtz*, *Opfere.*, p. 37. <sup>12</sup> *Comp. Sect. X. 4.*

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, *Arnobius*, *Advers. Nat.* VII. 1—34.

<sup>14</sup> *Talm. Solah 5b*; comp. *Ps. LI. 19.*

<sup>15</sup> *Talm. Menach. 110*: אחר המרבה ואחר המסעית וכלבד שיכון לבו לשמים; comp. *Talm. Erubin 65* ("Prayer without devotion is like the body without a soul"); *Berach. 2, 3, 28, 31, 34*; *Taan. 2*; *Aboth II. 18*; *Maimon. Hilch. Teph. IV. 15*; *Orach chay. 38, 98.*

<sup>16</sup> *Talm. Succ. 49b* (העושה צדקה)

(יותר מכל הקרבנות); comp. *Sanh. 43*; *Talm. Jerus. Rosh Hash. c. I.*

<sup>17</sup> אי לא אחבר האי רוחא קרבנא לא כלום לכלבא אחסר; *Sohar.*

<sup>18</sup> *Talm. Menach. 110.*

<sup>19</sup> טוב יום בחצריך מאלף; *Ps. LXXXIV. 11.*

<sup>20</sup> *Talm. Macc. II. init.*; comp. also *Shemoth Rabbah* sect. ואחר חצוה; *Schöllgen*, *Hor. Hebr. p. 1007.*

<sup>21</sup> Comp. תצאנות חיים on *Levit. I. 1.*

<sup>22</sup> *Talm. Berach. 15*; comp. also *G. 10, 17, 32*; *Succah 45*; *Taanith 26*; *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, c. 4*; see also *Outram*, *De Sacrificiis*, pp. 234, 239, 240; *M. Duschack*, *Der bibl. Opfereultus*. in *Hilberg's Illustrirte Monatshefte* I. 462.

service";<sup>1</sup> or "he who *reads* the laws of sacrifice, will be pardoned as if he had performed the offerings;"<sup>2</sup> or "as the altar wrought atonement during the time of the Temple, so after its destruction the table."<sup>3</sup> However, all these and similar sentiments are merely echoes of the utterances of ancient prophets, and imply no more than these. The discontinuance of the sacrifices was, as in the Biblical times, mournfully deplored as a dire calamity and a punishment for heinous sins. The words of Hosea, "We will offer the sacrifices of our lips",<sup>4</sup> were interpreted to mean, "we will pay the offerings with our lips:"<sup>5</sup> prayer was regarded as a poor and unworthy substitute for sacrifice, once the most precious privilege, but then alas! no longer permitted. Offerings were declared to guarantee the preservation of heaven and earth.<sup>6</sup> Nor are they in the whole range of Talmudical literature, pronounced to be unnecessary, much less objectionable, at the Messianic time, though they would then be limited to thank-offerings: the restoration of the Temple and the restoration of the sacrificial service were deemed inseparable.<sup>7</sup> And as the Samaritans of Nablus still regularly offer the paschal lamb,<sup>8</sup> so the Jewish prayerbook abounds with fervent supplications for the advent of the time when the blood of sacrifices will again be sprinkled on the sides of the holy altar, and the priests will be reinstated in their functions. Not even the most distinguished of the Jewish scholars and philosophers of the Middle Ages, had the intellectual energy and penetration properly to estimate the value of sacrifices. Ebn Ezra<sup>9</sup> repeated, the Divine glory would indignantly have withdrawn from the earth, had the Israelites neglected the precepts of the burnt-offerings. Maimonides, though professing to consider the sacrificial ordinances of the Pentateuch merely as an expedient accommodation to deeply rooted usages,<sup>10</sup> laid it down as the first and most important rule, that the offerer must firmly believe in the force and efficacy of sacrifices;<sup>11</sup> and he bestowed the minutest care upon collecting, classifying, and expounding the endless host of

<sup>1</sup> הַחֶפְלָה נִקְרָא עֲבוּדָה; see *Vitrina*, De Synagog. Vetere, pp. 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Talm. Megill.* 31b; comp. *Yalkut chadash* 179a; שִׁלְיָהּ on Lev. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Talm. Berach.* 55a; *Chagig.* 27a.

<sup>4</sup> XIV. 3, גִּשְׁלָמָה פָּרִים שְׁפָתַי.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Ps. CXXI. 2, חֶכֶן חֶפְלָהּ; Hebr. XIII. 15, ἀνατίθεται θυσιάς αὐτίμας; see *supra*; *Talm. Berach* 26b; comp. also Prov. XV. 8; *Bähr*, Symbol. I. 476. *Heliodorus* (III.

18) mentions that a person embarrassed by his dreams, offered to Apollo "the sacrifice of a hymn" (ὑμνον ἀποθύει τῷ θεῷ).

<sup>6</sup> לְנִמְעָה שְׁמִים וְלִיסוּד אֶרֶץ קִרְבָּנוֹת, *Talm. Jer. Shekal.* 8a.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *S. Brann*, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1857, p. 254.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 50. <sup>9</sup> Comm. on Lev. i. 1.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> De Noxiis, c. III. § 10; comp. *ibid.* c. IX. § 3.



Talmudical regulations with regard to the various kinds of offerings.<sup>12</sup> Jehudah Halevi, in his elaborate work, the Book of Cusari, attempted to prove the Divine origin, and hence the eternal obligation of the oral law with its numberless expansions of the ceremonial ordinances.<sup>13</sup> Baruch Spinoza alone, trained by the philosophy of Descartes, stimulated by the astounding discoveries in astronomy and other natural sciences, and above all guided by the divine impulse of genius, penetrated to the root of religious and metaphysical questions. He boldly rose above tradition; renouncing the Rabbinical teachings of his youth, he worked out, with uncompromising consistency, a system happily combining metaphysical speculation with practical ethics. But this manful independence of thought brought him into hostile collision with his coreligionists; he was, by excommunication, repudiated as a member of their community; he exercised no influence on the development of the Synagogue, whose spirit was utterly foreign to his own. The formula of excommunication, written in Spanish, and recently re-discovered, is instructive.<sup>14</sup> It bears date the 6th day of Ab 5416 (i. e. 1656); after denouncing Spinoza's "wicked views and works", his "evil ways", his "learned heresies" and "abominable deeds", it concludes thus: "By the sentence of the angels, by the decree of the saints, we anathematise, cut off, curse, and execrate Baruch d'Espinoza . . . with the anathema wherewith Joshua anathematised Jericho . . . , and with all the curses set forth in the Law. Cursed be he by day, and cursed by night; cursed when he lies down, and cursed when he rises up; cursed when he goes out and cursed when he comes in; the Lord pardon him never; the wrath and fury of the Lord burn upon this man, and persecute him with all the maledictions of the Law. The Lord blot out his name under heaven, and separate him to his misfortune from all the tribes of Israel. And you who are faithful shall be blessed, if you take heed that no man shall speak to him, no man write to him, no man show him any kindness, no man stay under the same roof with him, no man come nigh him within four yards, no man read a book written by him." The wish of the fanatic Rabbis who composed this document — re-discovered to perpetuate their shame — has to this day been gratified within the pale of orthodox Judaism:

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *R. Mos. Majemonidae De Sacrificiis Liber*, convertit in sermon. Latin. L. de Compiègne de Veil, Lond. 1683.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. p. 7, note 23.

<sup>14</sup> It has been published, at Amsterdam, by Van Vloten, in a supple-

mentary volume to Spinoza's works, p. 290 *sqq.* See also *allgem. Zeit. des Judenthums*, 1862, p. 623; *J. Wiesner*, *Der Bann in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung auf dem Boden des Judenthums*, Leipz. 1864, p. 82; *M. Arnold*, *Essays in Criticism*, p. 253.

Spinoza "is separated from all the tribes of Israel"; if perchance he is mentioned, pious lips involuntarily whisper, "may his name be blotted out" (ימח שמו); no one "reads a book written by him"; or if it be read, it is done in no spirit of sympathy, nor even of fairness; not alone is his philosophy distorted, execrated, and reviled with a warped dogmatism for which we are prepared, but impotent attempts are made to defame his moral character — a character of such matchless beauty and purity, that it is in itself a glory to mankind second only to the immortal philosopher's intellectual greatness.<sup>1</sup> How different is the language used by Schleiermacher, the distinguished Protestant divine! his words may, as a contrast, here find a place. "Dedicate with me in reverence a lock of hair to the manes of Spinoza, the holy, the rejected. He was pervaded by the august spirit of the universe; the infinite was his beginning and his end; the universe his only and eternal love. In holy innocence and deep humility, he mirrored his own image in the imperishable world, and saw how he himself was its most loveable reflection. He was full of religion and full of the holy spirit; therefore he stands alone and unapproached, master in his teachings, but sublime above the profane school, without disciple and without privileges ... When philosophers will be religious like Spinoza, and artists pious like Novalis, then the great resurrection will be solemnised in the worlds of either."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the Jewish mind so tenaciously preserved its traditionary character and peculiarity, that even Moses Mendelssohn, though in his philosophical writings as liberal as might be expected from the contemporary of Kant and the friend of Lessing, exhibited in doctrinal matters no perceptible progress, as is manifest from his Hebrew Commentary on parts of the Old Testament; he felt it as his greatest grief and affliction to see his friend suspected of Spinozistic views; and if this suspicion did not, as his biographers say, accelerate his death, it certainly embittered the last days of his life. One of the greatest Jewish authorities of our time, the learned S. D. Luzzatto, who may well be considered the representative of his class, thus writes in one of his latest works.<sup>3</sup> "Far be it from me to

<sup>1</sup> As a proof of this we may quote a treatise of *J. B. Lehmann*, Spinoza, sein Lebensbild und seine Philosophie, Würzburg, 1864 — a compilation written in the disparaging spirit above indicated.

<sup>2</sup> *Schleiermacher*, Sämmtl. Werke, vol. I. p. 190 (comp. *Strauss*, Charakterist. und Krit. p. 167 *sqq.*); and similar opinions have been expressed

by Jacobi, Herder, Novalis, Orelli, Gfrörer, Schelling, Van Vloten, Kuno Fischer (Baruch Spinoza, Leben und Charakter, Mannh. 1865, and in the recent volume of his History of Philosophy), and many others.

<sup>3</sup> *Lezioni di Teologia Morale israelitica*, Padova, 1862 (translated into German by L. E. Igel, Czernowitz 1864), §§ 27—29.



think that the ceremonial laws are not obligatory in our age. All of them that have no connection with the Temple or the holy land, must be sacred to us at every time and in every place; that which has been commanded by God, cannot be abrogated by men: neither could such attempts be ventured without undermining public morality; for if the Law of God is, in any of its provisions, modified by human arbitrariness, it would no longer be regarded as absolutely and unchangeably binding. Nor can the ceremonial laws, which make man virtuous in more than one respect, at any time lose their salutary influence." Another contemporary Rabbi, Dr. L. Philippson, the mouthpiece of a large and more liberal section of the Jews acknowledging the absolute force of the written, but not of the oral Law, expresses himself in a similar sense. "Man is never and at no stage able to dispense with ceremonies entirely." "No religion can exist without them." "By their neglect the religion of the heart is easily forfeited, or loses immeasurably in efficacy, coherence, and power, and runs the danger of decay."<sup>4</sup> The Hebrew prophets and the Jewish doctors were able to perceive the insufficiency,<sup>5</sup> but not the superfluousness or obnoxious tendency of ceremonial worship. They discovered many fatal errors in heathen religions, and adhered with fervour to their purer convictions; but a lack of independence, the sad inheritance of their eastern origin, prevented the adoption of a rational religion, the result of matured intelligence, and solely reliable as a guide in the intricacies of life. However, the modern Jews, especially those scattered among the Teutonic nations to which they appear to have a peculiar affinity, fairly promise to pass beyond the narrow boundaries of their ancestors, and by blending the eastern and western character, to produce a new type superior to either and not unlikely to realise, though in a different manner, the proud hopes which live in their race. Spinozism counts among them not a few admirers<sup>6</sup> and even adherents.<sup>7</sup> In the prayer-books of some recent reform-sects, as that of Hamburgh and Berlin, the passages relating to sacrifices have been modified or sup-

<sup>4</sup> Religionslehre, I. 157, 158; comp. pp. 213—219; II. 192, 193; III. 111; Entwicklung der relig. Idee, Vorles. VI. and X.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Jellinek*, Einleitung in die Thora, p. 29: „Though you build seven times seven altars, and sacrifice thereon seven times seven bullocks, but violate the law of love . . . your God is an idol, an evil demon, a cruel king of

darkness"; see also *Philippson*, II. cc.; a. o.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *L. Philippson*, Baruch Spinoza, re-printed in the Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums, vol. II. pp. 195—242.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, Berthold Auerbach's translation of Spinoza's works, and the life prefixed to it; his tale "Spinoza"; etc.

It must not be urged that refined notions were not found among the multitude, but in the limited class of the wise and the enlightened. In this respect, the case was not different among the pagans and the Christians. Moreover, occasional instances or exceptions suffice to show that such improvement lay within the intellectual range of the nation. Light, therefore, was gradually diffused. Nor did the philosophers withhold their instruction and counsel within the limits of the civil life. They ridiculed the mercenary and selfish spirit in which sacrifices were frequently performed.<sup>1</sup> They described it as iniquity, rather than piety, to present valueless and contemptible offerings. They considered it disgraceful to say to the gods, "If you remember the gift bestowed upon you, and love me accordingly, I shall honour you with increased presents; for I offer them for the sake of expected reward."<sup>2</sup> They derided the frivolity so often exhibited at sacrifices, and the solemn assemblies. "If a sensible person", says Lucian, "contemplates the silliness with which the religious rites are conducted, and considers what notions most people form of the nature of the gods, and what they pray for, he must be very dejected indeed, if he is not disposed to laugh at their folly and childishness". The same writer, in an elegant and humorous description, strongly satirizes the whole of the religious ritual — the wreathing of the victim, its heart-rending cries, the music, which are "the music of the solemn act", the blood-stained hands of the priest, though pure hands only are professedly admitted to touch the sacred implements, and the other ceremonies and incidents<sup>3</sup> —; and concludes his treatise on sacrifices with the words. "It would

selves powerless to grant or to refuse any favour; it is, therefore, idle to pray or to sacrifice to them;<sup>6</sup> and he then makes Zeus say,<sup>7</sup> "He who offers to us sacrifices, does not wish to secure advantages, but merely to show his sense of obligation, and to repay in some manner the benefits he has received from us, or sometimes simply to do homage to us as to his superiors." Varro declared all sacrifices as superfluous; "the true gods", he said, "neither desire nor demand them, much less can those made of brass, clay, plaster, or marble care for them; hence no guilt is contracted by not offering sacrifices, and no favour gained by offering them."<sup>8</sup> Some remarks are indeed not unalloyed either by polytheistic elements, or by the pernicious distinction between an esoteric and an exoteric creed. Thus the Neo-Platonicians made the following division. The supreme god or the "soul of the world" (*ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχή*), being incorporeal and indivisible, stands in need of no external thing, and to him, therefore, it is best not to offer any sacrifices at all; the other gods who, consisting of body and soul, are accessible to the senses, ought to be honoured with bloodless oblations only; while the invisible spirits comprised under the name of *demons* (*δαίμονες*) might be propitiated with offerings of any kind.<sup>9</sup> Porphyry himself considered all material offerings unnecessary for the philosopher, though he strongly recommended them for the people.<sup>10</sup> But it would be easy to collect from classical writers a large number of the most unexceptionable sentiments on the true value of sacrifices; we content ourselves with quoting a few. The best sacrifice is a pure mind and a passionless soul: the bad take fruitless trouble in worshipping the gods.<sup>11</sup> It is becoming to a good man alone to sacrifice to the gods and to appeal to them by prayer, offering, and worship: but to receive gifts from a defiled person neither behoves a good man nor a god.<sup>12</sup> Wicked persons fancy that they are able to appease Jupiter with gifts and sacrifice: they lose their labour and their money; for no petition of the perjured is acceptable to him.<sup>13</sup> The citizens must keep their souls free from every baseness, for the gods do not look with favour upon the sacrifices and costly donations of the wicked, but upon the just and excellent works of the virtuous.<sup>14</sup> Let men, in their offerings, ap-

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 10, 23.

<sup>7</sup> L. c. c. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 1, "Quia, inquit (Varro), dii veri neque desiderant ea (sacrificia) neque deposcunt, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Porphy.* De Abst. II. 37; comp. 38—42, 58; *supra* p. 13; see also *Lucian*, De Sacrif. 1. <sup>10</sup> De Abst. II. 36.

<sup>11</sup> *Porphy.* De Abst. II. 61; comp. *Plat.* Legg. IV. 8 (p. 717), *μάτην περὶ θεοῖς ἡ πάλυς ἔστι πόρος τοῖς ἀσεβέσις*; *Cic.* Legg. II. 9, 16, *impium ne audeto placare donis iram deorum*.

<sup>12</sup> *Plat.* l. c. p. 716.

<sup>13</sup> *Plaut.* Rud. Prolog. 22—25.

<sup>14</sup> So Zaleucus, according to *Diod. Sic.* XII. 20.

proach with piety, but remove luxury; he who acts differently will be punished by god himself.<sup>1</sup> The deity looks on the heart or disposition (*ῥῆθος*) of the sacrificer rather than on the number of the sacrifices.<sup>2</sup> The simplest gifts, as herbs, fruits, and flour, if presented in a humble spirit, are more acceptable than the most sumptuous hecatombs.<sup>3</sup> Honouring the gods does not consist in victims however choice and resplendent with gold, but in the good and upright intention of the worshipper; the right-minded are religious with barley and porridge, but the wicked do not escape their impiety, though profusely staining the altars with blood.<sup>4</sup> The little frank-incense which accompanies the offerings, is more essential and more prized by the gods than the victims.<sup>5</sup> The plainest and least expensive vessels are the most appropriate for sacrificial ceremonies.<sup>6</sup> Man ought to offer elevation of the soul, and calm reflection free from all disturbing emotions; for this is true worship and safety.<sup>7</sup> Piety renders even the smallest gift welcome.<sup>8</sup> God neither stands in need of presents, nor is it in our power to bestow upon him any.<sup>9</sup> The celestial divinities have no pleasure in slaughtered bulls, but in good faith to be kept honestly and even without controlling witness.<sup>10</sup> Sumptuous offerings accustom men to luxury, and lead to the delusion that the deity can by presents be bribed into remission of deserved punishment; whereas the knowledge that the gods have no desire for idle gifts, but for rectitude of life, would help to make the heedless just and pious.<sup>11</sup> Those who wish to sacrifice must do so in purity.<sup>12</sup> This purity does not merely reveal itself in a clean body and clean garments, but in "a soul purified from vices", since the soul is the divinest part of man, and most akin to the deity. The temple of Epidaurus bore the inscription, "He who enters the fragrant temple must be pure; but purity is to harbour holy thoughts."<sup>13</sup> Piety is a knowledge of the proper reverence

<sup>1</sup> Pietatem adhibento, opes amovento; qui secus faxit, deus ipse vindex erit; *Cic. Legg.* II. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Porphyr.* I. c. II. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* c. 16, 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Senec.* De Benef. I. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Ovid*, Trist. II. i. 75, 76, Ut fuso taurorum sanguine centum, Sic capitur minimo turis honore deus.

<sup>6</sup> *Porphyr.* I. c. c. 17, 18; comp. also *Heliod.* X. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Porph.* I. c. II. 36; comp. 43, 60.

<sup>8</sup> *Ovid*, Fast. II. 535, 536 (Parva

petunt manes; pietas pro divite grata est Munere); *Hor.* Od. II. xvii. 32.

<sup>9</sup> *Senec.* De Benef. IV. 9, nec ille collato eget, nec nos ei quicquam conferre possumus; *Min. Fel.* 32.

<sup>10</sup> *Ovid*, Epist. XX. 181, 182, Non bove mactato caelestia numina gaudent, Sed quae praestanda est et sine teste fide.

<sup>11</sup> *Porph.* I. c. c. 60.

<sup>12</sup> *Porph.* I. c. c. 19: *δεῖ καθαρὰν τὴν ψυχὴν ἵνα θύσῃται.*

<sup>13</sup> Ἀγνὸν χρὴ νηοῖο θυώδεος ἑστῶς ἵεσθαι Ἐμπερὰ ἀγνείῃ δ' ἔστι φρονεῖν

due to the gods: the pious sacrifice to the gods and keep themselves pure; and the wise men are the only priests.<sup>14</sup>

The dialogue "Alcibiades the Second", whether the work of Plato or of some later philosopher, is an elaborate argument on the inutility of addressing to the gods special prayers, since man does not know whether, if granted, they would prove real boons. In the course of the discussion Socrates remarks, "The divine nature, I conceive, is not such as to be seduced by presents like a usurer . . . For it would be a dreadful thing indeed, if the gods looked to gifts and sacrifices, and not to the soul, if it be holy and just."<sup>15</sup> The same subject, and probably with reference to that dialogue, is treated by two of the greatest Roman satirists. The second satire of Persius, a noble rebuke of superstitious, sordid, and double-tongued prayer, contains the following lines:

"He sues for wealth: the labouring ox is slain,  
 "And frequent victims woo the god of gain!  
 "'O crown my hearth with plenty and with peace,  
 "'And give my flocks and herds a large increase!"  
 "Madman! how can he, when, from day to day,  
 "Steer after steer in offering melts away?  
 "Still he persists; and still new hopes arise,  
 "With harslet and with tripe to storm the skies:"<sup>16</sup>

and it concludes with a passage that has not unjustly been described as "not only the quintessence of sanctity, but of language:"

"No; let me bring the Immortals, what the race  
 "Of great Messala now depraved and base,  
 "On their huge charger, cannot; — bring a mind  
 "Where legal truth and moral sense are joined,  
 "And holy depths of thought exempt from stain,  
 "A bosom dyed in honour's noblest grain,  
 "Deep-dyed: with these let me approach the fane,  
 "And Heaven will hear the humble prayers I make,  
 "Though all my offering be a barley-cake."<sup>17</sup>

In a composition equally famous for soundness of views and wealth of illustration, Juvenal also<sup>18</sup> sets forth the vanity of human wishes, whether the supplication be for riches, power, and glory, or for talents and accomplishments; he then proposes the following form of prayer, as rational as it is beautiful:

*ἁγία*; comp. also *Cic. Legg. II. 8* and *10*, ad divos adeunto caste: animo videlicet, in quo sunt omnia etc.

<sup>14</sup> *Μόρον τε ἰστέας τοῖς σαρκοῖς*, *Diog. Laert. VII. 64* (119).

<sup>15</sup> *Plato, Alcib. II. 13* (p. 149); comp. *Hes. Op. 334, 335*; *Xen. Mem. I. 3*; *Paus. IX. iii. 4*; *Marc. Anton. Medit. V. 6*.

<sup>16</sup> Vers. 45—49, Gifford's translation (vers 77—84).

<sup>17</sup> Vers. 72—75: *Compositum jus fasque animo, sanctosque recessus Mentis, et incoctum generosum pectus honesto. Haec cedo ut admoveam templis et farre litabo.*

<sup>18</sup> In the tenth Satire.

“What blessings man, by his own powers, may reach.  
“The path to peace is virtue. We should see,  
“If wise, o Fortune, nought divine in thee:  
“But we have deified a name alone,  
“And fixed in heaven thy visionary throne!”

The Persians considered the reading of the Law as an offering  
ed to the divine word (Honover), and as the daily food of the s  
y consumed the whole of the sacrificial animal, convinced  
deity requires only the soul of the victim, and nothing el  
more decided than any eastern nation, the Hindoos passed occas  
within the domain of the purest spiritualism. As the principa  
ive daily sacrifices obligatory on every master of the house,  
rded the study of the Vedas, the revealed wisdom of Bramah. I  
credness and importance stood the exercise of hospitality.  
hipper was commanded to present a bloody sacrifice by slaying  
assions, as anger, covetousness, malice, and envy. He was to  
the god thus, “All my works, good or evil, I present to thee  
re of thy favour, as a burnt-offering.” Unless he loves God,  
ot expect acceptance of his gifts. Voluntary sacrifices of gratit  
ubmission are alone desired. As God cannot become richer  
ffering, he looks upon the intention, not upon the magnitude  
ift. He delights in the pigeon of the poor as much as in  
and oxen of the rich. But he regards as the choicest sacrifice  
rest of man over his evil impulses and his worldly pleasures;  
he prizes as a self-sacrifice securing the crown of heaven  
al bliss. Those who so hallow themselves, exchange worth

## V. THE HEBREW APPELLATION OF SACRIFICE AND ITS MEANING.

THE name (קָרָבָן), by which the notion of sacrifice is designated in the Old Testament, affords no clue as to its nature and significance; it is general in import and vague in its etymological sense; it means merely *something that is brought forward* or presented;<sup>7</sup> and it may hence be best rendered by the comprehensive term *offering*.<sup>8</sup> Attempts have been made to invest that name with a deeper interpretation. It has been supposed to imply "a means for effecting a close proximity<sup>9</sup> between God and the offerer",<sup>10</sup> or "a means for *bringing* the Israelites *near* God", and "an instrument of *intercession* (קָרַב) with Him";<sup>11</sup> it has hence been explained as "an agency of *sanctification* through the priests who are *near* God",<sup>12</sup> or as "a connection and a community of life with the deity."<sup>13</sup> But these and similar views have no foundation in the Hebrew Scriptures; they were suggested by preconceived theories on the nature of sacrifices; and their framers, instead of deducing the thing from the name, expounded the name from the supposed attributes of the thing — a process which the indistinctness of the former renders both easy and tempting. Such premises naturally led to untenable conclusions: the end of the Mosaic sacrifices was declared to be "that the existence or life of the soul (that is, of sin) be given up to God unto death, in order to obtain the true existence or sanctification by the union with God, who alone has true existence (יְהוָה), and therefore true holiness", so that the sacrifice is "at once a symbolical (or subjective) and sacramental (or objective) act"<sup>14</sup> — a fanciful definition devoid of probability and Biblical support.<sup>15</sup> It is true that the word קָרָבָן is exclusively used in reference to objects devoted to the

<sup>7</sup> From קָרַב to *make approach* or *to bring near*, the Hiphil of קָרַב to *be near*, to which corresponds, in the Phoenician sacrificial tablet discovered at Marseilles, עָמַם פָּנָה אֱלֹהִים *to bring before the gods* (line 13), or also יָכֵן לְמַעַלְלָהּ *to prepare for the altar* (ibid. lines 3, 7) or יָכֵן לְכֹהֲנָם *to prepare for the priests* (lines 13, 15).

<sup>8</sup> Germ. *Opfer*, also from *offerre*. Comp. Lev. I. 2, 14; II. 1, 4; III. 1, 6; Num. XXXI. 50; etc. etc. קָרְבָּה רַבָּה.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Deut. IV. 7, so *Abarbanel*, *Introd. to Levit. c. I.*

<sup>11</sup> *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 196; *S. Braun* in *Frankel's Zeitschrift*, 1857, p. 168 (*Erhebung, Annäherung*): which would

require a derivative of Hiphil rather than of Kal.

<sup>12</sup> קָרְבָּנִים or קָרְבָּיִם; see *Treatise on Priesthood*, chap. I.

<sup>13</sup> *Bähr*, l. c. p. 263. The Parians called the priests *Kabronoi* (*Bochart*, *De coloniis et sermone Phoenicum*, Lib. I. col. 413), which is supposed, by transposition of letters, to be identical with *Korbanoi*, or קָרְבָּנִים *offerers*.

<sup>14</sup> *Bähr*, l. c. pp. 211, 215, 219.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. notes on XVII. 11, ("for the life of the flesh is the blood; and I have given it to you on the altar" etc.), from which text that definition has been strangely derived.



deity for religious worship. It is, in this respect, at once the most generic and the most specific name: for on the one hand, it includes not only all classes of sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> but also sacred gifts not intended as sacrifices in the stricter sense, and not presented on the altar;<sup>2</sup> and on the other hand, it signifies the special portion of an offering devoted to God or His priests.<sup>3</sup> In fact, with a few exceptions easily to be traced and accounted for,<sup>4</sup> it occurs solely in the Third and Fourth Books of the Pentateuch: it seems, therefore, at a comparatively remote period, to have been restricted to the sphere of religion, and to have fallen into disuse with regard to secular donations.<sup>5</sup> But it implies, etymologically, nothing else but *gift* or *present*; it is so taken and expressed by most of the ancient authorities,<sup>6</sup> and the sacrifices are distinctly called *gifts*.<sup>7</sup> The literature of the old Testament exhibits

<sup>1</sup> מנחה (Lev. I. 3, 10, 14); מנחה (II. 1, 4); מנחה (III. 1, 2, 6); מנחה (VII. 13, 15); מנחה (IV. 23, 28, 32; V. 11); מנחה קנאות (Num. V. 15); מנחה (Num. IX. 7, 13); מנחה (Lev. II. 12).

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Num. VII. 3, 13, 19 *sqq.*; XXXI. 50; Neh. XIII. 31; comp. in general, Lev. I. 2; VII. 38; XXII. 27; XXVII. 9, 11; Num. XVIII. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. VII. 29; see Comm. *in loc.* In this sense, and not in that of offering generally (De Saulcy, Judas), the word מנחה is repeatedly employed on the Phoenician tablet of Marseilles (lines 3, 6, 10, 17, 18, 20, 21), or the plural מנחות on the sacrificial inscription of Carthage (the 90th of Davis' collection, line 1); see Sect. X. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ezek. XX. 28; XL. 43; Neh. XIII. 31.

<sup>5</sup> In a similar manner, the verb זבח *to kill* was gradually limited to slaughtering for the purpose of sacrifice, while שחט was used for slaying animals generally.

<sup>6</sup> Septuagint simply δῶρον (and so in the New Testament, Mark VII. 11 — κοῦβαν ὃ δίδωμι δῶρον — Matth. V. 23, 24; VIII. 4; XXIII. 18, 19; Hebr. V. 1; VIII. 3, 4; IX. 9; or προσφορά, Acts XXI. 26); Vulgate oblatio, and hence rendering מנחה קרבן oblatio sacrificii (Lev. II. 1), and מנחה promiscuously

sacrificium (II. 3) and oblatio (II. 11). Rashbam (on Levit. II. 1) explains מנחה likewise by קורבן; comp. Gen. IV. 3, 4, where מנחה (from מנח *to present*), though commonly restricted to bloodless sacrifices (see Sect. XI), is employed for sacrifice in general, both animal and vegetable, and hence rendered in the Peshito קורבן; comp. also the phrase מנחה הקריב *to offer a present* (Judg. III. 17, 18); Josephus δῶρον θεοῦ (Ant. IV. iv. 4, κοῦβαν . . . δῶρον σημαίνει); contr. Ap. I. 22 (where he, however, singularly remarks that among the oaths forbidden to the Tyrians or Phoenicians is one called κοῦβαν); and Plato, Alcibiad. II. p. 149 (θύειν τε καὶ δῶρα τελεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς). Early Christian writers by a subtlety foreign to the Hebrew Scriptures, distinguished between προσφορά (oblatio) and θυσία (sacrificium), the former consisting in a material object, the latter essentially in prayer (λόγος εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας), and offered to the eucharist, in which bread and wine are subordinate to supplication and thanksgiving (so Justin, Dial. c. 26; Apol. I. 67; comp. Steitz in Herzog's Real-Encykl. XX. 1 p. 158).

<sup>7</sup> מנחה, Num. XVIII. 11; comp. Exod. XXVIII. 38 (מנחה קרבן); Deut. XVI. 17; Ezek. XX. 26, 39.



indeed several instances of a gradual modification in the meaning of words which, in accordance with the progress of religious culture, were imperceptibly understood in a purer, more refined, or more profound sense, as is undoubtedly manifest in many anthropomorphic expressions employed with respect to God even in passages emphatically teaching His incorporeality:<sup>8</sup> but there is no evidence to prove that the word קָרָן was subjected to a similar change, that it lost its simple and primary meaning, or that it was spiritualised in harmony with later or more definite conceptions regarding sacrifices. Nor was the infusion of a new idea into the old designation necessary; for the names of the various kinds of offering conveyed, with sufficient distinctness, their specific nature or their peculiar object.<sup>9</sup> Yet this etymological meaning of the word does not justify us in tracing the character of the sacrificial laws of the *Pentateuch* to the injunction which commands the Hebrews "not to appear before the Lord empty:"<sup>10</sup> the origin of similar conceptions is separated, by a wide interval of time and spiritual advancement, from the concluding stages of the Levitical system; in fact, the injunction quoted did not at all refer to sacrifices in the stricter sense, but to the dedication of firstlings and tithes on the three great agricultural festivals.

The definition of קָרָן is therefore, clearly, a gift offered to God for any of the various religious purposes arising in the life of individuals or of the nation. It is of collateral, if not subordinate, importance that the gift was presented in a place bearing the character of holiness, and with rites typifying worship and devotion. Yet the offerings more properly so called were those presented on the altar of the common Sanctuary; it is these offerings alone that are here treated of, while other religious gifts, dedicated to the sustenance of the priests, the servants of God, or contributions destined for to the support of the Sanctuary,<sup>11</sup> are entirely excluded. And in as much as every sacrifice was connected with burning to God on the altar either the whole or a part of it, and as this was naturally considered as the gift *par excellence*, the name אֹמֶלֶךְ or *oblation made by fire* is frequently used in reference to all classes of offerings,<sup>12</sup> even to the frank-incense placed upon the shew-bread cakes, because it was burnt after their removal.<sup>13</sup>

History and experience do not countenance the numerous speculations which have been propounded on this subject. Sacrifice has

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Comm. on Genes. pp. 199, 200.

<sup>9</sup> As קָרָן חֹמֶה, קָרָן חֹמֶה, etc.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 4; comp. Kurtz, *Opfercultus*, p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *supra* p. 72, note 6.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Lev. I. 9, 13, 17; II. 2, 10, 16; III. 3, 5, 11; IV. 35; V. 12; VI. 10; etc.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. XXIV. 7; comp. *Jos. Ant.* III. x. 7.

been defined as "a devotion of the perishable and unreal existence to the eternal and absolute being";<sup>1</sup> as "a negation by which man divests himself of his subjectivity";<sup>2</sup> as a means "of proving by deed the freedom of religious life through liberation from finite limits";<sup>3</sup> or as "an agent for effecting the approach of sensual man to God, by releasing him from his material condition and elevating his nature into the sphere of the spiritual and the Divine."<sup>4</sup> Nations capable of such and similar abstractions may well be expected to have passed entirely beyond the childlike stage of sacrifices.<sup>5</sup>

## VI. GENERAL SURVEY AND CLASSIFICATION OF HEBREW SACRIFICES.

THE offerings of the Hebrews, consisting like those of most other nations, either of animals or of vegetable productions (p. 10), were divided into the *bloody* and the *bloodless* kind.<sup>6</sup> Now the sacrifice may either be designed to evince the offerer's absolute submission to the Divine sovereignty, and to acknowledge God's unlimited sway over the destinies of man; or it may be intended as an expression of gratitude for blessings enjoyed; or it may serve to implore forgiveness and ex-

<sup>1</sup> Marheinecke.

<sup>2</sup> *Hegel*, Relig. Philos. I. p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Rosenkranz*, in *Ersch und Gruber's Encyclop.* 3 Sect. IV. 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Philippson*, Comment. p. 570.

<sup>5</sup> On Baader's work "Ueber eine künstliche Theorie des Opfers oder des Cultus", see *Bähr*, Symb. II. 288 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Called זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה (Ps. XL. 7; 1 Sam. II. 29; III. 14; Isai. XIX. 21; Am. V. 25; Dan. IX. 27; comp. Jer. XVII. 26); for זֶבַח denotes every sort of bloody sacrifice, whether of quadrupeds and birds or men (comp. Deut. XII. 21; 1 Sam. I. 21; II. 15, 19; 1 Ki. XIII. 2; Ezek. XVI. 20; Ps. CVI. 37; Eccl. IX. 2), but not as has been asserted (from 1 Sam. XV. 22; Isai. I. 11; Prov. XV. 8) bloodless offerings too: as, however, the bloody sacrifices were the most frequent and the most valued class, the altar was called מזבח, even that altar which was exclusively devoted to the burning of incense (מזבח קטרת). On the sacrificial tablets of Mar-seilles and Carthage, זֶבַח occurs in

the same generic sense as in Hebrew (Mars. I. 14, 15, 17; Carth. I. 9, 10), and זֶבַח הָעֹלָה for *offerer of the sacrifice* (M. 4, 8, 10, 21; C. 2, 3; comp. *Mishn. Zebach*. XII. 3, 4), or in the combinations זֶבַח שֶׁמֶן *bloody sacrifice with oil*, or זֶבַח צֶרֶם *one with a bloodless offering* (M. 12; C. 9). Although the verb זָבַח is, in certain respects, synonymous with שָׁחַט *to slaughter* (see p. 72), the noun זֶבַח implies the sacrifice of birds also, which were not properly *slaughtered* (see Sect. XIII. 3). On the probable reason why the combination זֶבַח וְעֹלָה is frequently employed to describe the whole class of bloody sacrifices, see Sect. XV. But as the holocaust (עֹלָה) was the most frequent of the animal offerings, all oblations are occasionally comprised in the phrase עֹלָה וּמִנְחָה (Am. V. 22; Jer. XIV. 12). In Josh. XXII. 17, where עֹלָה, זֶבַח, and שְׁלָמִים are used together, שְׁלָמִים seems to be intended as the apposition or explanation of זֶבַח (comp. ver. 23, (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים)).

piation for offences committed; or lastly, it may mark the return of a state of purity after a period of uncleanness, as after the recovery from leprosy or "a running issue."<sup>7</sup> In the first case, it was a *Burnt-offering* (עֹלָה); in the second, a *Thank-offering* (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים) or *Praise-offering* (זֶבַח הַלֵּל); in the third, a *Sin-offering* (זֶבַח חַטָּאת) or a *Trespass-offering* (זֶבַח אֲשָׁם); and in the last, a *Purification-offering*.<sup>8</sup> The thank-offerings included the *Paschal Sacrifice* (זֶבַח פֶּסַח), the offering of the *firstborn* of sacrificial animals (זֶבַח בְּכֹרֹת) and of the *firstfruits* (מִנְחַת בְּכֹרִים), whether these be the new ears of corn (מִנְחַת הָעֶמֶר), or the loaves baked from the new grain (זֶבַח רֵאשִׁית), or any other vegetable production of the land (ק' רֵאשִׁית);<sup>9</sup> and to the sin-offerings may be counted the *Offering of Jealousy* presented to test a woman's conjugal fidelity (מ' זָרָה or מִנְחַת קְנָאוֹת). As a rule, the burnt-, the expiatory, and the purification-offerings were animal sacrifices, though in exceptional cases a cereal sin-offering was permitted or prescribed, while the thank-offerings could either be animals or vegetable oblations.

The animal sacrifices, regarded as pre-eminently acceptable, were generally accompanied by bloodless offerings, and in many cases also by a libation of wine or a *drink-offering* (נֶסֶךְ), varied in quantity and graduated according to the nature of the chief sacrifice. Bloodless offerings were, however, also presented alone and independently of animal sacrifices, whether for the whole people and regularly, as the *shew-bread* (לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים) consisting of twelve unleavened cakes, and the *frank-incense* burnt by the High-priest every morning and every evening on the golden altar in the Holy; or for individuals and on special occasions, as eucharistic oblations,<sup>10</sup> the offerings of the firstlings and firstfruits, the cereal sin-offering (מִנְחַת חַטָּאת), and the offering of jealousy.<sup>11</sup>

The Hebrew sacrifices may, therefore, be surveyed in the following table:

<sup>7</sup> Lev. XIV. 10 *sqq.*; XV. 14, 15, 29, 30; comp. also XII. 6—8.

<sup>8</sup> Generally, the three first divisions only are distinguished (comp. *Philo*, *De Victim.* 4 (τρία εἶδη θυσιῶν, τὸ μὲν ὀλοκαυτόν, τὸ δὲ σωτήριον, τὸ δὲ περὶ ἀμαρτίας): but it is evident that the fourth forms a separate and important class of its own.

<sup>9</sup> For the generic name is מִנְחָה, which applies both to מִנְחַת הָעֶמֶר and to מִנְחַת רֵאשִׁית (see Lev. II. 14; XXIII. 17); though מִנְחָה is naturally also used with regard to מִנְחַת הָעֶמֶר (Lev. XXIII. 10); comp. also Levit. II. 12; Deut. XXVI. 2, 10.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. II. 1—10.

<sup>11</sup> See in general Sect. XI.

- I. Burnt-offering (עֹלָה) — exclusively an animal sacrifice (זָבַח).
- II. Joy-offering (זָבַח שְׂלָמִים) — either animal or vegetable (מִנְחָה).
  1. Praise-offering (זָבַח הַתּוֹדָה or זָבַח שְׂלָמִים).
  2. Thank-offering (זָבַח שְׂלָמִים).
  3. Paschal offering (קָרְבַּן פֶּסַח).
  4. Offering of firstborn animals (קָרְבַּן בְּכוֹרוֹת).
  5. Offering of Firstfruits (מִנְחַת בְּכוֹרִים).
    - a. Offering of the first new ears of corn (מִנְחַת הָעֶמֶר).
    - b. Offering of the first new bread (קָרְבַּן רֵאשִׁית).
    - c. Offering of the firstfruits or other vegetable productions (ק' רֵאשִׁית).
- III. Expiatory offering.
  1. Sin-offering (קָרְבַּן חַטָּאת) — mainly animal.
  2. Trespass-offering (קָרְבַּן מֵזָצָה) — animal.
  3. Offering of Jealousy (מִ' זָכָר or מִנְחַת קְנָאוֹת) — vegetable.
- IV. Purification-offering — mainly animal.
  1. After childbirth.
  2. After recovery from leprosy.
  3. After recovery from a running issue.
- V. Drink-offering (נֶסֶךְ).
- VI. Shew-bread (לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים).
- VII. Incense-offering (קִטְוָה).

Besides this classification, another in Voluntary and Obligatory Sacrifices might be established: the former comprised the private holocausts, and the thank-offerings presented in consequence of a vow or as a free-will gift;<sup>1</sup> the latter, the public holocausts, the private and public praise-offerings, and the other sacrifices above enumerated.<sup>2</sup>

Again, offerings may be divided into those that were *most holy* (קָדָשִׁי קָדָשִׁים) which stood in the closest connection with the altar or the sanctuary, and those that were *less holy* (קָדָשִׁים קְלִיִּים or קָדָשִׁי). The former could only be touched by holy persons, that is, by priests,<sup>3</sup> to whose share all that was not burnt on the altar or elsewhere exclusively fell, and by whom alone — the male Aaronites — it was to be consumed,<sup>4</sup> in the holy place,<sup>5</sup> that is, in the Court of the Sanctuary,<sup>6</sup> near the brazen altar,<sup>7</sup> and of course in a state of purity:<sup>8</sup> they comprised the incense-offering and the shew-bread,<sup>9</sup> because both were

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> The distinction made by Ebn Ezra (on Lev. II. 14) that only the רֵאשִׁית is obligatory, while מִנְחָה is voluntary, is untenable; see *supra* p. 75, note 9.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. VI. 11, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. VI. 11, 22; VII. 6. Num. XVIII. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. VII. 6; X. 13; XXIV. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. VI. 9, 19. <sup>7</sup> Lev. X. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. XXII. 3—7; Num. XVIII. 11; comp. vers. 9, 10.

<sup>9</sup> Exod. XXX. 36; Lev. XXIV. 9.

presented in the Holy itself, and the other vegetable oblations<sup>10</sup> of which a part was burnt on the altar "as a memorial" before God, and which were therefore, like the shew-bread, unleavened;<sup>11</sup> the sin- and trespass-offerings,<sup>12</sup> and the holocausts,<sup>13</sup> which were invariably killed on the northern side of the altar,<sup>14</sup> and not like the thank-offerings, in whatever part of the Court.<sup>15</sup> The less holy offerings might be eaten, whether partially or completely, in any locality within the holy town, in a clean place,<sup>16</sup> by the officiating priests, their families, including their wives and daughters, and every clean member of the household,<sup>17</sup> but not by anyone else or "a stranger", not even the married daughter of a priest living in the house of her husband;<sup>18</sup> whoever partook of them inadvertently had to make increased restitution:<sup>19</sup> they were the thank-offerings,<sup>20</sup> the firstborn of clean sacrificial animals,<sup>21</sup> the firstlings of oil, wine, and corn,<sup>22</sup> and the paschal sacrifice; of the thank-offerings and the firstlings, the fat and the fat parts alone, of the paschal lamb, which was roasted entire, nothing came on the altar; the first-fruits were merely placed before that holy structure.<sup>23</sup>

Some of the offerings were presented by *individuals* exclusively, viz. the Pesach, the trespass-offering, the offering of jealousy, of the firstborn animals, of the firstfruits of vegetable productions, and of purification; others in the name of the *nation* alone, viz. the shew-bread, the incense, the offering of the first new ears of corn and of the first new bread; the rest — burnt-, praise-, thank-, sin-, and drink-offering — were presented both as private and public sacrifices.<sup>24</sup>

The Hebrew offerings had a threefold aim — they were either designed to *express* the harmony of the worshipper with God, or to *restore*, or to *preserve* it: the first end was attained by the joy-offerings, the second by the expiatory and the purification-offerings,

<sup>10</sup> Lev. II. 3, 10; VI. 10; X. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. VI. 9, 10; comp. II. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. VI. 10, 18, 22; VII. 1, 6; X. 17; XIV. 13; Num. XVIII. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Though the holocausts are nowhere expressly so called, they were certainly not, as has been supposed, merely "holy" (so *Keil*, Levit. p. 26; a. o.).

<sup>14</sup> Lev. I. 11; VI. 18; VII. 2; XIV. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Lev. III. 2, 8, 13; see Sect. X. 3. Devoted property (קדש) of whatever description was also most holy (Lev. XXVII. 28); comp., however, Num. XVIII. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. X. 14; comp. XXII. 3—7.

<sup>17</sup> Num. XVIII. 11, 13; Lev. VII. 34; X. 14, 15; Exod. XXIX. 28; Num. XVIII. 19.

<sup>18</sup> Lev. XXII. 10—13. <sup>19</sup> Lev. XXII. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Lev. XXIII. 20; Num. VI. 20; Exod. XXIX. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Num. XVIII. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Num. XVIII. 12.

<sup>23</sup> Deut. XXVI. 4, 10. Holy were also the tithes of the priests (Num. XVIII. 26—30), and the tithes of the Levites (Lev. XXVII. 30—33), but they were no offerings standing in connection with the altar.

<sup>24</sup> Comp. *Joseph. Ant.* III. ix. 1.

the third by the holocausts, the shew-bread, and the incense — a division which clearly discloses the internal nature of the various sacrifices.

## VII. ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES OFFERED.

THE animals prescribed for sacrifices, were naturally limited to those characterised in the Pentateuch as "clean" (טָהוֹר).<sup>1</sup>

Of QUADRUPEDS, therefore, the cloven-footed and the ruminants were permitted.<sup>2</sup> But among these again the Law singled out the species which formed the ordinary food of the Israelites, were most valuable to agriculturists, and therefore really involved a *sacrifice*, an act of devoted self-denial; especially as the same animals, being bred, reared, and domesticated by the worshipper, bore a close connection with his pursuits and his ordinary life, and were creatures which he "had toiled for and made grow." Hence the quadrupeds ordained for sacrifices were not beasts like the hart, the roebuck, or the fallow deer, though these were considered clean and lawful for food,<sup>3</sup> but mainly *cattle* (בְּרֵמָה),<sup>4</sup> whether from the *herd* (בָּקָר) or from the *flock* (צֹאן);<sup>5</sup> of the former class the *bullock*<sup>6</sup> and *ox*,<sup>7</sup> the *cow*<sup>8</sup> and *calves*; of the latter class, the *sheep*,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Gen. VII. 2, 3; VIII. 20; Lev. XI. 47; XIV. 4; XX. 25; Deut. XIV. 11, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XI. 3.      <sup>3</sup> Deut. XIV. 5.

<sup>4</sup> The word בְּרֵמָה comprises properly all quadrupeds, but is generally applied to the domestic or tame kinds only, while the free beasts of field or forest are termed חַיָּוָה (comp. Gen. I. 24, 25; VII. 21), or חַיָּוַת הַשָּׂדֶה (Gen. II. 19). The third but unclean class of terrestrial animals are the *reptiles* (רֶמֶס or רֶפֶץ, Gen. I. 24; VII. 21), which, together with the birds and the denizens of the water, complete the animal creation (Gen. I. 21, 24; VII. 21—23; comp. Ps. VIII. 8, 9).

<sup>5</sup> That is, either a שׂוֹר or a צֶה; for the one denotes a single piece of the herd, the other of the flock (Lev. XXII. 23, 28; XXVII. 26; Ezek. XLV. 15); therefore, both בָּקָר and שׂוֹר may be applied to פָּר and עֵגֶל (comp. Lev. XXII. 27, 28); and both פָּר and עֵגֶל are called בְּרֵמָה (Lev. IV. 3; IX. 2; 1 Sam. XIV. 32); while צֶה comprises sheep (כֶּשֶׂה) and goat (עֵז) of either sex (Exod. XII. 5; Num. XV. 11; comp. Gen. XXX.

32, like the Homeric μῆλα), both being distinguished as צֶה כְּבָשִׂים and צֶה שׂוֹר (Deut. XIV. 4). בָּקָר is also applied to either sex (comp. Gen. XXXIII. 13; Lev. III. 1; 2 Sam. XVII. 29); and the same is the case with שׂוֹר (comp. Exod. XXI. 28; XXXIV. 19; Lev. IX. 4; XXII. 27; Num. XVIII. 17; Deut. XXV. 4); hence בָּקָר and שׂוֹר are used promiscuously (comp. Exod. XXII. 1; Num. VII. 3; 1 Sam. XIV. 32, 34; XV. 3, 9). Later writers designate the class בָּקָר with בְּרֵמָה הַגְּמָלָה, the class צֹאן with בְּרֵמָה הַדֶּקָה.

<sup>6</sup> פָּר בְּרֵמָה or פָּר בָּקָר (Lev. IV. 3, 14) or פָּר הַשׂוֹר (Judg. VI. 25).

<sup>7</sup> שׂוֹר, see *supra* note 5; comp. Ezra VI. 9, 17; or poetically שׂוֹר (Ps. XXII. 13; L. 13; etc.), or שׂוֹר (Deut. VII. 13; XXVIII. 4; Isai. XXX. 24; Ps. VIII. 8; Prov. XIV. 4), or שׂוֹר (Ps. CXLIV. 14). In the Phœnician language שׂוֹר is the ordinary name for bullock (*Phœl. Sympos. IX. ii. 3*), and it occurs on the sacrificial tablet of Marseilles (line 3).

<sup>8</sup> פָּרָה, Num. XIX. 2.

<sup>9</sup> עֵגֶל or עֵגֶל בָּקָר (Lev. IX. 2, 3),

male<sup>10</sup> or female,<sup>11</sup> the ram<sup>12</sup> and the lamb,<sup>13</sup> the goat,<sup>14</sup> male<sup>15</sup> or female,<sup>16</sup> and the kid of the goats.<sup>17</sup>

Of FOWLS (עוף), turtle-doves (תורים) alone and young pigeons<sup>18</sup> were to be offered;<sup>19</sup> not only because, as Philo observes,<sup>20</sup> the pigeon

or עגלה or עגל (Gen. XV. 9; Deut. XXI. 3; Judg. XIV. 18; 1 Sam. XVI. 2; Hos. X. 11; Isai. VII. 21; Jer. L. 11), or פרה falling (2 Sam. VI. 13; 1 Ki. I. 9; Isai. XI. 6; etc.). It appears that the calf (עגל or עגלה) was properly so called during the first year only (comp. Lev. IX. 3; Mic. VI. 6); and that it became bullock or cow (פר, פרה) when its horns grew strong and conspicuous (comp. Ps. LXIX. 32; Job XXI. 10; Num. XIX. 2), or according to Rabbinical tradition, after the completion of the third year (comp. *Maimonid.* Yad Chazakah Hilch. Par. Adum. I. 1; De Sacrif. I. 14); yet עגלה is used of a cow three years old (Gen. XV. 9) yielding milk (Isai. VII. 21), and fit for ploughing and threshing (Judg. XIV. 18; Hos. X. 11; Jer. L. 11); and עגל even of a bullock seven years old (Judg. VI. 25; comp. *Aristot.* Hist. An. VI. 21).

<sup>10</sup> כשב or כִּבְשָׁ, Lev. I. 10; III. 7; IV. 32: the כשב is, in age, between the טלה and איל, or about one year old; comp. *Hom.* Od. IX. 221, 222, *χωρίς μὲν πρόγενοι, χωρίς δὲ μετασσαι, χωρίς δ' αὖθ' ἔρσαι*; and Kimchi, "it is called כשב if one year old, and איל if older."

<sup>11</sup> כִּבְשָׁה or כִּבְשָׁה (Lev. V. 6; XIV. 10; 2 Sam. XII. 3) or עז (Gen. XXXI. 38; XXXII. 15; Is. LIII. 7; Cant. VI. 6).

<sup>12</sup> איל; Gen. XXII. 13; Lev. V. 15; etc.

<sup>13</sup> שֶׁה, Gen. XXII. 7, 8; Is. XLIII. 23, also the sucking lamb (טלה נזקק), 1 Sam. VII. 9) up to the fourth month (comp. Is. XL. 11).

<sup>14</sup> עז Lev. I. 10; III. 12; etc.

<sup>15</sup> שְׁעִיר (Lev. XVI. 9, 10) or שְׁעִיר עִזִּים (Lev. IV. 23; comp. *Ezra.* VI. 17), prop. the hairy or hirsute (Gen. XXVII.

11; comp. *hircus* and *hirtus*, *hirsutus*), that is, the older and therefore longer-haired animal, never killed for food (for Joseph's brothers did not slaughter the שְׁעִיר עִזִּים for the purpose of eating it, Gen. XXXVII. 31), and therefore never employed for burnt- or thank-offerings, which were "the food" of the Lord (p. 7), but only for sin-offerings (see *infra*); or עֵזָה (prop. ready, vigorous), the younger and stronger animal (Arab. عتو, *Freytag*, Lex. Arab. III. 103) employed for breeding (Gen. XXXI. 10, 12) and killed for food (Deut. XXXII. 14; Jer. LI. 40), and hence, like the bull, the ram, and the lamb, presented as burnt- and thank-offerings (Num. VII. 17, 23, 29 *sqq.*; Isai. I. 11; XXXIV. 6; Ezek. XXXIX. 18; Ps. L. 9, 13; LXVI. 15); therefore, the princes and chiefs of the people are called עֹזֵהִים (Isai. XIV. 9; Zechar. X. 3); the word is most likely identical with תִּישׁ (properly the pushing or goring animal; Gen. XXX. 35; XXXII. 15; Ps. XXX. 31; 2 Chr. XVII. 11). That שְׁעִיר and עֵזָה are distinct from each other, is evident from Num. VII. 16 and 17, 22 and 23 (comp. *Bochart*, *Hieroz.* II. pp. 640—649), but the difference is nearly the reverse of that stated by Kimchi (*Seph. Hashar.* sub עֹזֵהִים): הַגִּזְלִים יִקְרָאוּ עֹזֵהִים וְהַחֲשִׁים וְהַקִּטְנִים יִקְרָאוּ שְׁעִירִים.

<sup>16</sup> שְׁעִירָה עִזִּים (Lev. IV. 29; V. 6); also עז simply (Num. XV. 27).

<sup>17</sup> גְּרִי עִזִּים (Judg. VI. 19; XIII. 19; comp. *Exod.* XXIII. 19).

<sup>18</sup> תִּישׁ or תִּישִׁים (Gen. XV. 9).

<sup>19</sup> On תִּישִׁים mentioned in Lev. XIV. 4, whether meaning pigeons or any other kind of clean birds, see notes *in loc.*

<sup>20</sup> *De Victim.* c. 1.



rable, they were indeed in exceptional cases admitted as hol-  
 sts and sin-offerings,<sup>7</sup> but they were unlawful for thank- or prais-  
 ings, and could never be presented as a public sacrifice. Yet  
 large numbers were they constantly required, especially by wom-  
 had to offer them in all cases of impurity, issue of blood, and  
 birth,<sup>8</sup> that they sometimes rose to a very high price, and even  
 pelled the adoption of sacrificial regulations of less stringency  
 were, and are still, very rare in Palestine, and are not menti-  
 in the Old Testament.<sup>10</sup> Cocks and hens are supposed to have been  
 ted because they seek for food in dunghills, and might therefore  
 olluted by unclean insects or reptiles,<sup>11</sup> or because they were not  
 ed as food;<sup>12</sup> but more probably because, at the time of the com-  
 ion of Leviticus, they were not yet domesticated in Palestine; they  
 in fact, never alluded to in the Hebrew Scriptures;<sup>13</sup> they do not  
 to have been common in western Asia before the Persian period

omp. *Bochart*, Hieroz. II. pp.  
 5.

omp. Isai. LX. 8; 2 Ki. VI. 25.  
 rek. VII. 16; Jer. XLVIII. 26;  
 II. 14; Ps. XI. 1; John II. 14;  
*Bochart*, l. c. II. pp. 17—19.

omp. *Joseph*. Bell. Jud. V. iv. 4.  
 α πελαῖδων ἡμίφων; *Euseb.*  
 Ev. VIII. 14 (ἀμύχανον τι-  
 ῖδων πλῆθος); etc.; comp. *Ro-*  
 II. on Levit. I. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Kerith. I. 7; Bab.  
 Bathr. II. 5; Bab. Kam. VII. 7.

<sup>10</sup> דִּמְיָדָא in 1 Ki. V. 3 is of uncer-  
 tain meaning (comp. *Bochart*, Hieroz.  
 II. 127—135; *Gesen.* Thesaur. p. 246  
*Fürst*, Lex. p. 216); in the Talmud geese  
 are called דִּמְיָדָא or דִּמְיָדָא (Zebach. 70a  
 Gittin 73a, etc.). The assertion of  
 Michaelis that the goose is include  
 in the list of the forbidden birds (Lev  
 XI. 13—19) has no other foundation



but they are repeatedly alluded to in the New Testament,<sup>14</sup> and appear extremely frequent in the Talmudical period.<sup>15</sup>

*Fishes* were not at all accepted as sacrifices, evidently because they multiply freely in the water, without the care and control of man; not, as has been contended, because they belong to a very low class in the animal creation;<sup>16</sup> or because they have no heart;<sup>17</sup> or did not yet, in the time of Moses, form a favourite or appreciated article of food(l);<sup>18</sup> or can but rarely be brought to the altar alive;<sup>19</sup> or because their flesh, supposed to be weak and engendering effeminacy,<sup>20</sup> was deemed unworthy of the Deity.<sup>21</sup>

The significance of all these restrictions is manifest: the Law demanded for sacrifices not merely the tamest animals<sup>22</sup> and such as were most readily at hand,<sup>23</sup> but those which, at the same time, reminded the worshippers of their daily labour, of their dependence on Him who had allowed it to prosper, and of their deep obligations to His unceasing beneficence. Although the stag and the deer, when kept and bred, were unquestionably the property of individuals, they could, as a species, not be claimed by legal owners; and might well be regarded, even if not presented on the altar, as belonging to God, the Lord of nature: "I will take no bullock, says God, out of thy house, nor he-goats out of thy folds; for every beast of the forest is Mine, and the cattle upon thousands of hills."<sup>24</sup> Not all the productions of the land, nor all the articles of food, were demanded, but those only which man had made his own by honest exertion and watchful care. The oblations were indeed to represent the property and sustenance, but also the active life and energy of the people. They were a partial restitution of the blessings which God had mercifully vouchsafed to the offerer;<sup>25</sup> they impressed the seal of religion upon his gain and the

<sup>14</sup> Matth. XXVI. 34; Mark XIV. 30; Luke XIII. 34; XXII. 34, etc.; comp. *Bochart*, *Hicroz.* II. 109—126; *Winer*, *Real-Wört.* I. 515.

<sup>15</sup> In the Talmud, the cock is called תרנגול or תרנגולא, שכו, נרגל, and גבר; the hen תרנגולת, גברית, or סכוח; comp. *Otho*, *Lexic. Rabbin.* I. 256 sqq.; *Lewysohn*, *Zoolog. des Talm.* p. 194.

<sup>16</sup> Philo (*De Mund. Opif.* c. 21) calls them *καρὰ ἄφρονα*.

<sup>17</sup> *Vegetus*, *De natatilibus ad aram Jehovahae non factis*.

<sup>18</sup> *Bauer*, *Gottesd. Verf.* I. 112; *Rosenm.* *Excurs. I.* in *Levit.* p. 193; comp. *Hom.* *Od.* IV. 368; XII. 331; etc.

<sup>19</sup> *Cornelius a Lapide* on *Levit.* I. 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Plato*, *Polit.* III. 13 (404); *Corn. a Lapid.* I. c. (adde pisces, quia humore et semine abundant, symbolum esse ignaviae et luxuriae).

<sup>21</sup> Comp. *Plut.* *Symp.* VIII. 8; comp. *Winer*, *Real-Wört.* I. 374.

<sup>22</sup> Philo (*De Victim.* 1) *ἡμερώταται καὶ χυρροθίσταται*; comp. *Theodoret.* *Quaest. in Lev.* I.

<sup>23</sup> Comp. *Midr. Rabb.* 197b; *Bamidbar* 277a; *Aharban.* *Introd.* to *Levit.* c. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Ps.* L. 9, 10; comp. *Isai.* XL. 16.

<sup>25</sup> Comp. *Deut.* XVI. 17; XXVI. 10; *Hos.* IX. 4.

produce of his work; they hallowed his life, for the maintenance of which that gain was destined.<sup>1</sup>

But though this conception appears obvious, the ordinances in respect to the sacrificial animals have frequently been explained in a manner both so fantastical and so foreign to the spirit of the Pentateuch, that a refutation is scarcely required. It has been supposed that such animals were appointed which heathens held sacred or worshipped, and which the Hebrews were therefore to be accustomed to slaughter: but there is scarcely an animal which was not so revered in the ancient world; and the Levitical law does not systematically carry out the principle of opposition to pagan rites or notions.<sup>2</sup> More objectionable still than this opinion, which has at least an historical tendency, is the *typical* view. It was asserted that the bullock, the sheep, and the goat, valuable in the order mentioned, were designed to recall the memory of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaak, and Jacob, who present the same gradation of excellence and virtue;<sup>3</sup> while the turtle-dove and the pigeon were symbols of Moses and Aaron.<sup>4</sup> By some, those animals were regarded as emblems of the people of Israel itself.<sup>5</sup> Others contended that the bullock was chosen because it appeared most suitable to typify the power of Christ and of his work, the lamb his innocence, the goat his appearance as a sinner, the pigeon his gentleness, the turtle-dove his intimate relationship with God, the oil and wine his blood, and the flour his flesh and sacrifice, or his obedience manifesting itself in good works.<sup>6</sup> But these explanations, trifling and playful, are well calculated to reveal the baseless fallacy of all typical theories.<sup>7</sup>

Now the value of the victim was generally proportionate to the dignity or importance of the occasion. The noblest sacrifice was that of the *bullock* (בָּקָר), which was so considered also by the Greeks<sup>8</sup> and Romans,<sup>9</sup> the Phoenicians and Carthagi-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Kertiz, *Opfercultus*, pp. 39—41; Keil, *Archäol.* I. 197—203.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Sect. IX. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Gen. XVIII. 7; XXII. 13; XXVII. 9.

<sup>4</sup> So *Abarbanel*, *Introd.* to Lev. c. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Hos. IV. 16; X. 11; Isai. XLVIII. 17; L. 6, 17; Ezek. XXXIV. 20, 31; Cant. II. 14; etc.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Corn. a Lap.* on Lev. I. 2 and II. 1; *Michaelis*, *Typische Gottesgelahrtheit*, p. 85; comp. *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 315.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Sect. IX. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Hence βουβουλείν and βουβουλεύειν were used to express sumptuous splendour (*Erasm. Adag.* 2150, p. 720, "Divitium enim est vel regum potius, boves immolare").

<sup>9</sup> It was the *victima maxima* (*Virg. Georg.* II. 146) or "victimae opimae et laudatissima deorum placatio" (*Plin. H. N.* VIII. 45 or 70); comp. *Varro*, *De Re Rust.* II. 5 ("nam bos in pecuaria maxima debet esse auctoritate, praesertim in Italia, quae a bubus nomen habere sit existimata", etc.); *Columella*,

nians,<sup>10</sup> the Egyptians and Persians,<sup>11</sup> who offered it, on solemn opportunities, to their principal deities, to Zeus, to Isis and Osiris, to Baal and the Sun. It formed the *burnt-offering* of the whole nation on the days of the new-moon and on the high festivals,<sup>12</sup> and for inadvertent transgressions;<sup>13</sup> of the chiefs of the people at the consecration of the Tabernacle;<sup>14</sup> of the Levites at their initiation;<sup>15</sup> and of private individuals on all momentous emergencies.<sup>16</sup> It was the *sin-offering* for the whole theocratic community, or for its representative, the High-priest;<sup>17</sup> for the priests at the inauguration in their solemn functions,<sup>18</sup> and for the High-priest when, on the Day of Atonement, he implored the pardon of God for his sins and those of his house;<sup>19</sup> while Aaron, when actually entering upon his pontifical duties, offered a young calf.<sup>20</sup> It was even chosen for *thank-offerings* in cases of peculiar joyfulness.<sup>21</sup>

Next in value and estimation stood the *ram* (אֵיל), which, like the bullock, was the type of strength and boldness.<sup>22</sup> It was presented as a *holocaust* or a *thank-offering* by the whole people,<sup>23</sup> or its chiefs;<sup>24</sup> by the High-priest or an ordinary priest,<sup>25</sup> and by the God-devoted Nazarite;<sup>26</sup> but never by a common Hebrew; and as it was primitively employed for a medium of exchange and barter,<sup>27</sup> it was the ordinary animal for the *trespass-offering* originally instituted to expiate violation of the rights of property.<sup>28</sup>

Goats were prized less highly and deemed less palatable than even sheep.<sup>29</sup> Yet a *kid of the goats* (סְעִיר עִזִּים) was the special victim for *sin-offerings*, partly because the chief species of cattle had long been appropriated to the other sacrifices when the expiatory offerings were

De Re Rust. VI. Praef. ("nec dubium quin . . . ceteras pecudes bos honore superare debeat . . . quod laboriosissimus adhuc hominis socius in agricultura", etc.).

<sup>10</sup> *Phil. Symp.* IX. ii. 3. ("they assign to the bullock the very first place among the necessities of life"); *Lucian*, *Dea Syr.* c. 54; *Herodian.* V. 5; *Ach. Tat.* Am. II. 15; *Nov. Opserw.* p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> *Xen. Cyr.* VIII. iii. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Num. XXVIII. 11, 19, 27, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Num. XV. 24. <sup>14</sup> Num. VIII. 12 sqq.

<sup>15</sup> Num. VIII. 12.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. I. 3, etc.; see Sect. XIII.

<sup>17</sup> Lev. IV. 3, 14.

<sup>18</sup> Exod. XXIX. 14, 36; Lev. VIII. 14—17.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. XVI. 3, 6, 11.

<sup>20</sup> עֹלָה בֶן בָּקָר, Lev. IX. 1—8.

<sup>21</sup> See Sect. XIV.

<sup>22</sup> That the אֵיל was regarded superior to the כֶּשֶׁב, is evident from Num. XV. 5, 6, 11; XXVIII. 11—13, 19—21, 27—29.

<sup>23</sup> Lev. IX. 4, 18; XVI. 5; XXIII. 18; Num. XXVIII. 11—14; XXIX. 2, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Num. VI. 14, 17; VII. 15, 21, 27, etc.

<sup>25</sup> Lev. VIII. 18, 22; IX. 2; XVI. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Num. VI. 14; comp. Am. II. 11, 12.

<sup>27</sup> *Pecunia*; comp. *Varro*, l. c. and *Ling. Lat.* V. 95; *Columella*, l. c.

<sup>28</sup> Lev. V. 15, 18, 25; XIX. 21; Num. V. 8; see notes on V. 14—26.

<sup>29</sup> Comp. Matth. XXV. 32—42; Luke XV. 29, 30.

introduced, and partly because the legislators desired to bring this most important and most spiritual class of sacrifice within the means of poorer people — a consideration which prompted even the admission of a *vegetable sin-offering*, though the sprinkling of blood was ordinarily the very centre of the rituals of atonement.<sup>1</sup> It was ordained for the sin-offering of the whole people, on the days of the new-moon and the festivals,<sup>2</sup> after unintentional transgressions,<sup>3</sup> and immediately after the consecration of the priests and the Sanctuary;<sup>4</sup> and of the chiefs and private Israelites on all ordinary occasions;<sup>5</sup> it was admitted for private *burnt- and thank-offerings*;<sup>6</sup> but it was never prescribed for public burnt-offerings. Of the gradual substitution of bullocks instead of goats for expiatory offerings we have treated above (pp. 40, 41).

The *lamb* (כֶּבֶד), the usual animal food of eastern tribes, was regularly employed for the daily *public holocausts*,<sup>7</sup> presented on festivals in increased numbers and accompanied by bullocks and rams;<sup>8</sup> and very commonly for private burnt- and thank-offerings, for sin-, trespass-, and purification-offerings.<sup>9</sup>

The gradation in the choice of the victims is plainly manifest from the precepts as to sin-offerings: the High-priest or the whole community required a bullock; a chief of the people a male kid of the goats; and a common Israelite a female kid of the goats or a female lamb.<sup>10</sup>

The *pigeon* and the *turtle-dove* were enjoined as burnt- and sin-offerings in cases of lustration after a period of uncleanness, as after the cessation of a "running issue", whether of a man or a woman,<sup>11</sup> or after a Nazarite's unavoidable contact with a corpse;<sup>12</sup> they were allowed as private holocausts,<sup>13</sup> and accepted from poorer people, instead of more valuable animals, as sin-offerings, and as purification-offerings after recovery from leprosy and after childbirth;<sup>14</sup> but they were not

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. X. 7. — It is too vague to suppose that, as the sin-offering was no "food of Jehovah", any animal sufficed, which represented the substitution of its life for that of the offerer (*Knobel*, Lev. pp. 389, 390); while the view that the goat recalls the idea of sin and grief by its long and shaggy hair (*Bähr*, Symb. II. 398) finds no support in the O. T.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XVI. 9, 15; XXIII. 19; Num. XXVIII. 15, 22, 30; XXIX. 5, 11, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Num. XV. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. IX. 3, 15; X. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. IV. 23, 26; V. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. I. 10; III. 12; XXII. 19; Num. VII. 17, 23; XV. 11; see *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. XXIX. 38—42; Num. XXVIII. 3—6; comp. Lev. IX. 3; Ezek. XLVI. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Num. XXVIII. 11, 19, 27, etc. See Sect. XIII.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. I. 10; III. 7; IV. 32; V. 6; XII. 6—8; XIV. 10; Num. VI. 12, 14.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. IV. 3, 14, 23, 28, 32; see Sect. VIII; comp. *Philo*, De Victim. c. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. XV. 14, 15, 29, 30.

<sup>12</sup> Num. VI. 10, 11; comp. Lev. XIV. 49.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. I. 14—17.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. V. 7; XII. 6; XIV. 22.

admitted as thank-offerings, nor ever formed a part of the great public or festival sacrifices.<sup>15</sup>

All these animals were variously combined, multiplied, or exchanged in accordance with the occasions for which they were required; the reasons for the choice, though not always obvious, may in many instances be pointed out with some degree of probability, and they testify to the thoughtful character of the sacrificial ordinances.

No less manifest is the principle of the Pentateuch in the selection of the *vegetable productions* that were to be taken for the bloodless offerings: it is entirely identical with that set forth in respect to animals. The chief materials were *flour* (חֲלֵב), or in some cases, *roasted grains* rubbed out of the early ears of corn,<sup>16</sup> and *wine* (יַיִן);<sup>17</sup> for bread and wine are frequently named as the principal means of sustenance, and the choicest blessings of a fertile soil;<sup>18</sup> and next in importance came *oil* (שֶׁמֶן), which, belonging to the daily necessities of Eastern life,<sup>19</sup> was commonly employed for libations and for preparing cereal offerings: these three productions therefore are often coupled to express the staple of Canaan's wealth and of the people's nourishment.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, as accessories were ordained *frank-incense* (לֵבְנָה) and *salt* (מֶלַח), the latter to be added on nearly all occasions;<sup>21</sup> and *leaven* (חֶמֶץ) or *honey* (דְּבַשׁ) to be used in a few instances.<sup>22</sup> Not the free and common gifts or the spontaneous vegetation of nature, however esteemed and precious, were to be dedicated to the deity, not figs, pomegranates, dates, or almonds, though forming characteristic products of Palestine, but those objects only, which the offerer had made his individual property by exertion and anxious attention and which he had obtained by the sweat of his brow:<sup>23</sup> gratitude, humility, self-abnegation, and the reality of a hard-working life, were to be mirrored in every offering.

The simplicity of these regulations appears more strikingly still if compared with the practice of other nations. As offerings were extensively supposed to be the sustenance of the gods (p. 6), we find, indeed, theoretically the principle adopted almost everywhere that the victims

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Num. XXVIII. XXIX.

<sup>16</sup> מִבְּרֵית קְלֵי הָאֵשׁ נֶאֱמַר קֶרֶם לֵב. Lev. II. 14; see Comm. *in loc.*

<sup>17</sup> Comp. Exod. XXIX. 40; Lev. XXIII. 13; etc.

<sup>18</sup> Gen. XXVII. 28, 37; Judg. XIX. 19; 1 Sam. I. 24; XVI. 20; XXV. 18; Ps. CIV. 15; Lam. II. 12; Neh. V. 15; Luke VII. 33; etc.; comp. also Gen. XIV. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Sir. XXXIX. 31; Jer. XXXI. 12.

<sup>20</sup> Num. XVIII. 12; Deut. XI. 14; XII. 17; XVIII. 4; XXIV. 19—21; XXVIII. 39, 40; Josh. XXIV. 13; Judg. XV. 5; 2 Ki. XVIII. 32; Mic. VI. 15; Neh. XIII. 5, 12. <sup>21</sup> Lev. II. 13; see Sect. IX. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Lev. VII. 13; XXIII. 17; comp. II. 12; see Sect. VIII.

<sup>23</sup> Gen. III. 17—19.

should be animals useful to man as food, such as bullocks, sheep, stags, pigs, and fowl; while those which are serviceable to him by their labour merely, as donkeys and elephants, were not acceptable; and useless and noxious animals, as monkeys and serpents, were entirely rejected.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the eatable domestic animals were very commonly killed for offerings.<sup>2</sup> Ancient writers supposed that pigs were the earliest victims,<sup>3</sup> though these were by some nations scrupulously avoided as sacrifices, either because they were held in veneration or in abhorrence.<sup>4</sup> Bullocks and cows, sheep, especially lambs, and goats, were ordinarily offered by the Greeks<sup>5</sup> and Romans,<sup>6</sup> by the Ethiopians,<sup>7</sup> the Syrians,<sup>8</sup> and Phoenicians, though the latter included game also, especially stags, geese, and other birds.<sup>9</sup> But the practice was regulated by a consideration connected with the very root of paganism. In the Laws of the Twelve Tables, it is enjoined, "Such beasts should be used for victims as are becoming and agreeable to each deity".<sup>10</sup> Now every divinity represented, as a rule, a power or manifestation of nature; the victim singled out was, therefore, designed to possess a *cosmic* significance; it bore a certain internal affinity to the deity itself — a point which will be more fully developed in its due place.<sup>11</sup> But the fluctuations involved in this doctrine are obvious. "What is the reason", exclaimed Arnobius,<sup>12</sup> "that this God should be honoured by bullocks, another by goats or sheep? the one by sucking pigs, the other by unshorn lambs, some by sterile kine, and some by pregnant sows; the one by white, the other by black animals, one by female, and the other by male victims?" Were those animals more pleasing to a god which had been dedicated to him as sacred, or those which stood in no such relation? The customs followed in this respect differed even to direct opposition. The former principle was indeed most extensively adopted.

<sup>1</sup> *Porphyr.* De Abst. II. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 16, 17; see also *Spencer*, De Legg. Ritt. Lib. III. Diss. II. c. 2 (pp. 755, 756).

<sup>3</sup> So *Aristot.* Eth. Nicom. VIII. 11; *Ovid*, Fast. I. 349; *Varro*, R. R. II. 4; comp. *Hom.* Od. XIV. 419.

<sup>4</sup> *Herod.* II. 47; *Lucian*, Dea Syr. c. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Eustath.* ad Odyss. XI. 130; Schol. ad *Aristoph.* Plut. 820; *Suidas* sub βούς ἱερόες (πρόβατον, ὄς, αἰε, βοῦς, ὄνις [hen], χίρ).

<sup>6</sup> *Tacit.* Ann. VI. 37; *Plin.* H. N. VIII. 70, 72 (magna et pecori gratia vel in placamentis deorum vel in usu vellerum); *Varro*, Ling. Lat. V. 95—99.

<sup>7</sup> *Plin.* H. N. XII. 42.

<sup>8</sup> *Lucian*, l. c. and De Sacrif. c. 12; *Herodian.* V. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Corresponding to the Levitical division in מִדְּבָרִים and מִן הַבְּרֵיית, the sacrificial tablet of Marseilles distinguishes between מִן הַבְּרֵיית and מִן הַבְּרֵיית, and systematically adheres to this classification (lines 3 to 10, 11, 12, 15); comp. *Movers*, Opferwesen der Karthager, p. 41—58; *Ewald*, Phönik. Inschr. zu Marseilles, p. 15 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> Quaeque cuique divo decorae gratiae sint hostiae providentia.

<sup>11</sup> See Sect. XX.

<sup>12</sup> Adv. Nat. VII. 18; comp. c. 21 (si caper caedatur Jovi etc.).



The Greeks and Romans laid it down as a rule that every deity was to be honoured by its own favourite or kindred animals<sup>13</sup> — the Olympians by refulgently white, the terrestrial, the marine, and lower gods by dark-coloured victims;<sup>14</sup> the former also by birds, the latter mainly by quadrupeds.<sup>15</sup> The Greeks sacrificed, therefore, game of any kind and especially stags to Artemis;<sup>16</sup> swine, the emblem of fruitfulness, to Demeter; he-goats to Dionysos, notorious for amorous desires;<sup>17</sup> cows to Latona;<sup>18</sup> black cattle and sometimes horses to Poseidon;<sup>19</sup> donkeys to Priapus; dogs to Hecate, — selections which a reference to the mythological character of the deities will render intelligible. In a similar manner, the Romans appeased Jupiter Capitolinus with white cattle except bulls and rams;<sup>20</sup> Apollo, Neptune, or Mars with bulls; Juno Calendaris with a white cow, on account of her moon-shaped horns;<sup>21</sup> Mars also with wolves; the virgin Minerva with an intact heifer; Venus with doves and sparrows, "the wanton birds";<sup>22</sup> while swine in general were immolated to all agrarian deities, and to Mars, Ceres, and Tellus, for confirming imprecations or ratifying treaties.<sup>23</sup> But other nations followed the contrary law, and abstained from offering to a deity the animals sacred to it. Thus the Egyptians never sacrificed cows, because holy to Isis,<sup>24</sup> or rather to Athor,<sup>25</sup> worshipped throughout the land as the primary principle of all things and the creative power of nature. In the Thebais, they offered goats and no sheep, in Mendes sheep and no goats, because the sheep were held sacred in the one district, and the goats in the other.<sup>26</sup> They avoided the sacrifice

<sup>13</sup> Τῷ ὁμολογῶν χαιρὲς τὸ ὄμοιον, was a proverbial adage; *Euseb. Praep. Ev.* IV. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Arnob. Adv. Nat.* VII. 20 (quia nigra nigris conveniunt et tristia consimilibus grata sunt); *Hom. Od.* XI. 32, 33; *Virg. Aen.* VI. 243.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Euseb. l.c.*; see also *Porph. De Antr.* c. 6.

<sup>16</sup> *Ovid, Fast.* I. 388; *Pausan.* VII. xviii. 7; *Servius ad Virgil. Aenaeid.* II. 116.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Hor. Od.* III. vii. 6; *Martial, Ill.* xxiv. 1—14. <sup>18</sup> *Liv. XXV.* 12.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. *Pausan.* VIII. vii. 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* IX. 628; *Macrobi. Sat.* III. 10.

<sup>21</sup> *Virg. Aen.* IV. 59—61.

<sup>22</sup> Comp. *Ovid, Fast.* I. 451, 452; *Apulej. De Magia*, p. 52, ed. Bipont;

*Lucian, Dea Syr.* c. 49; *Euseb. Praep. Ev.* IV. 9.

<sup>23</sup> Comp. *Ovid, Fast.* I. 671—679; IV. 634; *Metam.* IV. 755, 756; XII. 151; *Arnob. Adv. Nat.* VII. 22; *Eustath. ad Iliad.* II. 550; X. 292; *Od.* III. 382; see also *Creuzer, Symb.* IV. 93, 289, 291, 378, 380.

<sup>24</sup> *Herod.* II. 41; comp. *Porph. Abst.* IV. 7.

<sup>25</sup> For Herodotos excusably confounds Isis and Athor whose attributes bear a close resemblance, and who are, in later monuments, scarcely distinguishable; see *G. Wilkinson* on *Herod.* II. 40, note 5, in Rawlinson's edition.

<sup>26</sup> *Herod.* II. 42. It cannot be proved, and is in itself improbable, that the animals were sometimes chosen on account of their enmity to the gods, and that it was desired to destroy or to ex-



of turtle-doves from a curious reason.<sup>1</sup> The Syrians and Assyrians regarded the pigeon as so inviolable that even an accidental contact caused uncleanness for the day, because Semiramis was supposed to have finally been changed into that bird.<sup>2</sup> But in order to force or to annoy an *evil* deity, sometimes animals were killed, that were consecrated to it. Thus in times of serious illness, great misfortune, or protracted drought, which they attributed to the malice of Typhon, the Egyptians furtively and silently took some of his holy animals to a dark place, and tried to intimidate them by threats; if the calamity did not abate, they slaughtered them as a punishment (*κολασμός*) of the hated demon. At the interment of Apis, they threw some of Typhon's animals into the open grave, in order to vex him and to diminish his exultation at the death of the sacred bull.<sup>3</sup> In this manner, the strangest aberrations might arise; and not unfrequently the gravity of sacrificial rites was converted into futile play. When the animals deemed necessary for certain occasions could not be procured, various devices were resorted to. Sheep were sacrificed instead of stags, but were then named stags — an expedient similar to that adopted in the temple of Isis at Rome, where the priests used water of the Tiber instead of the Nile, but called it water of the Nile.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the principle was set forth that, in sacrificing, the appearance is taken for the reality; accordingly, if animals were required which it was difficult to obtain, such as the Sibylline books occasionally ordered, images of them were made in bread or wax, and offered as substitutes. This was also frequently done by poor people, who presented figures of animals, whether baked of flour or imitated in wax.<sup>5</sup> — Sometimes they offered even

terminate them by killing them as sacrifices; that, for instance, pigs were offered to Ceres, because they injure the crops, or goats to Bacchus, because they are fatal to the vine (comp. *Serv.* ad *Virg. Aen.* II. 180); or that in Egypt generally Typhonic animals were employed as victims (*Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 32, 235, 236), an opinion which cannot be derived from *Herod.* II. 39 or *Lucian*, *De Isid.* 30, 31, 50, and which is both against experience and reason: not the noxious, but the most useful animals were offered to the gods.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἱεράτ γάρ, ἔφασαν, πολλαχῇ τὸ ζῷον συλλαβὴν ἀφίησι μισθὸν ἀποδοῦναι μίμῳς αὐτηγρίαν*, *Porph. Abst.* IV. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Diod. Sic.* II. 4, 20; *Xenoph.* *Anab.* I. iv. 9; *Tibull.* I. vii. 17, 18; *Lucian*, *Dea Syr.* cc. 14, 54; *Jup. trag.* c. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Plut.* *De Isid.* c. 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Festus* s. v. *Cervaria ovis*; *Serv.* ad *Aen.* II. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Herod.* II. 47; *Varro*, *R. R.* VII. 44. *Suidas* s. v. *βοῦς ἑβδομος* — *πέμματα κέρατα ἔχοντα κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς πρωτοβοῦς σιλήνης ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτὸ βοῦν κτλ.* — The Egyptians sometimes offered cones of baked clay with a religious sentence stamped on the base, or small stone-pyramids with an inscription on each of the four sides (see *Sharpe*, *Egyptian Myth. and Egypt. Christian.* etc. pp. 39, 40).

apples (*μηλα*) instead of sheep (*μηλα*), on account of the identity of their names!<sup>6</sup>

It would be impossible to specify all the animals sacrificed in the heathen world; wherever they did not bear that cosmic relation to the gods which has above been alluded to, they represented either the productions of the country or the wealth of the population generally. We must, therefore, restrict ourselves to a few instances.

Among the Hindoos, the most solemn, or "the queen" of offerings, was the horse-sacrifice or *Aswamedha*;<sup>7</sup> to the goddess Kali, the personification of the destructive power of Shiva, and to the avenging demons Bhairawas they presented, besides bullocks and goats, stags, antelopes, and wild boars, also tortoises, ichneumons, and alligators, buffaloes and the rhinoceros, lions and tigers, and nine other species of wild beasts.<sup>8</sup> — The Arabs offered also camels;<sup>9</sup> the Ethiopians gazelles and gryphs;<sup>10</sup> the Laplanders rein-deer. White horses were extensively killed to the Sun, because it was deemed appropriate to dedicate the swiftest animal to the swiftest god;<sup>11</sup> this was the custom of the Persians and the Ethiopians, of the Magi at the river Strymon, the Scythians, and the Massagetae.<sup>12</sup> Northern tribes frequently slaughtered boars, the emblems of fruitfulness and generative power, especially in honour of those gods to whom the fructification of the soil was attributed, as to Freya in the beginning of February, to Freyr or Frikko, the god of the sun and of procreation, on the eve of the Jul festival in mid-winter, to whom nuptial sacrifices also were commonly offered.<sup>13</sup> The Danes, on their great festival celebrated every 9 years, sacrificed horses, dogs, cocks, and hawks, besides men, 99 of each species:<sup>14</sup> the number 9 so markedly prevailing in these arrangements, evidently points to generation and birth; and the same characteristic is manifest

<sup>6</sup> *Pollux*, I. 30, 31 (*μηλα θύοναι, λέγω δὲ οὐ τὰ πρόβατα . . . ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀκρόδρα καὶ*).

<sup>7</sup> *Manu* V. 53; XI. 75; comp. *Muir*, *Indian Antiqq.* II. 162—174; *Wilson's Translation of Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, II. pp. 112—125; *Introduct.* pp. XII—XV; *Lassen*, *Ind. Alterth.* I. 793; *Colebrooke*, *Essays*, p. 351, ed. 1858.

<sup>8</sup> See the "blood-chapter" in *Kalika-Purana*, translated by Blaquiére, in the *Asiat. Res.* V. 371 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> *Diod. Sic.* III. 43.

<sup>10</sup> *Heliod.* X. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Hence the neighing of horses, considered as an inspiration of the Sun, was on important occasions employed as an oracle, which was also the case among the old Teutons (comp. *Grimm*, *Deutsche Mythol.* p. 378).

<sup>12</sup> *Herod.* I. 216; IV. 61, 62, 71; VII. 113; *Xenoph.* *Cyrop.* VIII. iii. 24; *Heliod.* X. 16; *Pausan.* III. 20; *Ovid*, *Fast.* I. 385, 386; comp. *Tacit.* *Ann.* VI. 37.

<sup>13</sup> *Mone*, *Geschichte des nordischen Heidenthums*, I. p. 258; *Grimm*, *Deutsche Mythol.* p. 138 sqq.

<sup>14</sup> *Mone*, I. c. p. 271; *Grimm*, I. c. p. 29.

in a corresponding festival of the Swedes, who every 9 years presented, as a great sin-offering, 9 men and 9 animals of every chief species.<sup>1</sup> Birds were also frequently sacrificed — geese by the Egyptians, especially to Isis,<sup>2</sup> by the Phoenicians,<sup>3</sup> the Greeks, and Romans; cocks by the Chinese, and by the Egyptians to Anubis,<sup>4</sup> guinea-fowls,<sup>5</sup> and eagles frequently by the Roman emperors, whose grand sacrifice<sup>6</sup> consisted of hecatombs of eagles, lions, and other rare animals.

As regards the bloodless offerings of the pagans, there was scarcely any vegetable production that was not presented on the altars either in its natural or in a prepared state.

In some religious systems of western Asia, frank-incense was offered in vast profusion. The Babylonians, on the great annual festival of Bel, burnt not less than a thousand talents of the precious perfume,<sup>7</sup> and the term "burning incense" became equivalent with sacrificing and worshipping generally.<sup>8</sup> Several Greek tribes adopted a similar practice; they brought offerings of fragrant wood, as of the cedar, the fig-tree, the vine, and the myrtle;<sup>9</sup> and later, of frank-incense itself,<sup>10</sup> which was generally laid on the altar in conjunction with other gifts, but was occasionally offered alone, as on the feast of the Diasia, when it was burnt to Zeus Meilichios; indeed, the frank-incense strewn on the victim was extensively supposed to be the most essential part of the animal sacrifice.<sup>11</sup>

The vegetable offerings of the Greeks were pre-eminently varied; they consisted of cakes,<sup>12</sup> in honour of Apollo and other deities;<sup>13</sup> dressed vegetables, as the pots of pulse (*χέρσαι*) with which altars and statues of inferior deities were consecrated;<sup>14</sup> an olive or laurel branch enveloped in wool and hung round with various kinds of fruit (*ἀλπεσιαίη*), carried about by singing boys on certain festivals, and then suspended at the house-door;<sup>15</sup> gall, regarded as a symbol of life, in opposition to honey typifying spiritual death;<sup>16</sup> and many other oblations suggested by Greek ingenuity and enthusiasm.

<sup>1</sup> *Mone*, l. c. p. 260; *Grimm*, l. c. p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Herod.* II. 45; *Pausan.* X. xxxii. 9; *Philostr.* Vita Apoll. V. 25; *Juven.* VI. 539.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. the sacrificial tablet of Marseilles (lines 11, 12, 15); *Movers*, l. c. p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Plut.* De Isid. c. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Pausan.* l. c.

<sup>6</sup> *Sacrificium imperatorium*, *Capitolin.* in Maxim. et Balbin. c. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Münter*, Rel. der Babylon. p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. 2 Ki. XXII. 17; XXIII. 5;

*Hos.* XI. 2; *Isai.* LXV. 3; *Jer.* I. 16; VII. 9; comp. *Mick.* M. R. § 206.

<sup>9</sup> *Porphyr.* De Abst. II. 5; comp. קרבן העצים, *Nehem.* XIII. 31.

<sup>10</sup> *Plin.* H. N. XIII. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Porphyr.* l. c.

<sup>12</sup> *πίλαροι*, *πίμπαρα*, *πέπαρα*.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Lucian.* De Sacrif. 12.

<sup>14</sup> *Aristoph.* Pac. 923, 924; *Plut.* 1197.

<sup>15</sup> *Aristoph.* Eq. 729; *Vesp.* 399; *Plut.* 1054.

<sup>16</sup> *Porphyr.* Antr. Nymph. c. 18 *fin.*; see Sect. IX. 10.

The Romans presented at first only salted cakes,<sup>17</sup> or other cakes<sup>18</sup> with wine, to Janus or Jupiter; or wine alone,<sup>19</sup> herbs, laurels, or violet-chaplets; then myrrh, the aromatic branches of the zeodary (costum),<sup>20</sup> frank-incense,<sup>21</sup> whether alone or mixed with wine, to Janus, Jupiter, and Juno,<sup>22</sup> the firstfruits (primitiae) of the crops, both in their natural state and prepared, and other vegetable productions, whether ready at hand or particularly valued.

But as a general rule, the pagans offered such oblations as were most palatable and savoury to themselves; so the Canaanites presented grape-cakes;<sup>23</sup> the Aramaeans baked cakes;<sup>24</sup> the negroes, besides coral-beads, cowries, and silver-money, also brandy or rum;<sup>25</sup> the American Indians tobacco; and the Samojedes employ greese, with which they besmear the faces of their idols — a natural consequence of the anthropomorphic character of their sacrifices.

The ancient Hindoos devoted to the gods rice,<sup>26</sup> and frequently clarified butter<sup>27</sup> poured on fire.<sup>28</sup> But their most general, as it was their earliest, offering consisted of the expressed and fermented, milky and subacid juice of the *soma* plant.<sup>29</sup> The fluid was mixed with curds, barley flour, and a species of wild corn,<sup>30</sup> and then presented in ladles to the deities invoked; a part of it was sprinkled on the fire, or on the ground, or on the sacred grass,<sup>31</sup> which, after the roots had been cut off, was spread on the altar, or strewn over the floor of the chamber, or arranged as a seat for the deity invited to the sacrifice; the residue was then drunk by those who assisted in the sacred act.<sup>32</sup> The *soma* was extolled, with enthusiastic praise, in many works of Hindoo literature, as the Rig-Veda,<sup>33</sup> and especially the Sama-Veda. It was called the grace of sacrifice, the exhilarator of mankind, on account of its

<sup>17</sup> See Sect. IX. 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Fest.* pp. 85, 310 strues fercla or ferta (Strues genera liborum sunt, digitorum conjunctorum non dissimilia, qui superjecta panicula in transversum continentur); *Cato*, R. R. 134, 141; *Ovid*, Fast. I. 276. <sup>19</sup> *Cato*, l. c. 132.

<sup>20</sup> *Prop.* IV. vi. 5; comp. *Plin.* H. N. XIII. i. 2; *Colum.* XII. 20; etc.

<sup>21</sup> *Ovid*, Fast. IV. 934; *Hor.* Od. I. xix. 14; *Dion. Hal.* VII. 72.

<sup>22</sup> *Cato*, l. c. 134.

<sup>23</sup> עֲדָנִים, Hos. III. 1; comp. 2 Sam. VI. 19; 1 Chr. XVI. 3; Cant. II. 5.

<sup>24</sup> עֲדָנִים, Jer. VII. 18; XLIV. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Comp. *Burton*, Mission to Gelele, II. 332.

<sup>26</sup> *Manu* III. 82, 88, 215, 224.

<sup>27</sup> *Havis* or *hanja*.

<sup>28</sup> *Manu* I. 94; III. 76.

<sup>29</sup> Or *Sarcostema viminalis* (the acid Asclepias), generally procured from the mountains of Ghilan or Mazenderan in the neighbourhood of Yezd (comp. *J. Stephenson's Translation of the Sanhita of the Sama-Veda*, Preface pp. 1 sqq.).

<sup>30</sup> Nivara or trin' adhanja.

<sup>31</sup> *Kusa* or *Poa cynosuroides*.

<sup>32</sup> See *Wilson's Translation of Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, Introd. I. pp. XXIII; 6, 9, 12, 13, 21, 34, 35, etc.

<sup>33</sup> Comp. hymn 91.

narcotic properties, the noblest of the life-giving powers of nature; it was supposed to secure immortality, and to be the delight of the gods, especially of Indra, who achieves his deeds of glory when inspired by its powers.<sup>1</sup> Gradually it was understood not merely as a drink, but as the god of drink, and was invested with the qualities of a supreme deity.<sup>2</sup> However, it did not maintain its place among the Hindoos; its sale and use were even considerably restricted by the laws of Manu.<sup>3</sup>

An old oblation of the Parsees was the *miezd*, a mixture of meat, bread, and fruit, which was blessed and then eaten. But to the *soma* of the Hindoos corresponds the *hom* or *hasma* of the Parsees, the juice of that wonderful tree through which an evil demon sent by Ahriman seduced and ruined the first human couple.<sup>4</sup> It was both their most important and most common sacrifice. The visions which it produced when tasted were regarded as prophetic. Thus *hom* became itself a genius or god, the sacrament of religion, the medium of divine revelation. He appeared to Zoroaster, whose father is, in the Zendavesta, represented as the most perfect of beings, and the first harbinger of the Law. He was worshipped already by the oldest fathers of the tribes and heroes, who were born by his grace; for *hom* is the protector of houses, cities and countries; he removes death, imparts health and vigour, grants children and long life, secures victory over the hatred of evil spirits, awards a place among the saints, and leads the soul the way to heaven.<sup>5</sup>

But the offerings of the heathens, however multifarious and diversified never embraced metal or other lifeless objects (*ἀφύχα*); they consisted exclusively of vegetable productions, of beasts, or of men (or *ἐμψύχα*), that is, of gifts connected with the soul of the cosmos or the life of nature, to which the individual existence of the worshipper was given up; they were thus rendered subordinate to the central idea of pagan theology; and herein presented one of the most striking and most interesting differences from the sacrifices of the Hebrews.

### VIII. QUALIFICATION OF THE OFFERINGS.

As the main object of sacrifices was to do homage to the Deity, whether by acknowledging His power, or thanking Him for His bounty, or imploring His forgiveness, the offerings were naturally required, from their value and condition, to be worthy of their important purpose.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *S. Fr. Windischmann*, Ueber den Soma-Cultus der Arier, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Rig-Veda, I. 91, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Manu* III. 158; XI. 7; see also III. 85, 87, 211; V. 96; IX. 129.

<sup>4</sup> See Comm. on Gen. p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> See the 9th and 10th *Hd* of the *Jaçma*; Journ. Asiat. Quatrième Série, IV. 449; V. 409; VI. 148; VII. 5, 105, 214; *Lassen*, Ind. Alterth. I. 791.

Hence the qualifications, too essential to be left to individual arbitrariness, were strictly regulated by the Levitical law. The principles which, in this respect, guided the legislators, were mainly *excellence*<sup>6</sup> and *significance* of the gift. This is manifest from a consideration of the particular attributes.

A. The ANIMALS were commanded to be

1. *Faultless or perfect.*<sup>7</sup> The precepts on this point are distinct and explicit; they are not only given in general terms, as, "Thou shalt not sacrifice to the Lord thy God any bullock or sheep, wherein is blemish (מִדָּם) or any defect;"<sup>8</sup> or, "If the beast has any blemish, as if it is lame or blind, thou shalt not sacrifice it to the Lord thy God;"<sup>9</sup> but the disqualifying faults are elaborately specified, "Whosoever will offer a sacrifice to the Lord for a burnt-offering, shall offer it for your acceptance, a male without blemish; . . . but whatsoever has a blemish, that you shall not offer; for it shall not be acceptable for you. And whosoever will offer a thank-offering to the Lord . . . it shall be perfect to be accepted; it shall have no blemish: animals that are blind, or broken, or maimed, or ulcerous, or scurvy, or scabbed, you shall not offer to the Lord . . . You shall not offer to the Lord animals that are bruised, or crushed, or broken, or castrated; you shall not offer the food of your God of any of these; . . . because their corruption is in them, and blemishes are in them; they shall not be accepted for you."<sup>10</sup> This law is specially enjoined with regard to burnt-,<sup>11</sup> thank-,<sup>12</sup> and expiatory offerings,<sup>13</sup> and to the paschal lamb.<sup>14</sup> Its rigour is somewhat relaxed in one single case. A bullock and a lamb with limbs either too short or too long were lawful for thank-offerings presented as free-will gifts (נִדְבָה), though not as vows (נֶזֶר): but animals of that description are not properly disfigured by a defect (מִדָּם), but are merely abnormal in the proportion of their members; their flesh is not necessarily inferior; they could, therefore, be deemed acceptable for sacrifices offered from spontaneous impulse, without a positive religious obligation.<sup>15</sup> To devote faulty animals was regarded as an abomination to the Lord,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. XV. 15; Ps. LXVI. 15; Mal. I. 7, 8.

<sup>7</sup> מִדָּם, Sept. ἀμωμος, τέλειος; Onkelos מִלֵּי דָם; Rashi, Ebn Ezra, and others מִלֵּי דָם אֵלֶּיךָ.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. XVII. 1.      <sup>9</sup> Deut. XV. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. XXII. 18—25; see Comm. *in loc.* Jewish tradition counts 50 different defects.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. I. 3, 10; IX. 2, 3; XXIII. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. III. 1, 6; XXII. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. IV. 3, 23, 28, 32; V. 15, 18, 25; IX. 2, 3; XIV. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Exod. XII. 5.

<sup>15</sup> It is, therefore, obviously against the spirit of the Bible, to declare, as Talmudists have done, birds with minor defects as admissible (חֲסוֹת חֲכִירָה); (כְּבִדְמָה וְאֵין חֲסוֹת חֲכִירָה בַּעֲוִיּוֹת; *Maimon. Hilch. Issur. Mizbeach*, III. 1; comp. *Siphras* 239a.

<sup>16</sup> Deut. XVII. 1.

a criminal desecration of the Divine name, and a pollution of the Temple and the altar.<sup>1</sup> It was certain to cause the rejection of the worshipper and his gift.<sup>2</sup> For man who owes all to God, ought, when he approaches His Sanctuary with new supplications, to dedicate to Him what is best and choicest, and to present to Him who is perfect only perfect oblations;<sup>3</sup> "lest the things consecrated to the most High appear contemptible, and His worship be degraded."<sup>4</sup> But that law of faultlessness is hardly intended as a symbol of the *offerer's* perfection, or of his required freedom from all failings and diseases of the soul whenever he enters the Temple;<sup>5</sup> it refers exclusively to the *sacrifice* which was to be worthy of God, the holy One;<sup>6</sup> much less can it be regarded typically to point to the unblemished purity of Christ.<sup>7</sup>

Hence the greatest care was bestowed on the selection of the victim. According to Jewish tradition, it was, before being admitted to the altar, examined from head to foot by experienced officials.<sup>8</sup> Among the Egyptians, a chief-section of the priests<sup>9</sup> had the duty to mark the beasts which, on the closest inspection, had been declared fit for sacrifice, by tying a piece of papyrus round the horns, and stamping it with a signet-ring on sealing-clay: whoever offered an animal not sanctioned in this manner suffered death.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the Egyptians sacrificed only "such bulls and calves as were pure" or perfect.<sup>11</sup> Among the Greeks, the same rule was observed with conscientious strictness. They fixed as indispensable a considerable number of qualities; the victims were required to be "perfect, faultless, sound, healthy, unmaimed, complete and strong in limbs, unhurt, not deformed, not without horns, and not crippled".<sup>12</sup> Indeed, they established the comprehensive law, "The victim must be pure in body and life, and uninjured and uncorrupted";<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mal. I. 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Mal. I. 8, 9, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Eustath.* ad Hom. II. I. 66, τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς τελείοις προσάγειν χρήται τέλει.

<sup>4</sup> *Maimon.* Mor. Neb. III. 46; *Clericus* on Lev. XXII. 20 (sperni certe cultus Dei visus esset, si pecudes vitio quodam minus utiles illi oblatae fuissent).

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Philo*, De Victim. c. 2 (μηδὲν ἀρρώστημα ἢ νόσημα ἢ πάθος ἐπιφύεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ); *Theodoret.* Quaest. in Lev. I; *Clericus* l. c. (eos demum homines placare deos qui quam minimis animi vitiis inquinati sunt).

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Bähr*, Symb. II. 321.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. 1 Petr. I. 19; Sect. IX. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Called מִשְׁקָדִים מִזְמֵי מִנְכָּרִים (comp.

*Reland*, Antiqq. III. i. 11) or μωροσκόποι (Clem. Alex., Chrysostom., a. o.); comp. *Philo*, De Victim. 2 (οἱ δοκιμάτατοι τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀριστίνδην ἐπιμεθέντες εἰς τὴν τῶν μῶρων σέψιν, πτλ.).

<sup>9</sup> The μωροσφραγιστοί, *Porphyr.* Abstin. IV. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Herod.* II. 38; see also *Porphyr.* De Abst. II. 55.

<sup>11</sup> *Herod.* II. 45 (ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἦσαν).

<sup>12</sup> Ἱερῆα ἄρτια, ἄτομα, ὀλέκλῃρα, ὄγιῃ, ἄπηρα, παμμελῇ, ἀριμελῇ, μὴ πόλαβα, μὴ ἐμπηρα, μὴ ἡκρωτηριασμένα, μὴ λιόστροφα (*Pollux*, Onom. I. 29).

<sup>13</sup> Δεῖ γὰρ τὸ θύσιμον εἶναι τὸ σῶματι



or, "In general, whatever is not perfect and sound, must not be sacrificed to the gods."<sup>14</sup> Porphyry, desirous to prove the unreasonableness of animal sacrifices, observes, "Ought beasts which must be killed, to be offered to the gods? But how is this right, if they are worthless? And yet it is more befitting to offer these than faulty animals; for thus we should present the firstlings of evil, and not do honour to the gods."<sup>15</sup> Nor were the Romans less scrupulous on this point. They were careful to offer "select" animals,<sup>16</sup> which designation was explained to mean *perfect* and *faultless*;<sup>17</sup> or such that could be designated as *eximia*, which word, far from being a poetical epithet, was a sacerdotal or technical term.<sup>18</sup> On the Phoenician tablet of Marseilles, the attribute "perfect" (כלל) is almost invariably used in connection with the purification- and thank-offerings.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, all nations acted upon the same view which naturally suggests itself. The Eretrians alone, by a strange fancy, sacrificed to Artemis in their town Amarynthus *maimed* victims.<sup>20</sup>

2. For most occasions, the animal was ordered to be *male* (זָכָר). This was pre-eminently the case with regard to the more important classes of sacrifice — for the burnt-offerings, the paschal lamb, the principal expiatory offerings, and all sacrifices of whatever description presented in the name of the whole people.<sup>21</sup> In other instances, a *female* victim (נִקְבָּה) was demanded, as for the sin-offering of the common Israelite.<sup>22</sup> In others again, either a male or a female was permitted, as for private thank-offerings and firstlings.<sup>23</sup> For pigeons and turtle-doves no particular sex was prescribed in the Law.<sup>24</sup> It was

καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρόν εἶναι, καὶ ἀσινές  
καὶ ἀδιάφθορον (*Plut. De Defect. Orac.*  
c. 49); comp. Schol. in *Iliad*. I. 66 (τὴν  
ἡλικίαν ἣτοι ὀλοκλήρων λελυβημένον  
γὰρ οὐ θύεται, ἀλλ' ὑγιὲς ἢ τῶν τελευ-  
μένων θυσιᾶ).

<sup>14</sup> Καὶ καθόλου ὅπερ ἢ μὴ τέλειον  
καὶ ὑγιὲς οὐ θύεται τοῖς θεοῖς (Schol.  
*Aristoph. Acharn.* 785); comp. *Suidas*  
sub κώλυρα; *Lucian, De Sacrif.* 12.

<sup>15</sup> Οὐθέν γὰρ μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἢ τὰ  
ἀνάπηρα θυτεῖν. Κακῶν δὲ οὕτως  
ἀπαρχὴν καὶ οὐ τιμῆς ἔνεκα τὰς θυσιὰς  
ποιήσομεν; *De Abstin.* II. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Mactant lectas de more bidentes  
(*Virg. Aen.* IV. 57; VI. 38, 39; VIII. 544).

<sup>17</sup> "Lectae dicuntur hostiae . . . quae  
claudae, morbosae, aut vitiosae non  
sunt" (*Alex. ab Alex. Genial.* III. 12);  
comp. *Serv. ad Aen.* IV. 57 (moris

fuerat ut ad sacrificia eligerentur oves  
quibus nihil deesset); *Ovid, Metam.*  
XV. 13 (victima labe carens); *Plin.*  
H. N. VIII. 45 or 70; *Tertull. Apol.* c. 40.

<sup>18</sup> *Macrobi. Sat.* III. 5 (Verraniam enim  
docet, eximias dictas hostias, quae ad  
sacrificium destinatae eximantur e  
grege); comp. *Virg. Georg.* IV. 550.

<sup>19</sup> Lines 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 16. Comp.  
*Movers, Opferwesen der Carthager*,  
pp. 58—60.

<sup>20</sup> *Aelian. Hist. Nat.* XII. 34; comp.  
*Plato, II.* p. 149.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. *Mishn. Temur.* II. 1. קרבנות  
זכרים בלבד מביאים אלמא בוכרים.

<sup>22</sup> *Lev.* IV. 28, 32.

<sup>23</sup> *Lev.* III. 1, 6; *Siphra* 56a.

<sup>24</sup> Comp. *Talm. Temur.* 114a; *Siphra*  
84a; *Abarb. Introd. to Lev.* c. 1. Her-  
maphrodite (דמיון זכר ונקבה, ἀνδρογυνος)

very generally supposed that the male is superior to the female.<sup>1</sup> The sin-offering of a chief was a kid of the goats (שְׁעִיר עִזִּים), that of a common Israelite a female of the same species (שְׁעִירָה עִזִּים) or a female lamb.<sup>2</sup> Human sacrifices, the choicest of all offerings, consisted of males exclusively. It was regarded as base deceitfulness, sure of Divine punishment, if a man possessed a male animal, and yet vowed or sacrificed a female one.<sup>3</sup> We may thus understand the subtlety with which Philo refined the current notions. "A male", he observed, "is both more lordly than a female and more perfect, and more nearly related to the efficient cause;<sup>4</sup> while the female is imperfect, subordinate, and more fit to be passive than active;<sup>5</sup> so that the rational part of our soul, as intellect and reason, belongs to the male, the irrational part, as the outward senses, to the female sex."<sup>6</sup> Nor can we be surprised to find similar views prevailing among other nations also. In the temple of Venus at Paphos, victims of whatever species were allowed, provided they were males.<sup>7</sup> The sacrificial animals of the Hindoo divinities Kali and the Bhairawas were exclusively males. The Egyptians universally sacrificed male kine and male calves, but never the females, which were sacred to Isis, or rather to Athor; and cows especially were more venerated than any other animal.<sup>8</sup> Though the Mendesians paid reverence to all goats, they honoured the males more than the females; they esteemed the goatherds who tended the former more highly; and when one particular he-goat died, public mourning was observed throughout the district.<sup>9</sup> But another consideration, foreign and even antagonistic to motives of religion, frequently determined the choice. The killing of certain beasts was prohibited, when it would have been detrimental to the increase or quality of the species, or when they were too highly prized to be spared for offerings. The Egyptians and Phoenicians regarded it as a detestable crime to sacrifice or to consume female cattle; "they would sooner have eaten human than cow's flesh"; for the female animals, being more valuable, had become extremely scarce among them, and were to be left untouched for the sake of their breeding.<sup>10</sup> The Arabs released from labour any she-

or sexless (מִיִּשְׁמֵם) animals were forbidden according to Rabbinical law (see *Talm. Bechor.* 41; comp. Rashi on *Lev.* i. 3).

<sup>1</sup> הָזָכַר נָבָחַר מִדְּהִקְבָּה, *Ebn Ezra* on *Lev.* i. 3; comp. *Gen.* XXXII. 15; and *Comm.* on *Gen.* p. 567.

<sup>2</sup> *Lev.* IV. 23, 28, 32. <sup>3</sup> *Mal.* i. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ἡγεμονικώτερον καὶ τελειώτερον καὶ συγγενέστερον αἰτίῃ δραστηριᾷ.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀτελές, ὑπὸν, ἐν τῷ πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ποιεῖν ἑταζόμενον.

<sup>6</sup> *De Victim.* c. 5; comp. *De ebr.* c. 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Tacit. Hist.* II. 3 (hostiae ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur).

<sup>8</sup> *Herod.* II. 41; see p. 87.

<sup>9</sup> *Herod.* II. 46.

<sup>10</sup> *Porphy.* *De Abst.* II. 11 (αἵτιον δὲ, ὅτι χρήσιμον τὸ ζῶον ἐν τοῦτο ἰσπανίζει παρ' αὐτοῖς . . . τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν

camel that had successively brought forth ten females; she was declared at liberty and hence called *sayiba*, the free one; she could not be used for riding or for carrying burdens;<sup>11</sup> her hair was not allowed to be cut, and her milk was reserved for her young ones and for guests only: if, in this state of privileged exemption, she gave birth to another female, the latter enjoyed the same distinctions.<sup>12</sup> The Egyptian priests pronounced some of the most useful animals as sacred, ostensibly from some mysterious cause, but really in order to guard against a diminution of their breed: so in the Thebaid, mutton, although the most wholesome meat in Egypt, was interdicted at a time when sheep were rare.<sup>13</sup> It was an old custom among the Athenians, for the sake of the produce of the flocks, never to slay a sheep which had not been shorn, or which had not brought forth any young; the priests of Minerva never, up to a late period, sacrificed a lamb. The Libyans and the Derbices in Mount Caucasus prohibited by law the killing of cows.<sup>14</sup> From this point of view, two opposite practices will easily be accounted for. On the one hand, the tribes of ancient Italy laid down the rule, that for all kinds of sacrifices the females are more valuable than the males; and therefore, when desirous to evince special gratitude to the gods, and to present a particularly acceptable offering, they sacrificed a female animal.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the Athenians on one occasion passed a decree that no oxen should be killed on account of their scarcity.<sup>16</sup> The Scythians and Phrygians punished with death any one who killed a ploughing ox.<sup>17</sup> The ancient Romans valued the oxen so much as "their companions in labour", that they long abstained from slaying them for food; and it is related by various writers, that a man was publicly condemned to exile, because he had killed a working ox<sup>18</sup> for that purpose, which act was deemed scarcely less criminal "as if he had assassinated one of his peasants";<sup>19</sup> for the slaughter of oxen was regarded as an iniquity which began to prevail only after the disappearance of the golden age.<sup>20</sup> Some nations offered male and female animals indiscriminately; thus the Ethiopians killed to Helios a male, to Selene a female

πειδόμενοι τῆς γονῆς ἔνεκα, ἐν μύσσει τὸ ἄψαοθαι ἐνομοθετήσαν; IV. 7; comp. Gen. XXXII. 15. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Koran VI. 139.

<sup>12</sup> See *Spencer*, *Leben und Lehre des Mohammed*, II. p. 476.

<sup>13</sup> *Herod.* II. 41; *Porphy.* *Abstin.* II. 11, 61.

<sup>14</sup> *Herod.* IV. 186; *Strabo* XI. xi. 8; comp. *Hieron.* *Adv. Jovian.* 7.

<sup>15</sup> *Serv.* ad *Virg. Aen.* VIII. 641 (in

omnibus sacris feminei generis plus valent victimae).

<sup>16</sup> *Athen.* *Deipnos.* IX. 17.

<sup>17</sup> *Ael.* *Hist. Anim.* XII. 34; *Stobaeus* XLIV. 41 (vol. II. pp. 185, 186 ed. Meineke).

<sup>18</sup> "Domito bove occiso", *Val. Max.* VIII. i. 8 (De Damnatis).

<sup>19</sup> "Tanquam colono suo interempto", *Plin.* H. N. 45 or 70.

<sup>20</sup> *Virg. Georg.* II. 536—538; comp.

victim;<sup>1</sup> the Scythians a female lamb to Hecate;<sup>2</sup> the Greeks and Romans generally observed the characteristic rule, unless modified by other considerations, that the sex of the victim should correspond with the sex of the deity to which it was sacrificed.<sup>3</sup> The same principle partially prevailed among northern tribes, as the Laplanders, who sacrificed male reindeer to the gods Tiermes and Storjunkare, and females to the goddess Baiwe, the three deities just named forming a northern trinity representing the powers of creation, preservation, and destruction, in a manner so perfectly analogous to the Hindoo *trimurtis* that even the colours particular to each divinity, red, white, and black, are those of Brahmah, Vishnu, and Shiva respectively; while the only difference is this that, in the northern mythology, a *god* not inappropriately corresponds with the Hindoo *goddess* of destruction, Shiva.<sup>4</sup>

3. As regards the *age* of victims, it was ordained that none should be offered earlier than the seventh day from their birth;<sup>5</sup> till then, they were not only regarded as unclean, but as too weak and imperfect to represent their species, and to guarantee a well-secured existence.<sup>6</sup> The only restriction enjoined in this respect was, that the young animal and its mother should not be killed on the same day,<sup>7</sup> a law supposed to have been suggested by reasons of humanity, "for it is the excess of barbarity, to destroy in one day the offspring and her who is the cause of its birth; it is slaughter rather than sacrifice";<sup>8</sup> and from similar motives, pregnant animals seem to have been excluded from the altar; "for the animals which are still in the womb, are looked upon as equal to those that have just been born."<sup>9</sup> The firstborn male animals were to be killed within the first year.<sup>10</sup> Burnt-,<sup>11</sup> sin-,<sup>12</sup> thank-, and praise-offerings<sup>13</sup> were required to be above one year (בני שנה), and so consequently also the paschal lamb.<sup>14</sup> It is in harmony with the spirit of the sacrificial laws of the Pentateuch to suppose

*Sueton. Domit. c. 9; Aelian. Var. Hist. V. 14; see, however, Juven. X. 268; Lucian, De Sacrif. c. 12.*

<sup>1</sup> *Heliod. X. 7.*

<sup>2</sup> *Apollon. Rhod. Argon. III. 1033.*

<sup>3</sup> *Arnob. Adv. Nat. VII. 19.*

<sup>4</sup> *Comp. Mone, Geschichte des nordischen Heidenthums, I. pp. 26—28, 37, 41.*

<sup>5</sup> *Lev. XXII. 27; comp. Exod. XXII. 29.*

<sup>6</sup> *Comp. Maimon. Mor. Neb. III. 46 (ספני שנה כנסל).*

<sup>7</sup> *Lev. XXII. 28.*

<sup>8</sup> *Τὰ γὰρ ταῦτα σπῆλαι, οὐ θύελα,*

*Philo, De Humanit. c. 18; and later, πάντων ἀνελκίστατον.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ὁ νόμος τὰ κατὰ γαστρός ἐν ἰσχυροῖς ἀποκνηθείας λογισάμενος, Philo, l. c.*

<sup>10</sup> *Dent. XV. 19, 20 (שנה בשנה); comp. Maimon. De Primit. Anim. c. 1. § 6.*

<sup>11</sup> *Exod. XXIX. 38; Lev. IX. 3; XII. 6; XXIII. 12; Num. XXVIII. 3, 9, 11, 19, 27.*

<sup>12</sup> *Lev. XIV. 10; Num. VI. 12, 14; XV. 27.*

<sup>13</sup> *Num. VII. 17, 23, 29 etc.; Lev. XXIII. 19.*

<sup>14</sup> *Exod. XII. 5; comp. Joseph. Antiqq. III. ix. 1, 2.*

that the victims were not to be too old; for "in an advanced age, the animal is not perfect in its nature",<sup>15</sup> and ought, therefore, if possible, "not to be presented to God, on account of His exalted glory."<sup>16</sup> According to the Talmud, the bullock (פָּר) was to be less than three years old,<sup>17</sup> the ram (אֵיל) and kid of the goats (שְׁעִיר עִזִּים) between one and two years, the calf (עֵגֶל) or lamb (כֶּבֶד) one year; and it is considered that animals, except the firstlings and those singled out for tithes, were rarely offered before they had reached the thirtieth day.<sup>18</sup> However, on solemn occasions, for instance on the conclusion of treaties, the animals were required or allowed to be above three years;<sup>19</sup> and Gideon, on a very extraordinary emergency, offered a bullock seven years old.<sup>20</sup> For turtle-doves (תּוֹרִים) and young pigeons (בְּנֵי יִתְרָה) no age was prescribed in the Pentateuch; but Jewish practice and tradition determined, that the former should be sacrificed "old and not young",<sup>21</sup> the latter "young and not old";<sup>22</sup> because the former were considered better and therefore more valuable when old, the latter when young;<sup>23</sup> and this was so defined that neither of them were to be sacrificed at the time when the plumage begins to assume distinct colours; for at that period, the turtle-doves are called young, and the pigeons old.<sup>24</sup>

The practices of other nations were diversified. The Babylonians presented on one of the altars of Bel sucklings only, on another full-grown animals.<sup>25</sup> The early Greeks killed bullocks and pigs five years old,<sup>26</sup> and more frequently bullocks and cows of one year;<sup>27</sup> later, it is recorded that cows and sheep were sacrificed after they had changed their teeth, and pigs, if less than 15 months old; while Pallas was honoured with calves two years and cows three years old.<sup>28</sup> In some instances indeed new-born pigs were offered to the lower gods,<sup>29</sup> or new-born calves to Dionysos;<sup>30</sup> and for purification-offerings sucking pigs were generally chosen: yet as a rule, a certain maturity of age was deemed essential for victims.<sup>31</sup> The Romans did not admit the young

<sup>15</sup> *Abarban*. Introd. to Lev. c. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Siphra* (שָׁחַן מִבְּיֹאץ וְקָנִים מִפְּנֵי הַכְּבוֹד).

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Rashi* on Lev. IV. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Maimon*. Maas. Hakkorb. c. 1; *Bähr*, Symb. II. 297.

<sup>19</sup> Gen. XV. 9; see Comm. on Gen. p. 366. <sup>20</sup> Judg. VI. 25.

<sup>21</sup> גְּזֻלִּים וְלֹא קִטְנִים.

<sup>22</sup> קִטְנִים וְלֹא גְזֻלִּים; *Tal.* Chul. 22.

<sup>23</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Chul. I. 5; *Maimon*. Issur. Mizb. c. 3; *Mor. Meb.* III. 46; *Bochart*, Hieroz. II. i. 5, p. 25.

<sup>24</sup> *Mishn.* I. c. חֲחִילָה הַצִּדְהוּב פָּכוֹל.

<sup>25</sup> *Herod.* I. 183.

<sup>26</sup> *Hom.* II. II. 403; *Od.* XIV. 419; *Aristoph.* Ach. 782.

<sup>27</sup> *Hom.* II. VI. 94, 275, 309; X. 292; *Od.* III. 382.

<sup>28</sup> Comp. Corp. Inscr. No. 2360, 3538.

<sup>29</sup> *Pausan.* IX. viii. 1 (ἀπαίσιον ὅς τῶν νεογενῶν).

<sup>30</sup> *Acl.* H. N. XII. 34.

<sup>31</sup> *ἱερὰ τέλεια*; comp. *Hesych.* sub *τέλεια*; *Hermann*, Gottesdienstliche Alterth. § 26, note 21.

pigs before they were five days, lambs and kids seven days, and calves one month,<sup>1</sup> though some authorities fixed the age of young pigs at ten days;<sup>2</sup> but they particularly preferred for sacrifices animals that had the two rows of teeth complete, and were therefore strongest and most perfect.<sup>3</sup> In fact, some considered them absolutely unfit before that time.<sup>4</sup>

4. On some occasions, an animal was demanded that had done no work, and had drawn no yoke. This was the case with regard to the "red cow" killed and burnt for purposes of purification, and the heifer slain at the rite of expiation for a murder not traceable the perpetrator:<sup>5</sup> though both were not sacrifices in the proper sense, it was deemed becoming that animals employed for symbolical acts of such solemnity, should not have served any worldly end, but that their full strength and value should be given up to the sacred ceremonials. To enjoin such a qualification for all sacrifices, would have been an impossibility, and would have encumbered the sacrificial legislation with a new and insuperable difficulty. It is well-known that other nations frequently adhered to a similar practice. Diomedes promised to offer to Athene a bullock "untamed, never yet led under the yoke."<sup>6</sup> The Romans sacrificed to the gods "untouched"<sup>7</sup> or "yokeless" beasts;<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Plin.* H. N. VIII. 51 or 77, suis fetus sacrificio die quinto purus est, pecoris die septumo, bovis tricesimo.

<sup>2</sup> *Varro*, R. R. II. 4.

<sup>3</sup> They were then called *bidentes*, especially the sheep; comp. *Hor.* Od. III. xxiii. 14; *Virg.* Aen. IV. 57; VI. 39; VII. 93; XII. 170; *Ovid*, Metam. X. 227; XV. 575.

<sup>4</sup> *Plin.* H. N. I. c. Corruccaninus ruminialis hostias donec bidentes fierent, puras negavit. — "*Ambidens* sive *bidentis* ovis appellabatur, quae superioribus et inferioribus est dentibus" (*Fest.* p. 5); although others contended less plausibly that *bidentes* is a corruption of *bidenes*, two years old, or gave this explanation, "Quae bidentis est hostia, oportet habeat dentes octo, sed ex his duo ceteris altiores, per quos appareat, ex minore aetate in maiorem transcendisse" (*Gell.* Noct. Att. XVI. 6; *Macrob.* Sat. VI. 9; *Fest.* p. 28; *Isid.* Orig. XII. i. 9; *Bock.* Hieroz. I. ii. 43,

pp. 430, 431); in which case *bidentis* would be synonymous with כֶּבֶד כֶּבֶד (*Knob.* Lev. p. 529); for sheep and goats get the two first permanent teeth after their first year, while they lose from the second to the fifth — two annually — the 8 front-teeth which they cut during the first.

<sup>5</sup> Num. XIX. 1—10; Deut. XXI. 3, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Βούν . . . Ἀδμήτην, ἣν οὐκ ἐζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνὴρ, *Hom.* II. X. 293; comp. *Babr.* Fab. XXXVII. 1, 7 (δαμάλης ἀφειτος, ἀτριβῆς ζεύγλης, and ὁ μόσχος ἀδμήτης).

<sup>7</sup> Grege de intacto (*Virg.* Aen. VI. 38); intacta cervice juvencae (*Georg.* IV. 540, 551).

<sup>8</sup> Hostiae *injuges*, quae numquam domitiae aut jugo subditae sunt, *Macrob.* Sat. III. 5; comp. *Hor.* Od. II. v. 1, 2; Epod. IX. 22; *Ovid*, Fast. III. 376; IV. 336 (juveneam . . . operum conjugii-que rudem); *Senec.* Oed. 300; *Agam.* 354, 355.



and sheep that had not been shorn.<sup>9</sup> But these instances refer mainly to occasions of peculiar importance or interest.

5. It needs scarcely to be observed that the offering was required to be the *lawful* and *exclusive property* of the worshipper — a consideration which prompted the appointment of clean *domestic* animals for sacrifices. To offer the property of others has justly been described as a preposterous contradiction in terms.<sup>10</sup> When David intended to sacrifice on the threshingfloor of Araunah, and the latter offered to him the victim and the wood as a present, he declined in the words, "Nay, I will surely buy it of thee at a price; and I will not offer burnt-offerings to the Lord my God of that which costs me nothing";<sup>11</sup> and the Levitical law declares it to be "an abomination to the Lord", if a man offers for a vow "the gain of unchastity or the price of a dog."<sup>12</sup> In the distressed periods after the exile, the impoverished people presented indeed on the altar the offerings supplied to them by foreign kings;<sup>13</sup> but they had, in that exceptional condition, no alternative but to neglect the public worship or to defray its expenses from presents of strangers; and they provided the necessary means as soon as their circumstances at all improved.<sup>14</sup>

6. So far the customs of the Hebrews with regard to the qualification of victims nearly coincided with those of other nations. But the latter did not stop there; they were, by the nature of their religious systems, almost inevitably led to complicated or artificial and often whimsical rules. Some attached a mystical importance to the *colours* Black was the emblem of grief and misfortune,<sup>15</sup> white of joy and life. Saturn, conceived as "the great calamity", was worshipped in a *black* hexagonal temple by black-robed priests; Mars, the blood-stained, or "the minor calamity", in a *red* temple, in blood-sprinkled garments.<sup>16</sup> It is still customary in the East for a chief or prince, when he replies in state to important petitions, to appear on a black horse if he refuses, on a grey one if he leaves the matter undecided or delays the decision, and on one of spotless white if he consents.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Intonsa bidens, *Virg. Aen.* XII. 170.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 317; *Ewald*, *Alterth.* pp. 26, 32; comp. *W. Neumann*, in *Schneider's deutsch. Zeitschr.* 1856; No. 42, p. 332.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Sam. XXIV. 24.

<sup>12</sup> אֶתֶּן מִנְהוּ וּמִחִיר כֶּלֶב, Deut. XXIII. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Ezra VI. 9; VII. 17, 22; 1 Macc. X. 39; 2 Macc. III. 3; IX. 16; *Jos. A.* XII. iii. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Nehem. X. 33—35.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Heliod.* IV. 19.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. *Gesen.* *Comm.* über den *Jes.* II. 344, 345.

<sup>17</sup> So when, in the beginning of 1864, the venerable and benevolent Sir Moses Montefiore interceded for his co-religionists with the emperor of Morocco, this prince appeared, in the court-yard of his palace, on a white steed, and immediately issued decrees guaranteeing the protection and security of the Jews.



Thus the Greeks and Romans considered *black* cattle necessary for the gods of the nether world and for Poseidon, but *white* cattle for the heavenly deities,<sup>1</sup> though they conciliated Poseidon also by reddish or even white animals.<sup>2</sup> They used for offerings of expiation black cattle which was meant to typify guilt;<sup>3</sup> and such they presented at Athens to the Tempests and Hurricanes.<sup>4</sup> Jupiter Capitolinus was, in Rome, to be honoured with a white bullock; but as a beast perfectly of that colour is rarely found, the unfavourable spots were generally whitened with chalk, whence such animal is by Juvenal called "a chalked bullock."<sup>5</sup> The Egyptians sacrificed to Osiris reddish oxen, because that colour was attributed to Typhon, his enemy and persecutor;<sup>6</sup> so scrupulous were they on this point that a single black hair disqualified the animal.<sup>7</sup> A remnant of this conception was preserved among the Hebrews in the ordinance of the "red cow."<sup>8</sup> In China, the victims presented at the four great annual sacrifices differed in colour according to the four seasons, at the beginning of which the festivals were celebrated.<sup>9</sup> The northern and Germanic tribes chose a red, white, or black victim, to correspond with the deity to which it was offered.<sup>10</sup> The boar sacrificed at the beginning of February to Freya, to pray for abundance of corn, was yellow, the colour of the golden ears.<sup>11</sup>

7. We have above alluded to the cosmic nature of the Greek and Roman gods and of their sacrifices (p. 86); that character appears nowhere more strikingly than in the laws as to the qualification of victims. The deities were viewed in their supposed relations to productiveness and fertility. Therefore, Proserpine, the symbol of decaying and sterile nature, was honoured by *barren*, Ceres, the goddess of harvest, by *pregnant* cows, or by pigs, the types of extraordinary fruitfulness.<sup>12</sup> Such sacrifices were offered especially in spring, when the seed had just been entrusted to the earth; they formed, therefore, a chief feature of the Roman festival of the Fordicidia, which was celebrated, in honour of Tellus, in the middle of April.<sup>13</sup> The manes of the departed were

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Hom.* II. III. 103; *Od.* III. 6; XI. 33; *Virg. Aen.* III. 120; V. 97, 736; VI. 243, 249; *Schol. Soph. Oed. Col.* 42; *Arnob. Adv. Nat.* VII. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Pind. Pyth.* IV. 365 (205); *Ol.* XIII. 98 (69).

<sup>3</sup> *Diogen. Laert.* Epimenid. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Aristoph. Ran.* 847, 848.

<sup>5</sup> *Bos cretatus*, *Juv. Sat.* X. 66; comp. *cretata ambitio*, *Pers.* V. 177.

<sup>6</sup> *Diod. Sic.* I. 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Herod.* II. 38; *Plut. Isid.* 31.

<sup>8</sup> *Num.* XIX. 1—10.

<sup>9</sup> *Du Halde*, *Beschreib. des chines. Reich.* III. p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> See *supra* p. 98; comp. *Grimm*, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> *Wachter*, in *Ersch und Gruber's Encyclop.* III. iv. p. 99.

<sup>12</sup> *Hom. Od.* XIX. 396; *Virg. Aen.* VI. 251; *Prudentius*, *Contra Symmach.* I. 359; *Arnob. Adv. Nat.* VII. 21; comp. *Varro*, *R. R.* I. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Ovid, Fast.* IV. 629—634

also propitiated by a barren cow.<sup>14</sup> But occasionally this principle, intelligible as it is from a certain point of view, could not be carried out with consistency on account of the contradictory attributes of the pagan gods; thus the Eumenidae received, at Sicyon, the offering of pregnant sheep,<sup>15</sup> because they were believed not only to spread blast and destruction among the crops, but also to protect and to bless them, and to grant offspring and domestic concord.<sup>16</sup>

Other regulations were futile or ludicrous. Importance was attached to the condition of the tail. The Greeks considered a pig unfit for sacrifice, unless the tail was complete.<sup>17</sup> The Romans excluded the calf from the altar, unless its tail reached to the pastern joint,<sup>18</sup> since the tail, small at the birth of the calf, grows gradually larger, till the beast arrives at maturity;<sup>19</sup> or unless the tail was rounded off at the end, the tongue not cloven, and the ear not black.<sup>20</sup> They disqualified calves which had been carried to the altar on men's shoulders, or struggled to get away from the altar,<sup>21</sup> on which latter point more will be said in the proper place.<sup>22</sup> Some tribes sacrificed to Mars asses distinguished by stentorian loudness of voice.<sup>23</sup>

B. The materials of BLOODLESS SACRIFICES were prescribed to possess the following qualifications.

1. The *ears of corn* (אָרְיִב), presented as a first-fruit offering,<sup>24</sup> were to be of the earlier and superior sort, carefully cultivated as if in a garden (בְּרִמָּה), and the grains were to be rubbed or beaten out (גִּרָּה).<sup>25</sup>

2. The *flour*<sup>26</sup> was ordinarily to be of the *finest* or *best* quality, in

("Forda ferens bos est, foecundaque dicta ferendo ... Nunc gravidum pecus est, gravidae quoque semine terrae. Telluri plenae victima plena datur": in which words the leading idea is distinctly expressed); *Macrob.* Sat. I. 12 (sus praegnans mactatur, quae est hostia propria Terrae); *Varro*, Ling. Lat. V. 3; *Fest.* pp. 83, 102; *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 22.

<sup>14</sup> *Hom.* Od. XI. 30 (στειρά βοῦς).

<sup>15</sup> *Pausan.* II. xi. 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Aeschyl.* Eumen. 835 sqq.; comp. *Jul. Braun*, Naturgeschichte der Sage, II. 177.

<sup>17</sup> *Aristoph.* Acharn. 750, 751 (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θύσιμός ἐστιν ἀντηγή, κίρκον οὐκ ἔχει); comp. *Swidas* sub κόλουρα.

<sup>18</sup> Victimarum probatio in vitulo ut articulum suffraginis contingat (cauda).

<sup>19</sup> *Plin.* H. N. VIII. 45 or 70.

<sup>20</sup> *Serv.* ad Virg. Aen. VI. 38, ne habeant caudam aculeatam, ne linguam fissam, ne aurem nigram.

<sup>21</sup> *Plin.* l. c.

<sup>22</sup> See Sect. XX.

<sup>23</sup> *Ael.* H. A. XII. 34.

<sup>24</sup> *Lev.* II. 14.

<sup>25</sup> See Comm. on II. 14—16, Philological Remarks.

<sup>26</sup> כֹּלֶם (Lev. II. 1, 5; VII. 12; Num. VII. 13, 19, 25, etc.), from כָּלַם, to be ground or crushed, hence explained by Kimchi (s. v.) הקטם שהוא טחון the flour which is ground very much; while Josephus (*Ant.* III. ix. 4), perhaps taking the root כָּלַם in the sense of purifying or sieving through, describes it ἄλευρον καθαρί-  
τατον; similarly Philo (*De Victim.* c. 15) ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρώτατου τῆς ἀνθρώπινης

contradistinction to the coarser sort,<sup>1</sup> and from the choicest species of grain, *wheat*.<sup>2</sup> However, the offering presented for the wife suspected of faithlessness, consisted of the common flour of the less valuable grain of *barley*.<sup>3</sup>

3. The flour, of which never less than an *omer* or a tenth of an ephah was used for an offering,<sup>4</sup> because this quantity was, as a rule, deemed sufficient for one person's daily sustenance,<sup>5</sup> after having been mixed with water and converted into dough,<sup>6</sup> was either leavened,<sup>7</sup> or remained more generally unleavened.<sup>8</sup> It was baked either into *loaves*,<sup>9</sup> into *thin cakes* or *wafers*,<sup>10</sup> or into *thick cakes* pierced with little holes:<sup>11</sup> the thickness is supposed never to have exceeded one finger; and the holes were produced by the small and smooth flints, with which the pot or pitcher used for preparing the cakes was half filled, and over which the dough was spread; such holes are still made in the unleavened cakes of the Arabs and the passover-cakes (מצות) of the Jews, though in the latter, of course, not in the primitive way just described. Both the thick and the thin cakes are believed to have been round in form.<sup>12</sup>

4. The *Oil* (שמן) employed for the bloodless offerings, was to be the white *olive-oil* (שמן זית)<sup>13</sup> obtained from the green, unripe berries squeezed or beaten in a mortar (קִרְחִית); not that inferior though more abundant kind gained from the ripe olives trodden out with the feet or thrown into oil-presses or oil-mills; much less the very valueless and

ερεσφῆς; and Ebn Ezra (on Lev. II. 1) קמח חטה נקיה, which is in Arabic قمح, *سميد* (*Freytag*, *Lex. Arab.* II. 351, *simila*, *panis albus*); and therefore rendered by Targ. Jonath. קמח סמדה (comp. *Mishn. Men.* VIII. 1); Sept. *σμιδαλις*; Vulg. *simila*; Luther *Sammel-mehl*.

<sup>1</sup> Or קמח; comp. Num. V. 15; 1 Ki. V. 2; *Mishn. Aboth*, V. 15 (a winnowing fan which removes the קמח, but retains the סלח); although the combination קמח סלח is also used (Gen. XVIII. 6), קמח being evidently the generic name, with סלח as a qualifying term.

<sup>2</sup> חטה or חטים; comp. Exod. XXIX. 2; 1 Chr. XXI. 23; Ezra VI. 9; *Plin.* H. N. XVIII. 7.

<sup>3</sup> שעורים, Num. V. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Num. XV. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Exod. XVI. 16.

<sup>6</sup> עריסה; Num. XV. 20, 21; Ezek. XLIV. 30; Neh. X. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. VII. 13; XXIII. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. II. 11.

<sup>9</sup> לחם; Exod. XXIX. 2; Lev. XXIII. 17.

<sup>10</sup> ריקים (from רקק *to flatten*, *to make thin by beating*); Exod. XXIX. 2; Lev. II. 4; VIII. 26; 1 Chr. XXIII. 29. The Samaritan has רקריקן, from רקק *to extend, to level*; the Talmud (*Betsah* 21b) places ריקין into opposition to גרצין, which are *thick cakes*.

<sup>11</sup> חלח (from חלל *to perforate*); Exod. XXIX. 2; Lev. II. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Ebn Ezra* on Lev. II. 1; comp. also Sect. XI.

<sup>13</sup> Oleum omphacium of Pliny (*H. N.* XII. 27 or 60).

unsavoury oils extensively used in the East.<sup>14</sup> It was to be pure (קַי), that is, not mixed with any other fluid.<sup>15</sup>

Now this oil was used in different ways. It was often simply poured over the offering,<sup>16</sup> whether over the plain flour,<sup>17</sup> or over the pieces into which the oblation was divided,<sup>18</sup> or over the roasted ears of corn presented as firstfruits.<sup>19</sup> The thicker cakes (קִלְיוֹת), that is, the flour of which they were prepared, were mingled with oil;<sup>20</sup> the thinner cakes (רִקְקִים), after having been baked, were anointed, that is, brushed over with it,<sup>21</sup> according to Jewish tradition in the form of the Greek letter X.<sup>22</sup> In a few cases, the offering was soaked in oil and almost saturated with it;<sup>23</sup> this was the case with the oblation which both the common and the High-priests presented on the day of their consecration; and with the flour which formed a part of the cereal accompaniment of the praise-offering.<sup>24</sup> It is evident, that the ampler or scantier use of the oil stood in significant relation to the nature of the offering, and harmonised with the symbolical attributes of the oil.<sup>25</sup>

5. The *frank-incense*,<sup>26</sup> largely imported into Palestine from Arabia Felix, especially from Sheba,<sup>27</sup> and obtained from a thorny shrub, *Amyris kataf* or *Juniperus thurifera*,<sup>28</sup> growing on mountainous tracts, with leaves and fruit resembling those of the myrtle, was ordered to be pure (קַי), which epithet probably refers to the white and superior frank-incense, procured by incisions in the bark of the plant in the beginning of autumn; while the reddish kind gathered in the winter, is of much meaner quality.<sup>29</sup> The quantity required for each offering is not fixed in the Pentateuch, and was probably left to the piety and

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Harmer, Observ. I. 413.

<sup>15</sup> Hence the holy oil is described as שֶׁמֶן זַיִת וְזָךְ כְּחֵיחַ. Comp. Exod. XXX. 34—35, and Comm. on Exod. pp. 482, 483. <sup>16</sup> יָצַק, also נָחַן (Lev. II. 15).

<sup>17</sup> Lev. II. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Lev. II. 4; see Sect. X. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. II. 16.

<sup>20</sup> בָּלָלוּ (from בָּלַל to mix up). Lev. II. 4; or סָלַח בָּלֹלָה בְּשֶׁמֶן (Lev. II. 5; Num. VII. 19, 25, etc.), or merely סָלַח בְּשֶׁמֶן (Lev. II. 7). The word בָּלַל occurs also on the sacrificial tablet of Marseilles (line 14).

<sup>21</sup> מְשַׁחִים, Lev. VII. 12; Sept. δια-  
μεργισμένα ἐν ἐλαίῳ.

<sup>22</sup> Mishn. Menach. VI. 3; Siphra 73b.

<sup>23</sup> מִן הַיָּד, from רָבַךְ to dip, to mix, or to prepare by mixing. Philo (De

Victim. c. 15) has ταγγισθὲν ἐν ἐλαίῳ; the Sept. render carelessly both בָּלָלוּ and מָרַכָּךְ by μετρημένους; Ebn Ezra gives as its meaning מְבַחֵרָה; other Jewish expositors רִכְכָּה or בְּמַהֲרָה (see Ebn Ezra on Lev. VI. 14), which are mere hazards. The *modus operandi* described by Ravius (in Relandi Antiqq. Sacr. p. 623) seems too complicated.

<sup>24</sup> Lev. VI. 14; VII. 12; 1 Chr. XXIII. 29; comp. Maimon. Maas. Hakkorb. XIII. 6; Thalkofer, Unblut. Opfer, pp. 122 sqq. <sup>25</sup> See Sect. IX. 2.

<sup>26</sup> לִבְנָה, Sept. λιβαντός, λίβανος.

<sup>27</sup> Although the best kinds are found in Hadhramaut.

<sup>28</sup> Or in India, from the Boswellia serrata.

<sup>29</sup> Comp. Comm. on Exod. p. 569.

capability of the worshipper. — While frank-incense was, by the Israelites, presented only as an accompaniment of other oblations, it was by several Greek and many middle Asiatic tribes presented alone<sup>1</sup> and often in copious abundance.<sup>2</sup>

6. The *wine* ordained for libations (יֵינִי) is in no manner described or qualified. Hence, probably, the ordinary or red wine was understood, especially as it easily admitted of a welcome symbolical meaning,<sup>3</sup> and the fine red colour of the wine was admired and extolled.<sup>4</sup>

7. Once another fluid — שֵׁכָר — is mentioned as a libation;<sup>5</sup> it is probably some strong<sup>6</sup> or intoxicating liquor,<sup>7</sup> resembling wine in its nature and effects,<sup>8</sup> though distinct from it,<sup>9</sup> and hence, like wine, interdicted to priests during their sacred functions,<sup>10</sup> to Nazarites,<sup>11</sup> and other persons of peculiar sanctity.<sup>12</sup> The Arabs designate by the same name (سَكْر) wine made from dry grapes or dates.<sup>13</sup>

8. Nor is the *salt* (מֶלַח), which was to be used not only with the bloodless, but with all sacrifices generally,<sup>14</sup> described in any way. It is well known that the Dead Sea is strongly impregnated with salt which is partly brought thither from the salt-mountain (Usdum) on the southwestern shores, and partly, especially in the northern regions, deposited at the bottom of the lake itself; so that the mineral covers, by exhalation, the surrounding trees with a thick crust, sometimes imparts to the whole neighbourhood the appearance of a snowy plain; and is, after the annual inundations, plentifully found in the marshes

<sup>1</sup> *Hom.* II. VI. 270, comp. ver. 301; *Hesiod*, Op. et D. 338; comp. *Nitzsch*, Od. II. p. 15; *Voss*, Antisymb. II. 456; *Ritter*, Erdk. XII. pp. 356 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 90; comp. *Ovid*, Fast. I. 339; *Plin.* H. N. XIII. 1; XXII. 118; XXIV. 102 or 61; *Porphyr.* Abstin. II. 17; *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 26 (where, however, the antiquity of the use of frank-incense for sacrifices is underrated).

<sup>3</sup> See Sect. IX. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Prov. XXIII. 31. The rules laid down by Jewish tradition may be found in *Mishn.* Menach. VIII. 6, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Num. XXVIII. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Targ. Onk. and Jerus. עֲחִיק. חֲמֶר.

<sup>7</sup> Onk. Lev. X. 9 מֵרֵי; Sept. in 1 Sam. I. 15 μέθυσα (and in Isai. XIX. 10, reading שֵׁכָר for שֵׁכָר, ζύθος beer;

comp. *Diod. Sic.* I. 34; IV. 2; *Dioscor.* II. 109); .Vulg. *omne quod inebriare potest* (Lev. X. 9; Num. VI. 3; etc); and שֵׁכָר is drunk or drunkard (1 Sam. XXV. 36; 1 Ki. XVI. 9), and שֵׁכָרִין drunkenness (Ezek. XXIII. 33; XXXIX. 19).

<sup>8</sup> Isai. V. 11; XXIV. 9; XXVIII. 7; Mic. II. 11; Prov. XX. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. X. 9; Num. VI. 3; Judg. XIII. 4, 7; 1 Sam. I. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. X. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Num. VI. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Judg. XIII. 4, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Kimchi (Lib. Rad. s. v.) explains it as an intoxicating beverage made of fruits (מִשְׁקֵה שְׂעוּשֵׁן מִפִּירוֹת שְׂרָא); Ebn Ezra (on Lev. X. 9) of wheat, honey, or dates; comp. *Herod.* II. 77; *Diod. Sic.* I. 20; *Dioscor.* I. c.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. II. 13; see p. 85.

and pits abounding in the vicinity.<sup>15</sup> It was hence called *Sodomitic salt*.<sup>16</sup> It was most probably this species which the Hebrews employed for sacred purposes. Large quantities of it were kept in the second Temple, in a room specially set apart for the stores;<sup>17</sup> and Antiochus the Great sent to the Jews, among other gifts, 375 medimni of salt for use at the sacrifices.<sup>18</sup> In default of Sodomitic salt the Hebrews availed themselves of that of Ostracine,<sup>19</sup> a town near Pelusium or Rhinocolura and the lake Sirbonis,<sup>20</sup> where salt was dug out of the earth "like blocks from a quarry."<sup>21</sup> But Jewish tradition mentions as unlawful a certain sort,<sup>22</sup> which is probably *preserved salt*,<sup>23</sup> prepared by the addition of various odoriferous substances, and serving as a choice sauce to season all kinds of food;<sup>24</sup> it is hence explained in the Talmud<sup>25</sup> as salt used by the rich in Rome, but to be avoided by the Jews because it was supposed to have been mixed with the entrails of unclean fishes, or soaked in pigs' fat. It is sufficient to mention the opinion of those who believe the salt of sacrifices to have been *bitumen*,<sup>26</sup> or *nitre*, because sea-salt was deemed unclean by the Hebrews as it was by the Egyptians.<sup>27</sup>

9. *Leaven* (לֶחֶם) and *honey* (דְּבַשׁ), though generally banished from the altar,<sup>28</sup> were admitted in a few exceptional cases: the former for the first new bread offered on Pentecost,<sup>29</sup> and for every praise-offering,<sup>30</sup> when the bread and the cakes were to be leavened; the latter, if presented as a firstfruit-offering.<sup>31</sup> The reason for these concessions will be pointed out in the following section of this treatise (IX. 9, 10).

Leaven was, in the earliest times, prepared from millet, or fine wheat-bran, kneaded with must; or from the meal of various plants, as the fitch (*crinum*) and the chicheling vetch (*occercula*); or from barley and water baked in cakes upon a hot hearth or in an earthen dish placed upon hot ashes and charcoals, after which the cakes were kept

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Ezek. XLVII. 11; Zeph. II. 9; *Joseph. Ant.* XIII. iv. 9.

<sup>16</sup> מֶלַח סוֹדִמִּית; *Talm. Menach.* 21b; see Comm on Gen. p. 418.

<sup>17</sup> *Mishn. Midd.* V. 3 (לֶשְׁכַּת הַמֶּלַח); comp. *Ezra* VI. 9; VII. 22.

<sup>18</sup> *Joseph. Ant.* XIII. iii. 3.

<sup>19</sup> מֶלַח אוֹסְתְרוֹקִינִי.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. *Plin. H. N.* V. 12<sup>2</sup> or 14.

<sup>21</sup> *Plin. XXXI.* 7 or 39; comp. *Reland, Antiqq.* III. i. 31; *Palaest.* I. 11.

<sup>22</sup> מֶלַח סֶלְקִינִי (Mishn. Abod. Sar. II. 6), also written מֶלַח סֶלְקִינִי (Talm. Abod. Sar. 39b).

<sup>23</sup> Sal conditum.

<sup>24</sup> *Plin. H. N.* XXXI. 7 (41).

<sup>25</sup> Abod. Sar. 39b.

<sup>26</sup> Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Hardt, a. o.; comp. *Carpzov, Appar. Crit.* pp. 718, 719.

<sup>27</sup> So Michaelis (Suppl. IV. p. 1507), who unwarrantably punctuates מֶלַח בְּרִית instead מֶלַח בְּרִית (comp. Num. XVIII. 19). <sup>28</sup> Lev. II. 11.

<sup>29</sup> קֶרֶבֶן רֵאשִׁית, Lev. XXIII. 17.

<sup>30</sup> וּבֹחַ חֹדֶשׁ שְׁלָמִים, Lev. VII. 13.

<sup>31</sup> קֶרֶבֶן רֵאשִׁית, Lev. II. 12; comp. 2 Chr. XXXI. 5; Am. IV. 5.



close in vessels till they turned sour. In later periods, it was made chiefly from the bread-flour without salt, kneaded, and then either boiled to the consistency of porridge and left till it became sour, or simply allowed to stand for a few days.<sup>1</sup> Among the Hebrews, this last method seems to have been most common, but they employed for fermentation must or wine-lees also.<sup>2</sup>

10. But we confess our inability to determine the sort of *honey* understood by the Hebrew law — whether it was the bee-honey,<sup>3</sup> so plentiful in Palestine;<sup>4</sup> or, as is less probable, the grape-honey, or *dibs* of the Orientals, which is prepared from must boiled down to one third (when it was called *syracum*), or one half (when it bore the name *defrutum*);<sup>5</sup> or whether it was the date honey (דְּבַשׁ תְּמָרִים);<sup>6</sup> or fruit-honey generally.<sup>7</sup> Theophrastus, however, who erroneously represents the Hebrews as having used much honey in their libations offered with the holocausts,<sup>8</sup> was, no doubt, like those whom he followed, misled by the usage extensively prevailing among other nations, as the Persians and Eleans, who offered, especially to the gods of the lower world and at the sacrifices for the dead,<sup>9</sup> either honey alone, or mixed with the holy cakes, or spread on fruits,<sup>10</sup> whence honey was called the "sweet food of the gods",<sup>11</sup> which they eagerly desire.<sup>12</sup>

## IX. SYMBOLICAL MEANING OF OBJECTS CONNECTED WITH SACRIFICES.

The sacrificial rites and observances cannot be meaningless and hazardous. They were evidently devised to facilitate the ends which they were intended to serve. They must be understood as instrumental either in restoring or in testifying to the peace of mind and its harmony

<sup>1</sup> See *Plin.* H. N. XVIII. 26 (11).

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Pesach. III. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Philo*, De Victim. c. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. III. 8, 17; XIII. 5; Lev. XX. 24; Num. XIII. 27; Deut. VI. 3; Josh. V. 6; Jer. XI. 5; Ezek. XX. 6.

<sup>5</sup> See Comm. on Genes. p. 667.

<sup>6</sup> See *Ebn Ezra* and *Rashbam* on Lev. II. 11. Rabbinical authorities even assert that wherever דְּבַשׁ is mentioned in the Pentateuch, without qualification or epithet, date-honey is meant; comp. *Hottinger*, Jus Hebraeor. p. 166.

<sup>7</sup> כָּל מִתְקָה פֶּרִי קָרְיָה דְּבַשׁ, so *Rashi* (on Lev. II. 11), *Maimon.* (Issur. Hammizb. V. 1; *Maas. Hakkorb.* XII.

14); *Abarban.* and other Jewish interpreters; comp. *Cels.* Microb. II. 462—467.

<sup>8</sup> De Abstin. II. 26, πολὺ μέλι καὶ οἶνον λείποντες; comp. Ezek. XVI. 19.

<sup>9</sup> *Eurip.* Orest. 115; *Aesch.* Orest. 612; *Heliod.* VI. 14; *Porphyr.* De Antro Nymph. 18.

<sup>10</sup> *Pausan.* V. 15; *Plat.* Legg. VI. 22 (p. 682, πέλαιοι δὲ καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδυμένοι); comp. *Sophocl.* apud *Porphyr.* De Abstin. II. 19; *Sil. Ital.* XIII. 434; *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. IV. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Θεῶν ἡδεῖα ἐδεσθῆναι, Hymn. in Mercur. 562.

<sup>12</sup> *Batrachom.* 39; comp. *Spencer*, Legg. Ritt. II. xi. 2; *Bochart*, Hieroz.



with God. They are, therefore, visible embodiments of spiritual ideas — they bear a symbolical character.<sup>13</sup> However, the slaughtering of animals and the offering of gifts unavoidably involve certain requirements and acts, without which they cannot be accomplished. Though, therefore, some of the ceremonies have a spiritual meaning, others cannot, without unprofitable playfulness, be interpreted symbolically: a correct appreciation of the nature of the Law will aid the judgment in fixing the distinction. We begin with the sacrificial *objects* which seem to imply a symbolical meaning; after which we shall attempt to explain the *acts* which belong to the same category.

### 1. SALT.

Salt was indeed, in primitive sacrifices, probably employed merely because it formed an indispensable ingredient in all human food. But when religious education advanced beyond the anthropopathic stage, this seasoning, though still deemed necessary in every sacrifice, was invested with a symbolical meaning. Its significance cannot be mistaken; it was accepted not only by the eastern but the classical nations; and passed, in many languages, into a standing and proverbial metaphor. Enjoined, in the Levitical law, immediately after the prohibition of leaven and honey (II. 13), salt was evidently regarded to be exactly opposed to them in its nature; and as leaven and honey were repudiated because they recall the notions of corruption, decay, and impurity, salt was prescribed, because it implies the ideas of preservation and life, of vigour and permanence, of purity and holiness. It was, therefore, connected with the very essence of sacrifices; it typified that for which all offerings were mainly presented. Starting from the observation that salt shields many objects from decomposition and putrescence,<sup>14</sup> the early and imaginative generations, following their symbolising propensities,<sup>15</sup> employed it in sealing relations which they desired to be binding and enduring. They used it particularly in concluding friendships and treaties. This custom prevailed among the Greeks<sup>16</sup>

II. iv. 12; *Sykes*, Von der Natur, Absicht, und dem Ursprung der Opfer, p. 117.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Philo*, De victim c. 5, Σύμβολα δὲ ἔστι τὰ λεχθέντα φανερὰ ἀδύλων καὶ ἀφανῶν.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Theophylact*. in Luc. XIV. 34, ἀσηπτον μένον καὶ ἀβλαβὲς καὶ ἔτι διαφυλάττει ἀσηπτα οἷς ἂν μεταδῇ τῆς παιότητος; *Diog. Laert.* Pythag. 19 (VIII. 35), οἱ γὰρ ἅλεις πᾶν οἷον σῶναι

ᾧ, τι ἂν παραλάβῃ; *Plin.* II. N. XXXI. 9 (45), Salis natura est per se ignea... defuncta etiam a putrescendo vindicans, ut durent ita per saccula; *Macrobi.* Sat. VII. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Porphyr.* De Antr. 36.

<sup>16</sup> *Eustath.* ad *Iliad.* I. 449 (φιλίας οἱ ἅλεις σύμβολον); IX. 214 (συναγωγὴ ἔστιν ὁ ἅλεις εἰς φιλίαν καὶ εὐνοίας σύμβολον τοῖς ἔτεσις ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ παρετίθετο).

who hence designated the salt as holy,<sup>1</sup> and it still obtains among the Arabs.<sup>2</sup> Dipping a piece of bread in salt, each of the contracting parties exclaims, "Salam (Peace)! I am the friend of your friends, and the foe of your foes." Solemn affirmations are corroborated by invoking the sacredness of salt, and may then more surely be relied upon than upon an oath.<sup>3</sup> A place where salt is found is deemed inviolable.<sup>4</sup> The Hebrews described an eternal and indissoluble alliance as a *salt-covenant* (בְּרִית מֶלַח).<sup>5</sup> Now, as the sacrifices were designed to effect an intimate and perpetual unity between God and man, they were to be offered with salt; and this was hence called "the salt of the covenant of God."<sup>6</sup> Thus salt was undoubtedly prescribed not for bloodless oblations alone, but for every kind of animal sacrifice;<sup>7</sup> and this is confirmed by later allusions<sup>8</sup> and express statements;<sup>9</sup> and according to tradition, it was to be used with the shew-bread also,<sup>10</sup> even with the oil and frank-incense;<sup>11</sup> in fact, with all substances connected with sacrifices, except the wine, the blood, and the wood.<sup>12</sup> It may hence be explained why salt was cast into springs of unwholesome water for the purpose of improving it.<sup>13</sup> This act may indeed have had a natural and physical foundation, since some substances, among which was probably salt, were believed to possess the power of correcting distasteful qualities of the water:<sup>14</sup> but it recommended itself

<sup>1</sup> Ἱεροὶ ἅλας (*Heliod.* IV. 16); see *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Volney*, Travels, I. 314; *Tischendorf*, Reisen, I. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Rosenmüller*, Morgenland, II. 151, 153, 154. This usage, therefore, does not owe its origin to the stone-like hardness of several sorts of salt, which, as Bruce remarks, passes from hand to hand, and serves as a coin without wearing off.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *D'Herbelot*, Biblioth. Orient. sub Jacoub ben Laith; *Rosenmüller*, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Num. XVIII. 19, לֶחֶם עֹלָם בְּרִית, לֶחֶם עֹלָם; 2 Chr. XIII. 5, בְּרִית... לֶעֹלָם מֶלַח. This term hardly means "a covenant not deficient in the seasoning of truth and earnestness" (*Hengstenberg*, Opfer p. 47): the latter notions are not the fundamental but derivative meanings of the word salt (see *infra*).

<sup>6</sup> Lev. II. 13, מֶלַח בְּרִית אֱלֹהִים; comp. John VI. 27 (ἐργάζεσθε μὴ τῆς

βρωσῶν τὴν ἀπολλυμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν βρωσῶν τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον).

<sup>7</sup> Though the Hebrew text (Lev. II. 13) seems, at first glance, to allude to the מֶלַח only (וְכָל קָרְבַּן מִנְחָתְךָ בְּמֶלַח), it adds, by way of qualification, a general injunction (עַל כָּל קָרְבָּנְךָ חֲקִירֵי מֶלַח).

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Ezek.* XLIII. 24, where the priests are ordered to throw salt on the holocausts (עֹלֹתָי); and herewith agrees the description of Josephus (*Ant.* III. ix. 1); comp. *Mishn.* Zebach. VI. 5, 6.

<sup>9</sup> Mark IX. 49, πᾶσα θυσία ἀλλ' ἁλισθήσεται.

<sup>10</sup> Sept. in Lev. XXIV. 7 (ἐπιθήσεται ἐπὶ τὸ θύμα λίβανον καθαρόν καὶ ἅλα).

<sup>11</sup> *Talm.* Menach. 21, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Jos. Ant.* XII. iii. 3; *Mishn.* Midd. V. 2; *Maimon.* Maas. Hakkorb. c. 6; *Issure Hammizbeach* c. 5.

<sup>13</sup> 2 Ki. II. 20, 21.

<sup>14</sup> See *Comm.* on *Exod.* p. 279.

chiefly on account of the symbolical significance of preservation and healing attributed to salt; and therefore the narratives which relate such changes in the nature of the water bear a miraculous character.

Again, as decay is associated with the ideas of death and impurity, salt, which prevents or counteracts decay, became the type of life and purity, the more so as it was believed "to be itself composed of the purest particles of water and sea";<sup>15</sup> it could be used for a metaphor like this, "have salt in yourselves", meaning benevolence, righteousness and good-will, and a peaceful communion with your fellow-men;<sup>16</sup> and thus we may understand the pithy expression, "every man shall be salted with fire",<sup>17</sup> that is shall be *purified*, since the same power was attributed to the salt as to the fire, which is pre-eminently the purifying element.<sup>18</sup>

These Biblical notions were gradually extended and amplified, in which process they not always retained their original simplicity. Philo,<sup>19</sup> correctly describing salt to imply a duration for ever (*ἅπαν διαμονήν*), concludes, in his accustomed manner of spiritualisation, that it is second in rank only to the soul, "for as the soul is the cause of preserving the bodies from destruction, so likewise is salt, which best keeps them together, and to some extent makes them immortal."<sup>20</sup> Therefore Philo compares it to the altar, "which preserves the sacrifices in a proper manner, and this too, though the flesh is consumed by fire."<sup>21</sup> Christian mystics understood the salt to symbolise *Christ* preserving from corruption the soul by his doctrine, and the body by the promised resurrection; or they compared it to the *Word of God* which strengthens and purifies.<sup>22</sup> More commonly accepted, however, was the following view. Unity with God is not possible, unless the heart be pure. But the heart can only remain so by steeling itself against temptation. Hence the "salt of the covenant" was regarded to typify wisdom which discerns sinful inclinations, and fortitude which conquers them; it was taken to intimate that untruth and hypocrisy, envy and malice, and all evil passions that corrupt and taint the health of the mind, render

<sup>15</sup> *Diog. Laert.* VIII. 35.

<sup>16</sup> Mark IX. 50, Ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις.

<sup>17</sup> Mark IX. 49, πᾶς πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται; comp. Matth. III. 11.

<sup>18</sup> See Sect. X. 13.

<sup>19</sup> *De Victim. Offer.* c. 6.

<sup>20</sup> The same idea is similarly expressed by Plutarch (*Sympos.* V. x. 3; IV. iv. 3). Plautus also (*Trinum.* II. iv.

91) calls the soul of man his *salillum*, instead of which word, however, modern editions (as that of Fleckeisen in Teubner's collection) read *scintillula*.

<sup>21</sup> For, as usual, basing his etymology on the *Greek* text of the Old Testament, he derives *θυσιαστήριον* altar from *διατηρίω* and *θυσίας* — *παρὰ τὸ διατηρεῖν ὡς δώσει τὰς θυσίας*.

<sup>22</sup> See *Carpzov*, *Appar.* p. 720.

the offering unavailing in the eyes of God; and it was invested with the power of converting the sacrifice into a perpetual bond with God under the condition only that it reminded the worshipper himself of his moral obligations and religious aims. Salt thus obtained a twofold significance and holiness. In this sense, Pythagoras commended that salt ought to be set before people as an admonition to justice.<sup>1</sup> But it could thus also be used as a synonym for wisdom and penetration, judgment and intelligence. "Let your speech", wrote Paul to the Colossians, "be always with grace, seasoned with salt<sup>2</sup> that you may know how you ought to answer every man." The apostles were called "the salt of the earth",<sup>3</sup> that is, those who by teaching and guiding the world, guard it from degeneration and moral decay; so that, in that phrase, the term salt implies both the original and the collateral sense. The Greeks employed the word *salt* (ἅλας) for wit or sarcasm.<sup>4</sup> The Romans, on the testimony of Pliny,<sup>5</sup> had no better term<sup>6</sup> to express "the pleasures of the mind, the effusions of humour, and in fact all the amenities of life, supreme cheerfulness, and relaxation from toil",<sup>7</sup> or intellectual acuteness, good sense and shrewdness.<sup>8</sup> The Greeks and Romans shared indeed, on the whole, the Hebrew notions with regard to the use of salt at the sacred rites. They maintained the principle that no sacrifice ought to be offered unless accompanied by salted grits.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ὑπόμνησις τοῦ δικαίου; *Diog. Laert.* VIII. 35.

<sup>2</sup> ἅλατι ἡρτωμένος, *Col.* IV. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Matth.* V. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Comp. Plut. Sympos.* V. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Nat.* XXXI. 7(41).

<sup>6</sup> Both in the singular and plural, *sal* and *sales*.

<sup>7</sup> *Comp. Hor. Sat.* I. x. 3; *Ars Poet.* 271; *Catull.* LXXXVI. 4; *Cic. De Orat.* II. 23 (99); *Nat. Deor.* II. 29 (74); *Tuscul.* V. 19 (55); *Brut.* 34 (128); *Plin. H. N.* XXXV. 10 (37).

<sup>8</sup> *Terent. Eun.* III. i. 10; *Hor. Epist.* II. ii. 60; *Catull.* XIII. 5; *Quinctil.* X. i. 94; *Cicer. Orat.* 26 or 87.

<sup>9</sup> *Mola salsa*, that is, grains of spelt coarsely ground and mixed with salt (*Festus*, p. 141 ed. Müll., *Mola vocatur far tostum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostiae adspergerentur*); and *immolare* to sacrifice, is properly to sprinkle the victim with *mola salsa* (*Serv. Virg. Aen.* IV. 57). "Maxime

tamen in sacris intelligitur auctoritas, quando nulla conficiuntur sine mola salsa", *Plin. H. N.* XXXI. 7(41); XVIII. 2; *comp. Ovid, Fast.* I. 127, 337, 338 (*Ante deos homini quod conciliare valeret, Far erat et puri lucida mica salis*); II. 538; III. 284 (*farra salsa*); *Plaut. Amph.* II. ii. 108 (740); *Virg. Aen.* II. 133 (*salsae fruges*); *Ecl.* VIII. 82 (*sparge molam*); *Cic. De Div.* II. 16; *Mart. VII. v. 4*; *Lucan, Phars.* I. 610; *Stat. Sylv.* I. iv. 130, 131. Corresponding to the *molae salsae*, the Greeks had the οὔλαι or οὐλοχύται (*Hom. Od.* III. 441, 445; IV. 761; II. I. 449, 458; *Herod.* I. 132; *Dion. Hal.* VII. 72), which the Scholiast (on *Iliad.* I. 449) explains as κρεθαί μετὰ ἁλῶν μεμιγμένας ἅς ἐπέχειον τοῖς ἱεροουργουμένοις ζώοις πρὸ τοῦ θύεσθαι; *comp. Schol. Aristoph. Equit.* 1163. The assertion of Schömann (*Griech. Alterthüm.* II. 229), who denies the usage among the Greeks, is, therefore, hardly tenable.

They even ascribed to the salt divine attributes,<sup>10</sup> because they believed it conduces to generation; and as the marine animals are the most fruitful of all, cattle that were to be incited to breeding were fed with salt-beef and other salted food.<sup>11</sup> Among the Romans, the salt-cellar (*salinum*), the symbol of food and sustenance, was held in equal honour with the lares, and placed in the middle of the table at all meals, which thereby received the character of sacrifices;<sup>12</sup> it formed an heirloom in the family, was preserved with the utmost care, and kept with scrupulous neatness.<sup>13</sup> The sumptuary laws which restricted the use of all articles of luxury, permitted a bowl (*patera*) and salt-cellar of silver;<sup>14</sup> the latter was, especially for the sacrificial service, made in the most elegant and costly manner possible, and was even in the earliest times of severe simplicity, of precious metal, chiefly of silver.<sup>15</sup> The Greeks called the salt "grace" (*χάρις*), "because it makes the food palatable that is necessary for life";<sup>16</sup> therefore they often worshipped Poseidon and Demeter in the same temple. They maintained that as all colours need light, so all fluids require salt to have an effect upon our sensation; that all meat is dead; and that the power of salt which joins it like a soul, imparts to it "grace" and a pleasant taste.<sup>17</sup> If in the East, persons eat together bread and salt, they are most solemnly pledged to mutual friendship which it is considered the height of impiety to betray; their persons and their property, their safety and their honour, become objects of each other's sacred solicitude.<sup>18</sup>

The Egyptian priests alone, if they did not entirely abstain from salt,<sup>19</sup> excluded it from their meals during the time of their purification, because they thought it whets the appetite beyond the natural necessities.<sup>20</sup> But they were apparently singular in this view; and even they

<sup>10</sup> *Homer* (Iliad IX. 214) calls it *θειός*, and *Plato* (Tim. XXV or 60 E) *θειοειλής*. Comp. *Heyne*, Opuscul. Academic. I. 368 sqq.; *Wachter*, l.c. p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> *Plut.* Sympos. V. x. 4; comp. No. 10 of this Section. We may, therefore, be well surprised at the assertion of *Maimonides* (Mor. Neb. III. 46) that the Pentateuch demanded salt from motives of opposition to heathen usages. Nor was it enjoined because "Moses desired to restore the ancient simplicity of sacrificial rites" (*Spencer*, Legg. Ritt. III. ii. 2), as it probably had always formed an ingredient of offerings.

<sup>12</sup> *Sacras facitis mensas salinorum*

*adpositu et simulacris decorum*, *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. II. 67.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Hor.* Od. II. xvi. 13, 14 (*paternum splendet in mensa tenui salinum*); *Sat.* I. iii. 14; *Catull.* XXIII. 19; *Pers.* III. 25 (*purum et sine labe salinum*); V. 138; the phrase *purior salillo* was proverbial.

<sup>14</sup> *Plin.* H. N. XXXIII. 12 (54).

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Liv.* XXVI. 36; *Valer. Max.* IV. iv. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Plut.* Symp. V. x. 3; comp. *לֶחֶם*, Job VI. 6. <sup>17</sup> *Plut.* Symp. IV. iv. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Rosenmüller*, *Morgenl.* II. 154—156. <sup>19</sup> *Plut.* Symp. V. x. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Plut.* Is. 5.

distinguished between pure and impure salt, the former salpetre or nitre, the latter marine salt, which was forbidden at sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> Yet the Hebrews observed the peculiar custom of scattering salt over places destined for perpetual desolation, such as destroyed cities which were never to be rebuilt.<sup>2</sup> This practice probably originated in the noticed fact that tracts containing salt are remarkable for sterility and unproductiveness,<sup>3</sup> and this opinion was naturally strengthened, in Palestine, by the aspect of the dreary regions round the Dead Sea, where the vegetation is scanty and stunted, and where the salt accumulates in cheerless pits and marshes.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. OIL.

Men were easily taught by experience to appreciate the valuable properties of oil. They found that it stimulates the vital powers of the healthy, revives the languishing energy of the feeble, and checks even the incipient decomposition of the dead. Oil was, therefore, from primitive ages, employed as a means for refreshing the body;<sup>5</sup> as a restorative remedy in cases of illness, especially for wounds;<sup>6</sup> and as a chief ingredient for embalming corpses.<sup>7</sup> It was used as a symbol and accompaniment of joy,<sup>8</sup> especially at festive repasts;<sup>9</sup> it was resorted to when persons prepared to appear before superiors, or when they rose from their ordinary life to proceed to some higher and more solemn function;<sup>10</sup> while it was avoided in times of grief and mourn-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Michael*. on Exod. XXX. 35; De Nitro, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. IX. 45; comp. Deut. XXIX. 22.

<sup>3</sup> So says Pliny (H. N. XXXI. 7 or 39), omnis locus in quo reperitur sal, sterilis est nihilque gignit; and the same remark is more copiously made by Virgil (Georg. II. 238—240), though it hardly holds good in so general a form (comp. *Van Goes*. Scriptor. Rei Agrim. p. 137). Hence מֶלַחָה (Job XXXIX. 6; Ps. CVII. 37) and אֶרֶץ מֶלַחָה (Jer. XVII. 6) are synonymous with עֲרֵבָה or מִדְבָּר; comp. Sir. XXXIX. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Zeph. II. 9 (מִשֶּׁק חֲרוֹל) (מִסְכָּה מֶלַח); Ezek. XLVII. 11. But in the Greek proverb ἄλασεν ὑμῖν ἡ ἄλς it rains salt, that is, great fertility prevails, salt is taken in the more usual sense of food and provision.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Strabo*, XVI. 20 (p. 746); *Hom.* II. X. 577; *Herod.* I. 195; Ruth III. 3; Judith X. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Isai. I. 6; Ps. CIX. 18; Mark VI. 13; Luke X. 34; Jam. V. 14; comp. *Mishn.* Shabb. XIV. 4; *Plin.* H. N. XXIII. 4 (38); XXIV. 9 (38); XXIX. 13; *Strab.* XV. 60 (p. 713); *Dion Cass.* LIII. 29; *Curt.* IX. 10 (38); *Joseph.* Ant. XVII. vi. 5; Bell. Jud. I. xxxiii. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Mark XIV. 8; John XII. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Isai LXI. 3 and Ps. XLV. 8 (שֶׁמֶן שִׂמְחָה); Prov. XXI. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Ps. XXIII. 5; XCII. 11; CIV. 15; Ezek. XVI. 9; Am. VI. 6; Eccl. IX. 8; comp. Deut. XXVIII. 40; Mic. VI. 15; Wisd. II. 7; Luke VII. 38, 46; John XII. 3; comp. *Hom.* II. X. 577; *Lucret.* IV. 1125; *Athen.* XII. 78; *Petron.* Sat. LXV. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Knobel* on Exod. XXX. 30.

ing,<sup>11</sup> and even of solemnity, as on the Day of Atonement.<sup>12</sup> It was thus naturally chosen to typify *life*, the more so as life and *light* appeared to be kindred qualities, and were more completely than in any other fluid or substance found united in oil, one of the choicest and richest products of the promised land.<sup>13</sup> Hence oil was extensively regarded as an emblem of *the spirit* (רוח) of God, of intelligent and godlike reason, of the higher and rational life of man.<sup>14</sup> Anointing became synonymous with imparting the Divine spirit,<sup>15</sup> which is the source of life and light in the ideal world, as oil in the world of matter. Now, the worship of God, and especially its centre, the sacrificial service, aims at the diffusion of the light of the mind and the life of the soul, of truth and righteousness, of wisdom and peace, of the knowledge of the Law and its exercise, of wisdom and happiness;<sup>16</sup> in a word it tends to *holiness*, God's most comprehensive attribute and Israel's ultimate goal;<sup>17</sup> it is intended to rouse the Divine or *holy spirit*.<sup>18</sup> Therefore oil was also termed "the oil of holiness",<sup>19</sup> or "the oil of holy ointment";<sup>20</sup> anointing was equivalent to bestowing holiness or *sanctifying*,<sup>21</sup> and this again coincided with *consecrating* or *installing* in the priestly office to serve before the Lord:<sup>22</sup> these three notions were coupled in the command, "And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and hallow them, to serve Me as priests."<sup>23</sup> Therefore, oil accompanied most of the bloodless offerings,<sup>24</sup> whether the flour and cakes were mixed, poured over, anointed, or soaked with it (p. 105); and it marked them as consecrated to God. It was employed, with peculiar abundance, in the bloodless offering presented by the High-priest on the day of

<sup>11</sup> 2 Sam. XIV. 2; Dan. X. 3; Matth. VI. 17; comp. 2 Sam. XII. 20.

<sup>12</sup> *Mishn.* Yom. VIII. 1; Shabb. IX. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Num. XVIII. 12; Deut. XXVIII. 40; XXXII. 13; Judg. IX. 8; Isai. X. 27; Jer. XXXI. 12; XLI. 8; Ezek. XVI. 13, 19; Mic. VI. 7, 15; Joel II. 19; Job XXIX. 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Kliefoth*, Liturg. Abhandlungen, IV. 106, 120. Less exact is the meaning of *snith* (*Hengstenberg*, Opfer, p. 47), or "the gentle comfort and relief of an all-pervading, restoring, and peaceful power, or the Mercy of God" (*W. Newman*, in *Schneider's Zeitschrift*, 1853, p. 340).

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Isai. LXI. 1; 1 Sam. X. 1, 6; XVI. 13, 14; Zechar. IV. 3, 6; and so *χρίαι* and *χρίσμα* in the New Testa-

ment, Acts IV. 27; X. 38; 1 John II. 20, 27; 2 Cor. I. 21.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Prov. VI. 23 (נר מצוה ודארה); Ps. XXXVI. 10.

<sup>17</sup> See p. 3, and Comm. on ch. XI.

<sup>18</sup> רוח קדש (Ps. LI. 13; Isai. LXIII. 10, 11), or *πνεῦμα ἁγίου* (John III. 6—8; XIV. 26; XVI. 13; Gal. V. 25; VI. 6; 1 Cor. II. 12; Tit. III. 5).

<sup>19</sup> שמן קדש (Ps. LXXXIX. 21).

<sup>20</sup> שמן משהח קדש (Exod. XXX. 25, 31).

<sup>21</sup> קדש (Exod. XXIX. 36; XXX. 29, 30; XL. 9—11, 13; Lev. VIII. 12).

<sup>22</sup> Exod. XXIX. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Exod. XXX. 30; comp. XXVIII. 41; XL. 13.

<sup>24</sup> Comp. Lev. II. 1, 4, 7, 15; VI. 8; VII. 12; etc.



his consecration.<sup>1</sup> It was used to set apart objects for religious purposes, or to appoint persons for sacred service. Thus the Hebrews anointed with oil memorial-stones or *betylia*;<sup>2</sup> the Tabernacle with all its vessels, and particularly the altar, the instrument of atonement;<sup>3</sup> the priests, the mediators between God and the people,<sup>4</sup> and more especially the High-priest, who was "the anointed priest" *par excellence*,<sup>5</sup> and was himself termed "the holy one of the Lord";<sup>6</sup> the prophets, the interpreters of God's will;<sup>7</sup> and the kings, the earthly representatives of the Divine ruler.<sup>8</sup> Whether such kings only were anointed as commenced a new dynasty or had no legal right to the throne, or whether all kings alike were so consecrated, is not quite certain: the instances in which the Old Testament mentions the rite, would favour the former alternative; though the appellation "the anointed of the Lord" (מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה) employed with reference to all legitimate kings might point to a more general custom.<sup>9</sup> But oil was excluded, like frank-incense, from the sin-offering and the offering of jealousy.<sup>10</sup> Its symbolical significance in the ordinances of the מנחה seems to be indisputably established by these two exceptions, which prove that the oil did not form, as has been supposed,<sup>11</sup> a chief part of the oblation itself, like the flour, but that it was a characteristic *addition*, like the frank-incense<sup>12</sup> — a circumstance rendered indubitable by the plain text, "And when any one will offer a bloodless offering to the Lord, his offering shall be of fine flour, and he shall pour oil upon it, and put frank-incense thereon."<sup>13</sup> The same conclusion is confirmed by the ordinance which fixes the relative quantity of flour,

<sup>1</sup> Lev. VI. 14; see Comm. on VI. 12—16; and Sect. XI.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. XXVIII. 18; XXXV. 14: this was not merely a libation, which is mentioned separately; see Comm. on Gen. pp. 523, 524.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. XXIX. 36; XXX. 23—30; Lev. VIII. 10, 11; Num. VII. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. XXVIII. 41; XXIX. 7; XL. 13, 15; comp. Lev. VI. 13; VII. 36; VIII. 12; X. 7; XIV. 15—18, 26—29; XVI. 32; Num. III. 3.

<sup>5</sup> הכהן המשיח (Lev. IV. 3, 5, 16; VI. 15; comp. XXI. 10, 12; Num. XXXV. 25); see the Treatise on Priesthood, ch. I.

<sup>6</sup> קדוש יְהוָה, Ps. CVI. 16; see notes on VII. 6—13. <sup>7</sup> 1 Ki. XIX. 16.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Sam. IX. 16; X. 1; XV. 1, 17;

XVI. 12, 13; 2 Sam. I. 14; II. 4; V. 3; XII. 7; XIX. 11; 1 Ki. I. 34, 39; XIX. 15, 16; 2 Ki. IX. 1—6; XI. 12; XXIII. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. II. 10, 35; XVI. 6; XXIV. 7; XXVI. 16, 23; 2 Sam. XIX. 22; Ps. II. 2; etc.; compare also לְמַשׁוֹחַ מֶלֶךְ (Judg. IX. 8) simply for *electing* or *appointing* a king.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. V. 11; Num. V. 15; see Sect. XI.

<sup>11</sup> Bähr, Symb. II. 302, 320; comp. Winer, Real-Wört. II. 169, note 1; Neumann, l. c. p. 339; Kliefoth, l. c. IV. 101, 103; Ohler, l. c. p. 626; Thalhofer, Die unblut. Opfer, p. 85.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Hengstenb. Opfer, p. 45; Keil, Archäol. I. 202; Kurtz, Opfere. § 143.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. II. 1; comp. ver. 15.

oil, and wine to be used for a מנחה and its accompanying drink-offering.<sup>14</sup> As oil is never consumed alone, like wine or bread, but together with other products or preparations, which it is meant to make more savoury, especially in the East, where it is a frequent substitute for fat and butter, so it is never mentioned as an independent gift, like the wine, but appears mingled or otherwise combined with the flour or the pastry.<sup>15</sup>

The oil used for ordinary consumption and that employed for anointing, were probably identical in early times. But the Levitical law deemed it desirable to distinguish the latter, especially in the consecration of the Sanctuary and its ministers, by the admixture of four sweet-smelling ingredients, myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, and cassia;<sup>16</sup> because four was regarded as the number of perfection and totality; it indicated, on the one hand, that the sacred anointment should comprehend the entire wealth of fragrance which pervades the vegetable kingdom; and on the other hand, that the holiness of those for whom it was intended, should be absolute and perfect; hence the imitation of the compound and its use for profane purposes were threatened with excision, since God's holiness could manifest itself in His Sanctuary and in His servants only.<sup>17</sup>

### 3. WINE.

The application of wine in connection with offerings is too natural to demand any figurative interpretation. The wine "gladdens God and man"<sup>18</sup> — reason enough why it was deemed pre-eminently fit for the altar. But it is not impossible that the symbolising spirit of the ancients endowed it with a peculiar significance. *Red* wine was generally employed to recall the colour and nature of blood. The wine offered with the vegetable oblations represented the blood of animal sacrifices.<sup>19</sup> The High-priest is declared to have poured out, as a libation, "the blood of the grape";<sup>20</sup> the same metaphor occurs repeatedly in the Hebrew

<sup>14</sup> Num. XV. 4—10.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 105. The log of oil in Lev. XIV. 10 does not belong to the *sacrifice*. It has been asserted, that oil was used with the bloodless offerings in order to feed the sacrificial fire (*Scholl*, in *Klaiber's Studien*, V. 1, 131 *sqq.*); or in order to accustom the Hebrews to take oil for pastry, and thus to promote the cultivation of the olive-tree (*Michael. Mos. R.* § 191); these and similar opinions require no refutation.

<sup>16</sup> Exod. XXX. 23, 24; comp. Comm. on Ex. pp. 564—568.

<sup>17</sup> See Comm. on Exod. p. 564; comp. *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 167 *sqq.*; *Winer*, *Real-Wört.* II. 169, 357—359; *Kurtz*, *Opfere.* §§ 143, 144; etc.

<sup>18</sup> Judg. IX. 13 (המשמח אלהים וינאדם); Ps. CIV. 15; see Comm. on Genes. p. 230.

<sup>19</sup> See Sect. XI. XII.

<sup>20</sup> Ἐσπυσεν δὲ αἵματος σταγυλῆς, Sir. L. 15.

Scriptures;<sup>1</sup> and the Romans mixed blood of the victim with red wine to express the kindred meaning of both.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. FRANK-INCENSE.

The frank-incense was no doubt originally chosen for sacrifices on account of its fragrance, which was supposed to be pleasing to the gods.<sup>3</sup> It was, therefore, employed among most of the ancient nations whenever they were able to procure it;<sup>4</sup> and in some religions of middle and western Asia, it rose lavishly on the altars, and formed the chief offering (p. 90). It was burnt either as an independent oblation or as an accompaniment of other gifts; and it was deemed especially desirable in conjunction with animal sacrifices, to counteract the ill-odour inseparable from the total or partial burning of the victims.<sup>5</sup> In their earliest stages, the Israelites naturally shared these anthropomorphic views, of which a trace is left in the Hebrew phrase "a sweet odour to the Lord."<sup>6</sup> However, as in all other instances, they gradually modified the primitive and pagan notions, in accordance with their purer conceptions of the nature of the Deity.<sup>7</sup> They understood the terms in a spiritual sense. Frank-incense was regarded as a symbol of the devotion of the soul to God, and of its approach to His holiness. It became a metaphor for fervent and contrite prayer.<sup>8</sup> It was, therefore, burnt *entire*; no part of it, as was the case with the oil, belonged to the priest,<sup>9</sup> because the prayer was addressed to God exclusively, to none else. It was put alone, with the exclusion of wine and oil, on the shew-bread,<sup>10</sup> which symbolised the daily worship and supplication of the holy community.<sup>11</sup> It became customary for the people to pray in the Court while the fumigation was performed in the Holy;<sup>12</sup> and the fragrance of the incense and the prayers of the pious were believed to

<sup>1</sup> See Gen. XLIX. 11 (עֲנַבִּים); Deut. XXXII. 14 (עֲנַב); comp. 1 Macc. VI. 34 (αἶμα σταφυλῆς); Sir. XXXIX. 26.

<sup>2</sup> "Assiratum", says Festus, "apud antiquos dicebatur genus quoddam potionis vino et sanguine temperatum; quod Latini prisci sanguinem assir vocarent." Other explanations, as that of Abarbanel (Intro. to Lev. c. IV), who considers wine as a type of that moral and spiritual perfection which is attainable through the Law, are less simple and obvious.

<sup>3</sup> Incense is sometimes simply called

*evodia* (Max. Tyr. diss. 34); comp. *Diod. Sic.* I. 84 (εὐωδίας θυμωörteres).

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 28; *Plin.* H. N. XIII. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Sect. X. 13; *Abarban.* Intro. to Lev. c. 1 fin.; *Maimon.* Mor. Neb. III. 45; *Bauer,* Gottesd. Verf. I. 112, 113; II. 213—216.

<sup>6</sup> עֲנַבִּים לַיהוָה, see pp. 7, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Sect. XII.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. CXLI. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. II. 2, 16, 18, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. XXIV. 5—7.

<sup>11</sup> See Comm. on Exod. p. 481.

<sup>12</sup> Luke I. 10.

ascend simultaneously to the throne of God.<sup>13</sup> It was, therefore, invested with the power of atonement.<sup>14</sup> It thus had, in vegetable offerings, the force attributed to the blood in animal sacrifices.<sup>15</sup> Its fragrance might even represent the Divine spirit and godlike sanctity.<sup>16</sup> Sometimes the incense has been interpreted as an emblem of the *name of the deity*, or, if applied to Jehovah, of the *holy* name of God; therefore, the phrase "to burn incense to God" was considered to be identical with "proclaiming or confessing His name", or with worshipping and praising Him:<sup>17</sup> but this opinion, subtle and specious in itself, is derived from very doubtful premises.<sup>18</sup> With greater truth has the incense been taken to typify moral perfection, as a counterpart to oil, the emblem of intellectual greatness;<sup>19</sup> though this view is neither strictly accurate, nor applicable to all instances.

But frank-incense was, like oil, interdicted at the sin-offering and the offering of jealousy;<sup>20</sup> for the latter also was an oblation "that brings iniquity to remembrance."<sup>21</sup> Both were presented in a condition very different from the qualities symbolised by oil and frank-incense. They reflected neither peace nor devotional prayer; the former had, or might have been, forfeited by guilt; and the latter is accepted from a pure mind only. Other reasons have been assigned for that prohibition. As oil and frank-incense are ornamental and cheering additions, it was believed they could not be admitted in the offering of jealousy, which might possibly reveal baseness and criminal levity;<sup>22</sup> or as the adulteress had loved darkness, her offering was to be unconnected with oil, which, moreover, symbolized a good name forfeited by her: the former view is too vague, the latter trifling. It suffices to allude to the strange opinion that both accompaniments were remitted in sin-

<sup>13</sup> Revel. VIII. 3, 4; comp. V. 8; comp. *Ovid*, *Metam.* VI. 164 (*turæque dant sanctis et verba precantia flammis*); *Pont.* I. iv. 55; *Fast.* IV. 410; *Trist.* I. ii. 104; *Mart.* VIII. xxiv. 4; *Sil. It.* IV. 795, 796.

<sup>14</sup> See Num. XVII. 6—15; comp. Lev. XVI. 12, 13.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Lev. II. 1, 2, 15, 16; Num. VII. 14, 20, 26, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. *Sir.* XXXIX. 13, 14; 2 Cor. II. 12: but it is precarious to support this opinion by the etymological affinity of the Hebrew terms [חַסָּד] and [קָדֹשׁ] (*Bähr*, *Symb.* I. 458—470).

<sup>17</sup> Comp. מִזְבֵּיחַ לְבָנָה, *Isai.* LXVI. 3. So *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 327, 329; I. 462

*sqq.*; *der salomon. Tempel*, p. 181; comp. *Kurtz*, *Opfere.* § 146.

<sup>18</sup> For it cannot be proved that the term מִזְבֵּיחַ בִּשְׁם יְהוָה means *to burn incense*, like קָרָא בִּשְׁם יְהוָה; the passages quoted for the purpose (*Josh.* XXIII. 7; *Ps.* XX. 8; *Isai.* XXVI. 13; *XLVIII.* 1; *LXIII.* 7; *Am.* VI. 10) are inconclusive. That burning incense to *heathen* gods is often synonymous with worshipping them, has been explained above (p. 90).

<sup>19</sup> *Abarban.* *Introd.* to *Levit.* c. IV.

<sup>20</sup> *Lev.* V. 11; *Num.* V. 15.

<sup>21</sup> מִזְבֵּיחַ עֵץ.

<sup>22</sup> *Rashi* on *Lev.* V. 11; comp. *Chrysostom.* *Orat.* V. adv. *Jud.* ἐπεὶ πῶς

the two firstling-loaves of Pentecost, because these loaves  
vened,<sup>3</sup> and could therefore not be burnt on the altar, either  
partially.

But while plain frank-incense accompanied the sacrifices  
fumigations (קֶטֶר) in the Sanctuary consisted of four in-  
gredients specified in the Law.<sup>4</sup> For incense was primitively and was  
employed with offerings; it was a simple and natural means of  
worship; it was, therefore, *retained* in the Pentateuch from earliest times.  
But the preparation from the four ingredients is of later introduction;  
it is specifically Levitical; it is ordained in harmony with the more  
elaborated and more splendid ritual of the Tabernacle and the Temple.  
Hence incense was prescribed for all private worshippers, but the golden  
incense-pan was reserved for the priests; the one was burnt in the outer  
Court, the other in the Holy only.<sup>5</sup>

#### 5. 6. WHEAT AND BARLEY.

Wheat was naturally regarded as the choicest, barley as the inferior grain. The former was, therefore, employed for all oblations, the latter in some exceptional cases, where its use might easily be accounted for. As wheat is compact and nutritious, it is heavy in weight<sup>6</sup> and has little bran, the term "fat of wheat" is a usual metaphor,<sup>7</sup> and later writers declared it even as "food worthy of man, the creature endowed with speech and reason."<sup>8</sup>

But barley<sup>9</sup> was considered poor and common: it was the food of the poor.

*vile*; <sup>10</sup> it was deemed fit especially for beasts; <sup>11</sup> it had in Palestine about half the value of wheat; <sup>12</sup> and it was extensively and perhaps ordinarily employed for bread by the poorer, though occasionally also by the wealthier classes. <sup>13</sup> Barley-meal was, therefore, used for the offering of jealousy: <sup>14</sup> from a reason similar to that which suggested the exclusion of oil and frankincense, the costlier wheaten flour was eschewed in an oblation stern and sad in its character, <sup>15</sup> and presented when the dearest relations of domestic life and affection were disturbed or imperilled. We need go no farther in searching for a reason; and least of all should we be inclined to admit that because the adulteress "behaved like the beasts whose connections with one another are promiscuous and incessant", she had to offer flour of that grain "which is of an ambiguous character (*ὑπαμφίβολος*), and serves as food both for irrational animals and indigent men"; <sup>16</sup> or that as she deserved contempt and degradation, her offering was stamped by inferiority and meanness: for when the ritual was performed her guilt was only to be tested; it was not yet proved.

But the presentation of a *barley*-sheaf on Passover was prompted by considerations entirely external; for barley ripens earlier; it was, therefore, more appropriate for a firstfruit-offering, <sup>17</sup> which marked the beginning of the corn-harvest, and which gratitude demanded not to delay beyond necessity. <sup>18</sup> All symbolical explanations of the command are, therefore, inevitably artificial.

#### 7. BLOOD.

The blood of victims is, in the Pentateuch, invested with a meaning which cannot be mistaken. Probably starting from the simple observations that a considerable loss of blood causes death, and that the healthful action of the nerves and muscles depends on its free and normal circulation, the Hebrews held that the blood is "the soul" of the animal, <sup>19</sup> that is, the principle of its existence. It was a funda-

<sup>10</sup> *Phaedr.* II. vii. 9 (*vile hordeum*).

<sup>11</sup> 1 Ki. V. 8; comp. *Plin.* H. N. XVIII. 7 or 14 (*panem ex hordeo antiquis usitatum vita damnavit quadrupedumque fere cibus est*).

<sup>12</sup> 2 Ki. VII. 1, 16, 18.

<sup>13</sup> Judg. VII. 13; 2 Ki. IV. 42; Ezek. IV. 9, 12; John VI. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Num. V. 15, 16, 25, 26.

<sup>15</sup> *Philo*, De Spec. Legg. I. 10 (Opp. II. 309, *διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι χαρτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἄγαν ἐδυστηροῖς μέλλειν τὴν θυσιάν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*).

<sup>16</sup> *Philo*, l. c.; so also *Mishn.* Sot. II. 1 (*כשם שמעשה מעשה בהמה כך קרבנה*) (*מאכל בהמה*), and *Rashi* in loc.; *Targ. Jon.* on Num. V. 15 (*קטחא רשערי*) (*רדינין מיכלא רבעירי*); comp. also Hos. III. 2; *Lundius*, *Jüd. Heiligthüm.* III. iv. 21, p. 794.

<sup>17</sup> עמר ראשית קצירכם, Lev. XXIII. 10; comp. *Mishn.* l. c.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. Comm. on Exod. pp. 162, 459.

<sup>19</sup> נֶפֶשׁ, Gen. IX. 4.

mental axiom, "The life of the flesh is in the blood",<sup>1</sup> or "the blood is the soul";<sup>2</sup> soul and blood were correlative notions;<sup>3</sup> hence dying was expressed by "pouring out the soul";<sup>4</sup> to "shed blood" meant "to destroy life";<sup>5</sup> the blood and the soul of the murdered were said alike to cry to heaven for vengeance;<sup>6</sup> "pure blood" became synonymous with "a pure soul";<sup>7</sup> and even the combination, "the soul of pure blood" was formed to denote a guiltless person.<sup>8</sup> "The blood is the libation of life", was a well-understood maxim;<sup>9</sup> for "the law-giver esteemed it to contain the soul and the spirit";<sup>10</sup> or "the breath is the essence of the soul, which has no place independently of the blood, but resembles it and is blended with it."<sup>11</sup> Blood was, therefore, considered most sacred; it seemed connected, by a mysterious bond, with the continuance of that breath, which God infuses in producing a *living creature*.<sup>12</sup> The Bible is so consistent in this conception that it indeed identifies blood with the principle of life or "the soul" (נַפֶּשׁ), but never with the power of reason, or with mind, intellect, and "spirit" (רוּחַ); the former is represented as animating the outward senses, the latter as a part of the Divine spirit itself.<sup>13</sup> Hence, as animals also were looked upon as endowed with "a soul", they were, in the period of man's inno-

<sup>1</sup> נֶפֶשׁ הַבָּשָׂר בַּדָּם, Lev. XVII. 11; comp. ver. 14.

<sup>2</sup> הָרוּחַ הוּא הַנֶּפֶשׁ, Deut. XII. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Ps. XCIV. 21; Matth. XXIII. 35.

<sup>4</sup> נֶפֶשׁ הַשֹּׁמֵךְ or הָעֵרָה נ' (Lament. II. 12; Is. LIII. 12); comp. *Virg. Aen.* IX. 349, *purpuream vomit ille animam* — a still bolder and more pregnant term.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Gen. IX. 6; Lev. XVII. 4; 1 Ki. II. 31; 2 Ki. XXI. 16; XXIV. 4; 1 Chr. XXII. 8; etc.; comp. Prov. XXVIII. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Gen. IV. 10 and Job XXIV. 12; see also Hebr. XII. 24; Rev. VI. 9, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. XCIV. 21 (נֶפֶשׁ נָקִי); comp. Matth. XXIII. 35 (αἷμα δίκαιον).

<sup>8</sup> נֶפֶשׁ נָקִי דָם, Deut. XXVII. 25; comp. Jer. II. 34; and נֶפֶשׁ דָּם, Prov. XXVIII. 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Philo*, De Victim. c. 6, ψυχῆς γὰρ κυρίως εἰπαῖν ἔστι σπορδῆ τὸ αἷμα.

<sup>10</sup> *Joseph. Antiqq.* III. xi. 2, ψυχὴν αὐτὸ καὶ πνεῦμα νομίζων.

<sup>11</sup> *Phil. Fragm. ex Joh. Monach.* περὶ

ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ, *Opp.* II. 668 (*Tauchn.* VI. 259), ὡς εἶναι ψυχῆς μὲν οὐσίαν πνεῦμα, μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸ δὲ χωρὶς αἵματος τόπον ἐπέχειν, ἀλλ' ἐμπεριεσθαι καὶ συγκεκρασθαι αἵματι; comp. l. c. *Tauchn.* pp. 390, 391. The views that the blood was regarded as the *source* of life or of *generation*, and that it was supposed to contain virtually and potentially all the elements of organic life (*Delitzsch, Bibl. Psych.* p. 201—203), have no support in the O. T.

<sup>12</sup> רִיחַ נְדָבָה, Gen. I. 24.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. Gen. II. 7; IX. 4; Deut. XII. 23. Therefore *Philo* observes correctly (*Fragm.* l. c.) ψυχῆς οὐσία αἷμα ἐστὶν ψυχῆς μέντοι τῆς αἰσθητικῆς, οὐχὶ τῆς κατ' ἐξοχὴν γενομένης, ἥτις ἐστὶ λογικὴ καὶ νοερά. The blood was hardly conceived to be "the connecting link between mind and body, which unites both into a living person or נֶפֶשׁ" (*Hamburger, Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, I. pp. 193, 194); for the רוּחַ possesses higher attributes than the mere נֶפֶשׁ.



cence, not designed to be killed for human food; and though, after the flood, their flesh was allowed, their blood was interdicted by a command meant to be binding for all times and in every clime, and enforced under the most fearful penalties, "Whatever man there is of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, that eats any manner of blood; I will set My face against that soul that eats blood, and will cut him off from among his people";<sup>14</sup> which almost vehement severity, directed alike against the native and the foreigner, seems to have been suggested by the opposite and deep-rooted practice of the Hebrews and the surrounding nations.<sup>15</sup> The same prohibition was, with singular unanimity, upheld by Jewish tradition;<sup>16</sup> it was by an apostolic decree enjoined upon the early Christians as a most solemn moral obligation;<sup>17</sup> and it was enforced in the Koran among the fundamental laws of Mohammed's creed.<sup>18</sup> The custom of abstaining from blood seems to go back to very primitive times,<sup>19</sup> and was probably suggested by some simple or cosmic reasons.<sup>20</sup> It has been conjectured, that the Israelites shunned blood as being dangerous to gentleness of temper, and fostering animal propensities and the sanguinary nature of beasts;<sup>21</sup> or as injuring health, and if copiously taken, even causing death, as is especially the case with ox-blood,<sup>22</sup> or because it was, in Asia, commonly drunk at the sacrifices of heathens, and particularly for the confirmation of oaths or compacts, from which customs the Hebrews were to be weaned.<sup>23</sup> It may be a matter of dispute whether such considerations influenced them in the earliest periods, as

<sup>14</sup> Lev. XVII. 10; comp. ver. 14; Gen. IX. 4; Lev. III. 17; VII. 26, 27; XIX. 26; Deut. XII. 16, 23—25; XV. 23.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. XIV. 32, 33; Ezek. XXXIII. 25; *Philo*, De Concup. c. 10.

<sup>16</sup> It fixed the strictest regulations for removing the blood from the meat by soaking the latter in water and salting it. Comp. *Yor. Deah* §§ 69 sqq.

<sup>17</sup> Acts XV. 20, 29; XXI. 25; comp. *Joseph. Antiqq.* I. iii. 8; see Comm. on Gen. pp. 215, 216; and so the Fathers of the Church, comp. *Tertull. Apolog.* c. 9.

<sup>18</sup> *Koran* II. 168; V. 4; VI. 146; XVI. 116.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. Gen. IX. 4 (though, of course, this passage proves nothing but the *author's* view of the period of its introduction); 1 Sam. XIV. 32, 33.

<sup>20</sup> It is groundless to assert that it

did not exist among the Jews before the time of the Babylonian exile; so *Ghillany*, Menschenopfer, pp. 605, 606; Ewald, in his admirable remarks on the subject (*Alterth.* pp. 38—42), more justly places it in very early times.

<sup>21</sup> *Maimon. Mor. Neb.* III. 48; *Nachman.* on Levit. XVII. 11 (p. 966), חַיִּים וְחַיִּים כְּנֶפֶשׁ הָאָדָם; *Delitzsch*, Bibl. Psych. p. 201 (the command was to prevent "thierische Verrohung des Menschen"); Comm. zu Gen. p. 265.

<sup>22</sup> *Rosenmüll.* on Lev. III. 17; comp. *Val. Max.* V. vi. 3; on the blood-suckers in India see *Transact. of As. Soc.* III. p. 379 sqq.

<sup>23</sup> *Michael. Mos. R.* IV. § 206; *De Wette*, Beiträge, II. 56; *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. I. p. 131; comp. *Hottinger*, Jur. Hebr. Legg. pp. 200—203; *Spencer*, De Legg. Ritt. I. x. 2.

they perhaps guided other nations; but they certainly find no echo in the Bible; this regards the blood as the seat of life, and forbids it for that reason exclusively.

And from this point of view alone can the significance of the blood in the Hebrew sacrifices be correctly estimated. As the victim gives up its life for him who offers it,<sup>1</sup> and thereby restores his harmony of mind or secures his atonement, the blood which represents that life is of paramount moment in the economy of the sacrificial ritual; it forms, in a certain respect, its very centre; and not unjustly has it been described as "the kernel of the offering."<sup>2</sup> So intimately was, in the course of time, the prohibition of blood connected with the system of sacrifice, that it was indeed extended to all quadrupeds and birds, but not applied to fishes, because the latter were never offered on the altar.<sup>3</sup> The old Jewish canon "there is no atonement except by blood",<sup>4</sup> accords with the spirit of the Law; the few exceptions judiciously admitted in the Pentateuch,<sup>5</sup> so far from disproving the supreme importance of the blood in sacrifices,<sup>6</sup> help to confirm the general rule.<sup>7</sup> Hence that blood only was efficacious for propitiation, which was shed in *killing* the animal, not that which flowed from a wound or any unhealthy organ.<sup>8</sup> The blood was not a mere symbol; it was not regarded, "in the hand of God and by His will, as the means of atonement",<sup>9</sup> a view that has been prompted by aversion to the doctrine of vicariousness: it was supposed actually to conciliate the deity as no other agency could have done, because it responds to the demand of "life for life." Nor was it employed in the public ceremonials because it was deemed the seat of desire, passion, and sin, and was, therefore, to be removed; if so, how could it be put on the most sacred parts of the Tabernacle and Temple, on the altars of the Court and of the Holy, the vail of the Holy of Holies, and the Mercy-seat with the Cherubim? Will it be seriously urged that "the misdeed itself which is engendered by the

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> עֵקֶר הַזֶּבֶחַ.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Lev. VII. 26; XVII. 13; see *infra*, and notes on VII. 22—27. The blood of *unclean* fishes, however, was forbidden according to tradition, which established the general rule מִכָּל הַיּוֹצֵא מִן הַמָּיִם טָמֵא.

<sup>4</sup> אין כפרה אלא בדם, *Talm. Yom 5a*; *Menach. 39*; *Zebach. 6a*; comp. Hebr. IX. 22 (χαρὶς αἱματεχυοῖας οὐ γίνεται ἁφραῖς); see also 1 Pet. I. 2; Hebr. IX. 12—14; XII. 24; Matth. XXVI. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. V. 11—13; comp. Exod. XXX. 12—16.

<sup>6</sup> *Strauss, Streitschriften*, I. p. 163.

<sup>7</sup> See Sect. XV.

<sup>8</sup> The latter was by the Talmudists called רֵם הַיֵּכָרִים, and it was, according to the same authorities, not punishable by excision (כרת), but as a simple prohibition (לאי) by flagellation only (מלקות; *Yor. Deah* § 67; comp. *Hottinger*, l. c. pp. 201, 202), though this distinction is hardly in harmony with the precepts of the Law.

<sup>9</sup> *Bähr, Symb.* II. 203.

blood, is purified and ennobled in the presence of God"? Indeed the blood was by no means esteemed impure; it was not considered to have become so because the guilt of the sinner was transferred to the victim;<sup>10</sup> for the latter did not take upon itself the guilt, but the punishment of the offender. On the contrary, the blood had the power of purifying and sanctifying the dedicated implements on which it was sprinkled, as the brazen and the golden altar,<sup>11</sup> or the persons and garments of the High-priest and the common priests at their consecration,<sup>12</sup> the leper after his recovery,<sup>13</sup> and the contracting parties at the conclusion of treaties;<sup>14</sup> in certain cases, it hallowed even those objects which it touched by chance;<sup>15</sup> and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews could declare in general terms, "almost all things are by the Law purged with blood."<sup>16</sup> Had it been impure and not holy, it would not have been put by the Hebrews on the door-posts and lintels of their houses, on the night of the exodus, as a distinctive badge of safety and rescue.<sup>17</sup> It was, like the fat, "the food of God";<sup>18</sup> and the Law propounded the principle that a sin-offering of which any of the blood was brought into the Holy for atonement, was not to be eaten but entirely burnt; whereas the flesh of the other expiatory sacrifices was consumed by the priests.<sup>19</sup>

However, it would be erroneous to declare the blood as the principle and foundation to which every sacrificial law or rite is traceable;<sup>20</sup> such inference can at least not be derived from a passage prominent and notable indeed, but surely not so comprehensive in import, namely "The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes an atonement for the soul" (Lev. XVII. 11). These words explain merely the signification of the sacrificial blood; they do not disclose the nature and meaning of the sacrifices themselves. If so, they would exclude all bloodless offerings. The sprinkling of blood formed indeed a part in all animal sacrifices, but it was not the principal act in all alike; it had this paramount significance in expiatory

<sup>10</sup> So *De Wette*, *De Morte Jes. Chr. expiat.* p. 16; a. o.; the view of the Persians who according to *Strabo* (XV. iii. 14, p. 733), "took care that none of the pure water was sprinkled with blood, and thus polluted" (ὡς μαινεύοντες), proves nothing for the Hebrew conceptions.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. VIII. 15; XVI. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. VIII. 23, 24, 30.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. XIV. 7, 14.

<sup>14</sup> Exod. XXIV. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Lev. VI. 20.

<sup>16</sup> Καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν αἵματι πάντα καθαρῶνται κατὰ τὸν νόμον, *Hebr.* IX. 22; comp. vers. 13, 14.

<sup>17</sup> Exod. XII. 7, 13.

<sup>18</sup> חֵמָה דָּמָה, *Ezek.* XLIV. 7, 15; comp. *P's.* L. 13.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. VII. 23; see *Sect. XV*; comp. also *Demosth.* *Adv. Conon.* 39.

<sup>20</sup> This has been attempted by *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 199 *sqq.*; comp. *Hengstenb.* *Opfer* p. 4; *Kurtz*, *Opfere.* p. 33.

offerings, but it was, in holocausts and in thank-offerings, subordinated to other and more characteristic rites.<sup>1</sup> All classes of animal sacrifice considered together, not the blood itself was most essential, but the shedding of the blood, or the killing of the victim, or its death.<sup>2</sup>

The eating of blood was properly interdicted because it was considered to be or to enclose the soul; but on this prohibition also the Levitical legislators desired to impress their stamp; they regarded such a reason as too mundane and too physical, and therefore strengthened it by urging that the blood ought lawfully to be appropriated, on the altar alone, to the ends of atonement.<sup>3</sup> But they were in this case, as in most others, unable to efface the lines of history. A clear trace of the primitive notion has been preserved in two laws: even the blood of cattle that was killed at home and for food was to be "poured out on the ground like water", and to be covered with earth;<sup>4</sup> and not only the blood of the sacrificial animals, of ox, sheep, and goat, was to be avoided, but also that of all other clean beasts, as stags, roes, and gazelles, and of all birds — evidence enough that the considerations of altar and sacrifice did not originally prompt the comprehensive prohibition;<sup>5</sup> and this becomes more evident still by a comparison of the corresponding ordinance regarding the abstinence from fat.<sup>6</sup>

The notions of the Israelites with regard to the blood were not isolated; they were shared, though with some significant modifications, by nearly every people and tribe which offered animal sacrifices. The Egyptians hieroglyphically expressed the soul by a hawk, because, they said, "the one like the other feeds on blood";<sup>7</sup> and they plainly taught that the soul and reason of animate creatures dwell in the blood.<sup>8</sup> The Chaldeans held that man was formed of earth and of the blood of the god Belus, the one constituting his body, the other his soul.<sup>9</sup> Early philosophers of Greece simply maintained, "the soul is blood";<sup>10</sup> some,

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. X. 13; XI—XV. So judges also *Hermann*, Gottesdienstl. Alterth. d. Griech. p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> See also notes on XVII. 11.

<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, incorrect to place Lev. III. 17 and VI. 26 in the same period as XVII. 11, and still more so to assert that the last-named passage is repeated in Deut. XII. 16, 23, 24; XV. 23 (so, f. i., *Ewald*, Alterth. p. 39). The principle laid down in Lev. XVII. 11 is by far of the latest date; and is not, as it could not be, repeated at all in any of the passages mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. XII. 16, 24; comp. ver. 23; Lev. XVII. 13; see *Yor. Deah* § 28.

<sup>5</sup> This view, therefore, is clearly untenable; *Keil*, Archäol. II. 23, 24; comp. *Kurtz*, Opfere. pp. 13—15.

<sup>6</sup> See No 8 of this Section.

<sup>7</sup> *Horapoll.* I. 7, ἰσραὴλ διὰ τὸ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν συμπαθεῖν, ὅθεν οὐ πίνει τὸ σαθρότερον ἀλλ' αἷμα ᾧ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τρέφεται.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Gladisch*, Empedocles und die Aegypter, p. 53 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> *Euseb.* Chron. Armen. I. p. 24 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> *Arist.* De Anim. I. 2; comp. *Tertullian.* De Anim. c. 15.

perhaps adopting Egyptian doctrines, limited this power to the blood of the heart;<sup>11</sup> the stoics defined the soul as "an exhalation from blood";<sup>12</sup> and others contended that the soul is nourished by the blood.<sup>13</sup> The Romans used *anima litare* as synonymous with *sanguine litare*, and both were the priestly terms commonly employed for sacrificing under favourable auspices.<sup>14</sup> In the old Teuton tongue, blood is equivalent with soul or life,<sup>15</sup> and the blood of Odin, falling on the ground, was believed, in the ensuing spring, to produce herbs and flowers. Again, the bloody offerings were everywhere the more important class;<sup>16</sup> they were considered to realise more completely the idea of sacrifice, not merely because for warlike tribes, requiring strong sensations, fire-offerings were more congenial than the simpler bloodless oblations;<sup>17</sup> but because blood was, at all times and under every zone, supposed to be pre-eminently fitted to work expiation and to appease the gods.<sup>18</sup> The Persians offered to the deity nothing of the flesh, but only the blood "or the soul."<sup>19</sup> Whenever the old Arabians implored a god for benefits, they besmeared his image with blood. The Chinese put blood on things connected with the object of the sacrifice, as for instance on the ship, in which a voyage was intended, thereby trusting to secure the good-will of the gods.<sup>20</sup> The Scythians poured the blood of captive enemies over an iron shield which represented the figure of the god of war.<sup>21</sup> In India, at the sacrifices of Shiva, the blood of the victim is solemnly carried before the image of the god; his wife Kali is entreated to drink of it; and the people, sprinkling with it their faces, prostrate themselves to the ground.<sup>22</sup> In fact, blood is in many instances synonymous with sacrifice itself. In Greek, to sacri-

<sup>11</sup> *Αἷμα περικάρδιον*; so Empedocles, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν (ψυχὴ) ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἵματος συντάσει; "Empedocles animum esse censet cordi suffusum sanguinem", Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I. 9; comp. Plut. Plac. Philox. IV. 5; comp. Gladisch, l. c., and Anaxagoras und die Israeliten, p. 88.

<sup>12</sup> *Ἀναθυμίασις ἀπ' αἵματος*, Marc. Aurel. Medit. V. 33; VI. 15. Heraclitus also spoke of the soul as an *ἀναθυμίασις*; Aristot. l. c.

<sup>13</sup> *Τελεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος*, Diog. Laert. VIII. i. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Virg. Aen. II. 116, and Servius in loc., and ad II. 532; IV. 2; V. 79; VI. 222, 885; IX. 346; X. 908; Plaut. Poen. II. i. 41, 42 (tum me Jupiter

faciat ut semper sacrificem, nec unquam litem); Macrob. Saturn. III. 5 (litare, quod significat sacrificio facto placare numen); Grotius on Lev. XVII. 11. See our Comment. on Gen. IX. 5—7; Exod. XX. 13; XXI. 12—14.

<sup>15</sup> Mone, Geschichte des nord. Heidenth. I. 168. <sup>16</sup> See pp. 11—13.

<sup>17</sup> Ewald, Alterth. p. 30.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. Meiners, Krit. Gesch. II. 113; Görres, Mythengesch. p. 421; Kleuker, Anh. zum Zend-Avest. I. 2. p. 206; Grimm, Deutsche Myth. p. 35; Bähr, Symb. II. 263.

<sup>19</sup> Strab. XV. p. 732; Herod. II. 132.

<sup>20</sup> Bähr, Symb. II. 245.

<sup>21</sup> Herod. IV. 81.

<sup>22</sup> Asiat. Res. VIII. 51.

fice was expressed by αἱμάσσειν τοὺς βωμούς.<sup>1</sup> The ancient Germanic tribes, though presenting bloodless oblations also, called every offering blood (blot); to sacrifice or to worship was to bleed (blotan), and sacrificial service blood-service (blotinassus);<sup>2</sup> the priest was called a blood-man (blotmadur, blotgodar, or blutekirl); and among the ancient Prussians the high-priest *Crive* derived his name from *Krawia* which means blood.

Nor was the *sacredness* of blood less highly estimated by heathen nations than by the Hebrews. Blood was extensively employed for sealing compacts and treaties, and for ratifying solemn oaths and vows, as has been more fully specified in another place.<sup>3</sup> It was on such occasions sometimes mixed with wine,<sup>4</sup> and then drunk both by the contracting parties and those present who served as witnesses. The instance of Catiline will at once occur to every reader.<sup>5</sup> The boar-sacrifice offered by the northern nations to Freya, the goddess of fertility and peace, like Ceres, helped to renew the relations of loyalty between the king and his subjects and to confirm the oath of allegiance. Poured into pits or caverns the blood was believed to call up the gods and the spirits of the lower world and to elicit revelations.<sup>6</sup> The drinking of blood was believed to bestow higher powers or spiritual faculties, and especially the gift of prophecy, in a word, to effect a closer communion with the deity and the invisible world. The intact woman who gave oracles in the temple of Apollo Deiradiotes in Argos, killed by night every month a lamb, and drank of its blood whenever she wished to be prophetically inspired.<sup>7</sup> Though the Zabii ordinarily held blood in utter abhorrence and regarded it as the food of fiendish demons, they drank a part of the sacrificial blood, and devoted the rest to the gods; they thus hoped to conclude with them a holy friendship and to learn from them the future.<sup>8</sup> With a similar view, the priestesses of the Cimbri, who accompanied the armies, observed the blood of slain captives as it flowed into a brazen vessel.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Porphyr.* II. 7; *Pollux*, I. i. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Ulphilas* in Rom. XII. 1; Mark VII. 7; Luke II. 37; see *Edda Saemundar*. Kopenhag. 1787, 1818, I. 437—440; II. 587.

<sup>3</sup> See Comm. on Gen. p. 367, and on Exod. p. 472; comp. also Ps. XVI. 4; Zech. IX. 7; Ezek. XXXIII. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. the *vinum assiratum* of the Romans, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Sallust.* Cat. c. 22; *Dion Cass.* XXXVII. 30; Flor. IV. 1 (or II. 12); *Sil. Ital.* Pun. II. 426—428 (413—415).

<sup>6</sup> *Hom.* Od. XI. 23 *sqq.*; *Hor.* Sat. I. viii. 28, 29 (Cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde manes elicerent, animas responsa daturas); *Augustin.* De Civit. Dei VII. 35 (Genus divinationis ... a Persis ... allatum quo, adhibito sanguine, etiam inferos perhibet suscitari).

<sup>7</sup> *Pausan.* II. xxiv. 1, γυναικὴ δὲ τοῦ αἵματος ἣ γυνὴ κείνη ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεσθαι.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Maimon.* Mor. Neb. III. 46; *Origen.* C. Cels. VIII. p. 396 ed. Spenc.

<sup>9</sup> *Strab.* VII. ii. 3, p. 294.



The old Germans believed that the blood of victims imparted life and consciousness to inanimate objects; they therefore sprinkled it on the images of their gods in the hope of endowing them with speech and sensation. They supposed that it secured prolongation of life; they attributed to it the power of magic and witchcraft, which no earthly effort could resist; and in their language to bleed (*blotan*) signified to deify or to impart supernatural faculties.<sup>10</sup>

We have faithfully recorded and unfolded the notions of Hebrews and pagans on blood: but it would be impossible to analyse them from an absolute or philosophical point of view. They belong inseparably to the whole circle of primitive conceptions; and in connection with these alone they can be understood and fairly estimated. They originated in those childlike times, when the entire living creation was joined together by a bond of relationship, when the animals, though inferior to men, were conceived, like them, as cosmic beings, and when, therefore, the blood of either was regarded with the same holy awe and unaccountable terror, because in either case revered as an emanation from the soul of the universe, and hence inherently possessing the power of purification and atonement. But so irresistible is the mystic hold of these conceits upon the human mind, that they linger and vibrate even in those religious systems which have risen above a worship of nature and her powers; they have, in such creeds, indeed been subordinated to the doctrine of a Divine Ruler who created man in His own image, and the beasts as clay animated by the breath of life; but they have been retained as spiritual emblems which, like all symbols, could not be preserved in purity and without an admixture of irrational and superstitious alloy.

#### 8. FAT.

With the prohibition of the blood the interdiction of fat is more than once coupled in the Pentateuch, "You shall eat neither fat nor blood";<sup>11</sup> it is, like the law on blood, to be valid "as a perpetual statute for all generations";<sup>12</sup> and it is enjoined with almost equal severity, and under the same rigorous penalty, "You shall eat no manner of fat, of ox, or of sheep, or of goat... for whosoever eats the fat of the beasts, of which men offer an offering made by fire to the Lord, that soul that eats it shall be cut off from his people."<sup>13</sup> Moreover, fat is, like the blood, repeatedly called "the food of the Lord."<sup>14</sup> It cannot, therefore, be doubtful, that analogous reasons prompted the law in both cases.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Wachter* in *Ersch and Gruber's Encycl.* III. iv. 92, 101, 102.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. III. 17.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Lev. VII. 23, 25; comp. vers. 26, 27.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. III. 11, 16; Ezek. XLIV. 7, 15; comp. XXXIX. 19.



Nor is it difficult to discover the common principle. Like the blood, the fat is an index of the life and strength of the animal; and as man was to abstain from blood, because it was deemed the soul, so was he to avoid the fat, because it was supposed to express the health, vigour, and vitality of the animal. The Hebrew Scriptures allow us to trace the steps by which the fat gradually was endowed with such dignity. It was, from early times, naturally considered as "the richest part and that which guards the entrails; for it envelops them, and makes them flourish, and benefits them by the softness of its touch."<sup>1</sup> It became, therefore, a synonym of wealth and abundance;<sup>2</sup> it was the emblem of joy and cheerfulness;<sup>3</sup> it was employed for what is most valuable and most distinguished; "the fat of the land" denoted its wealth and its choicest fruits;<sup>4</sup> the "fat of wheat",<sup>5</sup> the "fat of oil", and "the fat of wine",<sup>6</sup> designated the richest kinds of these productions; "the fat of heroes"<sup>7</sup> described the bravest of the brave; "the fat of the people",<sup>8</sup> the wealthiest, noblest, and most powerful citizens, also called "cows of Bashan", because these were renowned for remarkable fatness.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, whenever the sacrifices were not entirely burnt on the altar, it was deemed right and appropriate to dedicate to the sacred flames those parts of the victim which have aptly been termed "the flower of the flesh",<sup>10</sup> and which, because the best, might well represent all, or the entire animal. As, therefore, most nations, and among them the Phoenicians,<sup>11</sup> burnt the fat to the deity, the rising smoke of which was deemed its most pleasing and most acceptable offering;<sup>12</sup> so the Hebrews, resembling the Phoenicians in many points, adopted the general rule, "All fat belongs to the Lord";<sup>13</sup> and they clearly understood that it was burnt "as a sweet odour to Him":<sup>14</sup> it was so burnt, from remote periods,<sup>15</sup> in thank-offerings to point to the prosperity and happiness of the worshipper; and in the expiatory offerings, to symbolise the supremacy and power

<sup>1</sup> *Philo*, De Victim. 7. The fat and fat parts are in the Talmudical writings called מִסְחָרִים (comp. *Mishn.* Succ. V. 7; *Midr.* Esth. I. 9), which is in Aruch explained to mean "the prime and leading portions of the animal" (שָׂרִים מְאֻרָּתִים וְכִי); comp. *Buxt. Lex. Rabb.* p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. LXV. 12; Jer. XXXI. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Isai. LV. 2; Ps. LXIII. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. XLV. 18.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 120.

<sup>6</sup> Num. XVIII. 12.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Sam. I. 22;

comp. Judg. III. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. XXII. 30;

comp. XVII. 10; Isai. X. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Ps. LXVIII. 23; Ezek. XXXIX. 18; Am. IV. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Flos carnis*.

<sup>11</sup> This is evident from the sacrificial tablet of Marseilles, line 14 (ועל חלב וזלח ועל חלב); comp. *Virg. Aen.* IV. 62 (*pingues arae*); *Movers*, *Opferwes.* p. 108.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 7 note 22; comp. Sect. X. 13; XX.

<sup>13</sup> כל־חלב ליהוה; Lev. III. 16.

<sup>14</sup> ריח ניחוח; Lev. III. 5, 11, 16; XVII. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. II. 15, 16.

of God. Now, when it was in this manner set apart for the purposes of the altar, then, and then only, it was forbidden for human consumption, and men were not to share what belonged to God. For it is impossible to suppose that a cattle-breeding people, like the Hebrews, surrendered one of the most valuable parts of their slaughtered animals willingly and primitively; the very severity with which it is prohibited in the Pentateuch proves how generally it was eaten. Nor is it easy to see how, among a simple-minded people, the use of fat could be made a religious crime; the idea that *fat* is life, is not so natural and manifest as the doctrine that *blood* is life; and it pre-supposes a longer course of observation and reflexion. The prohibition is, therefore, evidently a special development of the Levitical theories; it originated when these were worked out with unconditional consistency regardless of the exorbitant burdens they imposed upon the people. It was brought into the closest connection with the laws of sacrifice; it was at first not enjoined, like the blood, with the addition "in all your habitations";<sup>16</sup> it was, therefore, understood to apply to the time and place of the common offerings only; and it was restricted to the fat of ox, sheep, and goat, that is, of those beasts alone "of which men present an offering made by fire to the Lord";<sup>17</sup> it was therefore indeed meant to include *all* animals of these species, since even those intended for food were, according to the same exacting legislators, to be killed as sacrifices at the common Sanctuary;<sup>18</sup> but not even the hierarchical party could venture to extend it to all clean animals of whatever species; while the blood, not so valuable in itself and looked upon with awe from primitive times, could be generally prohibited, both that of all quadrupeds and that of all birds. Only with respect to time and place, the laws of both could gradually be equalised, and a subsequent ordinance declared, "It shall be an eternal statute for your generations throughout all your dwellings, You shall eat neither fat nor blood."<sup>19</sup> These conclusions are corroborated from another side also. That the holiness of fat was a later idea is manifest from the circumstance that it is not even enjoined in the Book of Deuteronomy.<sup>20</sup> In the last "song of Moses",<sup>21</sup> the author names, among other choice blessings granted by the bounty of God to the Israelites, also "the fat of lambs and rams;"<sup>22</sup> in the poet's time, therefore, that is, at a very late period of the Hebrew commonwealth,<sup>23</sup> the fat of sacrificial animals

<sup>16</sup> Lev. VII. 26.

<sup>17</sup> Lev. VII. 23, 25.

<sup>18</sup> Lev. XVII. 3—5, see p. 39.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. III. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. Deut. XII. 15, 16, 23—25; see p. 39.

<sup>21</sup> Deut. XXXII. 14.

<sup>22</sup> חֶלֶב כְּרִים וְאֵילִים.

<sup>23</sup> See Comm. on Gen. pp. 724, 725.

was still unscrupulously eaten and regarded as a special delicacy worthy of being coupled with honey and oil, wheat and wine.<sup>1</sup>

These seem to have been the reasons and the phases of the laws regarding fat. Some simply contend that the fat and fat parts, by being dedicated to God, become too holy for human consumption or use;<sup>2</sup> but this view does not explain what it professes to account for, namely, *why* the fat and fat parts were singled out to be devoted to the Deity. Philo<sup>3</sup> supposed that the prohibition of fat was intended to inculcate "temperance and zeal for an austere life"; but the Bible affords no evidence of this symbolical meaning. More untenable still are the various motives which some believe to have suggested the burning of the fat in animal sacrifices; and they require no more than a passing allusion. On the one hand, it has been fantastically maintained that it shadowed forth the purification of the nobler instincts of human nature by the sanctifying fire of Divine love; for the fat which was considered the seat of the finest and most secret of human emotions, typified the innermost kernel of man or the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, whereas the flesh corresponded with the external man corrupted by sin and given over to death or the *σῶμα χοϊκόν*<sup>4</sup> — a view totally unsupported by the Scriptures, which nowhere represent the fat of animals as a type of the finest emotions of man,<sup>5</sup> nor place the victim at all in relation with the virtues or vices, but quite generally with the property or the life of the offerer, nor in any way countenance a subtle or mystic symbolism. On the other hand, it has been lightly conjectured that the fat was consumed on the altar in order to remove it effectually, as it is unhealthy food, especially in hot eastern climates, and among a race subject to diseases of the skin; or in order to make the fire burn more brightly; or to lead the Hebrews to the cultivation of the olive-oil, and thus help to change their character from a nomadic and pastoral to an agricultural people<sup>6</sup> — explanations more objectionable still, because either trivial and superficial, or foreign to the spirit of the Pentateuch,

<sup>1</sup> This parallelism and the context forbid us to understand the term "fat of lambs and rams" figuratively as the "fattest and best" flocks (see *supra*): the text evidently enumerates not the products of nature themselves, but their most valued and most excellent parts.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Spencer*, *Legg. Ritt.* I. x. 2; *Knob.* Lev. p. 410; *Ewald*, *Alterth.* p. 42; *Keil*, Lev. p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> De Concupiscent. c. 11, Opp. II. 356.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Rom. VII. 22—25. So *Keil*,

*Archaeologic*, I. 231; comp. *Comment. über Levit.* p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Though the entrails were, in the ancient world, extensively regarded as the organs of sentiment, thought, and intelligence, and were, therefore, frequently employed for auguries; comp. *Delitzsch*, *Bibl. Psych.* pp. 220—230; see Sect. XX.

<sup>6</sup> *Philo*, *Concup.* I. c. (*διότι πιότατον . . . ὡς ὕλη εὐλογὸς ἀντ' ἐλαίου*); *Maimon.* *Mor. Neb.* III. 48; *Outr.* De

which assigns to God not the obnoxious but the very choicest parts of the victim, and which makes the laws of sacrifice subservient solely to spiritual and not to practical or political ends.

It is in harmony with the tenor of the Biblical commands to limit their operation to that fat which, in solid masses, covers the bowels, the kidneys, and the flanks, and not to extend it to that involved in the flesh, which requires to be cut in order to expose it to the view.<sup>7</sup> But, naturally, the fat of *all* animals which died of themselves, or were torn by beasts,<sup>8</sup> was forbidden as food, because such animals were "unclean."<sup>9</sup>

#### 9. LEAVEN.

The reason why leaven was rigorously kept aloof from the altar<sup>10</sup> is indisputable. It cannot be derived from the nature and properties of the prepared substance; for leaven was deemed to enhance the palatableness and nutritiousness of bread;<sup>11</sup> and as it possesses the power of raising and uplifting, it was occasionally compared even to the "kingdom of heaven."<sup>12</sup> But the cause must be traced to the mode in which leaven was usually obtained — namely, by allowing dough mixed with water to stand for some time till it passed into a state of fermentation or *corruption*. It is on these grounds that leaven was regarded incompatible with the innermost character of the altar and of the offerings there presented, which typify life and health, regeneration and purity.<sup>13</sup> It was used to symbolise sin and defilement. While, in the later Jewish literature, unleavened bread was an emblem of the virtuous instincts of the heart,<sup>14</sup> and the New Testament speaks of "the unleavened bread

Sacrif. p. 275; *Rosenm. Schol. Lev. III.* 17; comp. *Strabo*, XV. iii. 14; *Winer*, Real-Wört. II. 459; *Michael.*, Mos. R. IV. § 206, and on Lev. VII. 22—25.

<sup>7</sup> The latter kind of fat was later distinguished by the name *שֶׁמֶן*; see notes on Lev. VII. 25—34; comp. *Yoreh Deah* § 64. 4—9, 14; *מִצְוַת הַשֵּׁם*, p. 24. The Koran (VI. 142) inaccurately observes, that the Pentateuch did not prohibit the fat that is on the back of the quadrupeds, or their intestines, or between their legs.

• נבלה ושרפה •

• Lev. VII. 24; comp. XVII. 15; XXII. 5; see notes on VII. 22—27.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. II. 11; XXIII. 15; comp. Am. IV. 5.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Matth. XIII. 33; Luke XIII. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Jerome renders, therefore, *ζύμωσις* (1 Cor. V. 6; Gal. V. 9) by *corrumpit*. The objections raised against this view by Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, II. 1. p. 154) and Neumann (in *Schneider's Zeitschr.* 1853, pp. 333 *sqq.*) are unimportant. The etymology of *זֵמָה* leads to the idea of *effervescenting* (comp. *ζύμη* and *ζῆμα*, fermentum and serveo, etc.; and fermentum poetically for the ebullition of anger and passion; *Plaut. Casin.* II. v. 17; *Merc.* V. iii. 3; *Juven.* III. 188, and *Ruperti in loc.*). The remarks of Kurtz (*Opusc.* pp. 250, 251), starting from correct premises, stray into over-refined conclusions.

<sup>14</sup> יֵצֵר טָהוֹר (or יֵצֵר הַטָּהוֹר).

of sincerity and truth";<sup>1</sup> leaven, or "the leaven in the dough",<sup>2</sup> became a very frequent metaphor for the evil propensities of man;<sup>3</sup> the New Testament familiarly alludes to "the leaven of malice and wickedness",<sup>4</sup> the "leaven of the Pharisees" which is "hypocrisy",<sup>5</sup> and the "leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees" which is their perverse "doctrine";<sup>6</sup> and it was a current maxim, that as "a little leaven leavens the whole lump",<sup>7</sup> one sinful thought that is harboured in the mind renders the sacrifice unavailing and unaccepted. Hence the ordinance scrupulously to remove from the houses and the whole land, under penalty of excision, all leaven on Passover,<sup>8</sup> and to eat unleavened bread exclusively during the seven days, though partly intended as a historical reminiscence,<sup>9</sup> and partly as a symbol of the "bread of affliction" which the Israelites ate in Egypt,<sup>10</sup> was also understood to prefigure that sanctity and purity which behove the people chosen to enter into a solemn covenant with God for the revelation and diffusion of His truth.<sup>11</sup> But the notion of absolutely removing from the altar which secures spiritual life all that recalls the condition of decay, this notion, complex and allegorising, belongs obviously not to an early, but to a very advanced stage of religious thought, and it accords fully with the whole edifice of the Levitical laws of sacrifice.

Several other reasons have been assigned for the exclusion of leaven — because this is an image of inflated haughtiness and insolence, arrogance and self-conceit;<sup>12</sup> or because it imparts to the bread a sensual stimulant antagonistic to offerings, whence the Hebrews were to be accustomed to the use of unleavened bread, as in primitive times;<sup>13</sup> or its absence in the vegetable oblations was to correspond with the quality of faultlessness in animal sacrifices:<sup>14</sup> to all which opinions nearly the same objections apply as have above been urged against many untenable explanations of the meaning of fat.

The views entertained by the Hebrews regarding leaven, were shared by the ancient nations. They are, in fact, plainly stated in

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. V. 8, ἀλυσμα εὐλακρυεῖας καὶ ἀληθείας. <sup>2</sup> שאר שבעיסה.

<sup>3</sup> יצר הרע (or יצרא כישא); Gen. VI. 5; VIII. 21; 1 Chr. XXIX. 18; comp. *Talm.* Succ. 52a; *Sanhedr.* 91b; *Bab. Bathr.* 58a; *Berach.* 17a. The verb יצר took, therefore, the meaning of *deteriorating*; see no. 10 of this Section; comp. also *Lightfoot*, on Matth. XVI. 6, *Opp.* II. p. 334.

<sup>4</sup> Ζύμη κακίας καὶ πορνείας, 1 Cor. V. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Luke XII. 1; comp. Mark VIII. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Matth. XVI. 6, 11, 12.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Cor. V. 6; Gal. V. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Exod. XII. 15, 19; XIII. 7; Deut. XVI. 11. <sup>9</sup> Exod. XII. 39.

<sup>10</sup> לֶחֶם עֲנִי, Deut. XVI. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Comm.* on Exod. p. 197.

<sup>12</sup> *Philo*, De Victim. c. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Bauer*, Tübing. Zeitsch. I. 68, 69; *Neumann*, l. c.; comp. also *Ewald* in *Zeitschr. für d. Kund. d. Morgenl.* III. 423.

<sup>14</sup> *Öhler*, l. c. p. 623.

the following remark of Plutarch: "Leaven itself comes from corruption, and corrupts the dough with which it is mixed, . . . and in general, fermentation seems to be a kind of putrefaction";<sup>15</sup> therefore the priest of Jupiter (flamen Dialis) was forbidden to touch leaven;<sup>16</sup> and so rigidly was he to be shielded from contact with everything that even remotely implied the idea of deterioration, that the same prohibition was extended to flour, which was regarded as corn "deadened as it were and destroyed by grinding",<sup>17</sup> because it lost the strength of a seed-grain without immediately obtaining the usefulness of food.<sup>18</sup>

It is not difficult to account for the two exceptional cases in which leavened bread was admitted in the sacrificial service of the Hebrews.<sup>19</sup> Pentecost was the "Feast of Conclusion",<sup>20</sup> because it marked the completion of the corn-harvest commenced on Passover. On that festival, therefore, which was made the occasion of thanks-giving for the sustenance and plenty graciously provided by God for His people, it was deemed appropriate to offer to Him, as a firstfruit-oblation, the daily and ordinary bread, or leavened wheaten loaves, while, on Passover, new barley was presented with equal fitness.<sup>21</sup>

A kindred reason seems to have suggested, in praise-offerings,<sup>22</sup> the permission of leavened bread as an accessory to unleavened cakes. The joy-offerings bore a homely and familiar character; the worshipper who, in convivial repast, partook of his own gift, felt that God stood to him in the relation of a *friend*;<sup>23</sup> the sacred act was devoted to the Dispenser of every blessing rather than to the King or Judge; on such occasions, the ordinary leavened bread, when eaten by the offerer at the sacrificial meal, was well suited to remind him not less of the benign than the awful attributes of the Deity.<sup>24</sup>

#### 10. HONEY.

The connection in which the prohibition of honey is introduced, is alone sufficient to guide us in determining the reason of the ordinance: "No bloodless offering which you shall bring to the Lord shall be made fermented;<sup>25</sup> for you shall burn no leaven, nor any honey, in any

<sup>15</sup> Quæst. Rom. 109, ἡ δὲ ζύμη γίγνεται ἐκ φθορᾶς αὐτῇ καὶ φθείρει τὸ φύμα μὲν γινώσκοντα . . . καὶ ὅλως ἔστιν σήψις ἡ ζύμωσις εἶναι.

<sup>16</sup> Plut. l. c.; Gell. Noct. Att. X. xv. 19 (farinam fermento imbutam adtingere ei fas non est).

<sup>17</sup> Μυλόμενον; Hom. Od. II. 355; comp. Apoll. Rhod. I. 1073.

<sup>18</sup> Plut. l. c., — In Latin *fermentum*

occurs in the sense of *corruption*; Persius, Sat. I. 24 and Casaubon. in loc.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. XXIII. 17; VII. 13; see p. 107.

<sup>20</sup> חֲנֻכָּה (Ἀναβή, Jos. Ant. III. x. 6); see Comm. on Exod. pp. 453, 455, 459.

<sup>21</sup> See p. 121.

<sup>22</sup> וּבֹכֶת תֹּרֶחַת שְׁלֵמִים, Lev. VII. 12.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Comp. Comm. on VII. 11—21.

<sup>25</sup> לֹא תִפְעֶה חֶמֶץ.

offering of the Lord made by fire."<sup>1</sup> From this combination of leaven and honey it is evident, that both alike were disallowed because they create fermentation,<sup>2</sup> and thus involve those notions of corruption and decay so utterly antagonistic to the nature of the life-giving altar.<sup>3</sup> It is needless to state, that honey was everywhere highly prized not only as a delicacy, and that therefore everything pleasant was commonly compared with the "sweetness of honey,"<sup>4</sup> but that, if eaten together with other food, it was considered extremely nutritious, conducive to a healthy complexion<sup>5</sup> and longevity;<sup>6</sup> that hence it was, and is, in the East extensively mixed with bread and pastry, and that honey-cakes were frequently offered to the gods.<sup>7</sup> But it is equally well known that honey easily turns sour;<sup>8</sup> therefore, vinegar was prepared by washing honey-pots and -combs with water which was then boiled;<sup>9</sup> and this circumstance gave rise to a corresponding usage in the Hebrew language<sup>10</sup>

This being the simple and obvious meaning of the prohibition, it is surprising to notice the numerous reasons, often curious and fanciful, that have been assigned for it.

Some,<sup>11</sup> laying stress on the words, "they (the leaven and the honey) shall not come upon the altar as a sweet odour",<sup>12</sup> hold that honey was forbidden because, in being burnt, it emits an offensive

<sup>1</sup> Lev. II. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The term *חֶמֶץ* not merely denotes food mixed with *leaven*, but also with any other fermenting matter; and hence the verb *חִמְצָה* means, generally, *to become acid or sour* (as *יין*), or figuratively *to become worse, to fall into corruption* (*Talm. Rosh. Hash. 3b*), or *to exasperate* (*Targ. Prov. XXV. 8; XXVIII. 7*), and *חִמְצָה* *to afflict* (*Targ. Prov. X. 1*).

<sup>3</sup> Therefore, some Rabbinical authorities, as Maimonides and Rabbi Levi of Barcelona, regarding the injunction concerning leaven and honey as one prohibition, count it so in the list of the 613 laws distinguished by the Talmud in the Pentateuch (comp. *Hirschfeld, Halach. Exegese, § 182*); while others, as Nachmanides and *יְדִיאוֹת*, divide it into two separate commands.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. XIV. 16; Ezek. III. 3; Ps. XIX. 11; CXIX. 103; Prov. XIII. 14; Cant. IV. 11; Sir. XXIV. 20; XLIX. 1; Rev.

X. 9, 10; comp. *Hom. II. I. 249; Theocr. VIII. 81, 82; XX. 25—27; Mosch. I. 9; etc., etc.*; comp. *Bochart, Hieroz. IV. 12 (II. 523, 524)*.

<sup>5</sup> *Hippocr. De Affect. cc. 50, 54.*

<sup>6</sup> *Plin. XXII. 24 (53); Diophan. Geopon. XV.*

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Hor. Epist. I. x. 11 (mellitae placentae)*.

<sup>8</sup> *Plin. II. N. XI. 15 (mella vel minumo contactu roris acescentia)*.

<sup>9</sup> *Plin. H. N. XXI. 14 (49)*.

<sup>10</sup> For *חִמְצָה* means, in Talmudical writings, *to become sour or corrupted* (as *Bab. Mets 38a; Sabb. 154b; Sanhed. 101a*), that is, to be affected by the qualities of *חִמְצָה*. It is, therefore, unnecessary to take *חִמְצָה* in the sense of *dulcedinem amittere*, implying the contrary meaning of *חִמְצָה* (so Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb. p. 500, a. o.*), after the analogy of *חָטָא* *to sin* and *חָטָא* *to free from sin* (see *Gramm. § 37. 3b*).

<sup>11</sup> As *Rosenm. on Levit. II. 11.*

<sup>12</sup> *לֹא יָבִיאוּ בָהֶם לְעֹלֹתֶיךָ*, Lev. II. 12.



smell; but this opinion evidently attributes to the words "for a sweet odour" a material and external sense, which they do not possess in the Pentateuch.<sup>13</sup>

Philo<sup>14</sup> believes the honey to have been objectionable because the bee is not a "clean" animal; since "it derives its birth from the putrefaction and corruption of dead oxen, just as drones and wasps spring from the bodies of horses." This fiction, entertained by classical writers also,<sup>15</sup> is overthrown by the familiar fact that the bee has a natural aversion to lifeless bodies, to meat, blood, and fat, and eagerly shuns repulsive places.<sup>16</sup> "The bee", says Aristotle, "is the only insect that never touches anything putrid";<sup>17</sup> and the swarm carefully removes the dead bodies of its own species.<sup>18</sup> Its nature is clean.<sup>19</sup> It was hence extensively honoured with the epithets *pure* and *wise*. It was so regarded by the Pythagoreans, because it does not settle on beans looked upon them with dislike.<sup>20</sup> The Pythian priestess was described as "the bee of Delphi."<sup>21</sup> It was called the *best* animal, and therefore sacred to Zeus *Aristaeus* (ἄριστος). Holy bees watched the grotto where Jupiter was born. *Melissa* was his nurse, and *Melitaeus* one of his sons;<sup>22</sup> the former was the earliest discoverer and preparer of pure and innocent human food, and especially introduced and taught the cultivation of fruit-trees.<sup>23</sup> Luna also, presiding over births, was called *Melissa*, and so every priestess of Ceres, as guardian of the mysteries of the earthly goddess.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Philo*, De Victim. c. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Virg.* Georg. IV. 550—558 (Adspiciunt liquefacta boum per viscera toto Stridere apes utero, et ruptis effervere costis); IV. 168; *Servius* ad *Virg.* Aen. I. 435; *Ovid*, Metam. XV. 364—367; *Varro*, R. R. II. 3; III. 16; *Plin.* XI. 20 or 23 (comp. X. 66 or 86); *Plut.* Cleom. c. 39; *Aelian.* H. N. II. 57; *Porphyr.* De Antr. Nymph. 15 (ἄς, sc. μέλιττας, βουγενεῖς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν); *Orig.* c. Cels. IV (ἐκ βοῶς γίγνεται μέλισσα καὶ ἐξ ἵππου σοφή). The passage *Judg.* XIV. 8 does not prove that a similar notion was entertained by the Hebrews; for it says merely that a swarm of bees was *found*, not that it was *generated*, in the dry and inodorous skeleton of the carcass.

<sup>16</sup> *Varr.* R. R. III. 16, nulla harum assidit in loco inquinato, etc.

<sup>17</sup> *Aristot.* Hist. An. VIII. 13; comp. *Plin.* XI. 21 or 24 (omnes vespae carne vescuntur contra quam apes quae nullum corpus attingunt.)

<sup>18</sup> *Virg.* Georg. IV. 255, 256 (corpora luce carentum exportant tectis, etc.); *Plin.* H. N. XI. 18 or 20; *Ael.* H. N. V. 49; comp. *Boch.* I. c. IV. 10, 11; pp. 503, 504, 515.

<sup>19</sup> Quod sequuntur omnia pura, *Varro*, I. c.

<sup>20</sup> *Porphyr.* De Antro Nymph. c. 19; comp. *Plut.* De Amor. Prol. c. 2 (τὴν μέλιτταν ἡμεῖς σοφὴν καλοῦμεν καὶ νομίζομεν); *Philo*, De Ape, c. 28 (καὶ ζῇ μὲν ἄγρὸν ἡ σοφὴ σχεδὸν βίον); *Lucian.* Halcyon, c. 5 (σοφὴν θείου μέλιτος ἐργάτην).

<sup>21</sup> *Pind.* Pyth. IV. 106 (60).

<sup>22</sup> *Antonin.* Liber. c. 13.

<sup>23</sup> *Schol. Pindar.* Pyth. IV. 106; comp. *Creuzer*, Symb. II. 585, 586.

The bee was the emblem of the Muses;<sup>1</sup> it was the symbol of the struggle between virtue and vice; of the mind which governs matter; of the soul which returns to its divine origin;<sup>2</sup> and among the Egyptians, of royal dignity.<sup>3</sup> The Hindoos frequently represented the god Krishna with a bee hovering over his head.<sup>4</sup> Its wonderful habits and instincts were the types of domestic and social order, of the foundation of states and colonies, of blessings and plenty secured by judicious industry, and even of the manifest working of the divine spirit.<sup>5</sup> The very belief of the birth of the bee from the decaying body of the bull, was converted into a fine allegory of the soul emerging and rising from the depths of terrestrial matter, and soaring to its celestial home, where it rejoins the deity of which it is a part; for the bee is a "home-loving animal."<sup>6</sup> Bacchus, the dispenser of sustenance and joy, was termed "the father of the bees"<sup>7</sup> or Brisaëus.<sup>8</sup> From all these facts it will naturally appear that honey itself was not considered unclean; it was presented as a firstfruit-offering;<sup>9</sup> it could be mixed with those oblations which were permitted to be "leavened";<sup>10</sup> and it was freely allowed by Jewish tradition.<sup>11</sup> Leaven, though prepared from the very mass, of which the bloodless offering consisted, was forbidden to be burnt on the altar: it is therefore evident, that it was not the *origin* of leaven and honey which caused their exclusion. In fact,

<sup>1</sup> *Philostrat. Icon.* II. 8; *Varro*, l. c.; comp. *Creuzer*, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Creuzer*, l. c. IV. 351.

<sup>3</sup> *Ammian. Marcell.* XVII. iv. 11; *Creuzer*, l. c. II. 213. The Hebrew name הַבֵּיָרָה, however, is scarcely traceable to בָּרַר in the sense of guiding and ruling (Ps. XVIII. 48; XLVII. 4; so *Boch.* Hieroz. II. 502), but if not to בָּרַר to flutter (*Fürst*, *Lex.* I. 285), to בָּרַר in the meaning of leading or being led, so that it properly means *swarm*; comp. *agmen* and *agere*, and the Arabic  
سَجَر.

<sup>4</sup> *W. Menzel*, *Mythol. Forsch.* I. 194 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Aristot. Hist. Anim.* IX. 27; *Virg. Georg.* IV. 219, 220 (*esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et haustus Aetherios dixere*); *Ovid*, *Fast.* III. 736; *Plin.* H. N. XI. 18, 20 (19) sqq.; *Aelian. Hist. An.* V. 12, 13; XVII. 35; *Varro*, *R. R.* III. 16; *Menzel*, l. c. I. 171—234.

<sup>6</sup> *Φιλόστρωτος ζῶον*; comp. *Creuzer*, *Symb.* IV. 353; II. 586, 587.

<sup>7</sup> *Nonn.* *Dionys.* V. 215 sqq., 265 sqq.; comp. *Ovid*, *Fast.* III. 735, 736; *Tibull.* I. vii. 53, 54.

<sup>8</sup> From βλίτταιν (for μελίτταιν) to cut out the comb of bees, to take the honey (μέλι); *Plat. Rep.* VIII. 15, p. 564 E. (comp. *Steph. Byz.* v. βέλοα); hardly from the Chaldaean בָּרַר the flow of honey from the comb (*Boch.* l. c. p. 520).

<sup>9</sup> *Lev.* II. 12. Therefore, not even the idea, harmonizing indeed with the sacrificial regulation that nothing was to be employed that was not the produce of human labour (so *Theodoret*; see pp. 78, 81), can have guided the legislator; nor would it apply to all honey, a large part of which was gained by cultivation.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 85.

<sup>11</sup> *Targ. Jon.* in *Lev.* XI. 20, בָּרַר רֶחֱשֵׁן דִּיבִרָא יִתְאַכִּיל; *Talm. Bechor.*

some ancient philosophers and theologians ascribed to the honey itself purifying and preserving power capable of healing old wounds, removing dimness of sight,<sup>12</sup> and preventing putrefaction, whence it was used for embalming and instilled into the noses of the dead to shield the bodies from decomposition.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, honey was understood as a symbol of rectitude and integrity of life.<sup>14</sup> It was supposed to have been the sole sustenance of the earliest men in their golden age of innocence and perfect virtue. Bread and honey were the ordinary food of the kings and priests of Persia, of Pythagoras and his followers,<sup>15</sup> of the rigid Jewish sect of the Essenes, and hence also of John the Baptist.<sup>16</sup> At the initiation in certain rites, the hands were washed with honey, not with water, to indicate that they ought to be clean from all wickedness and pollution. Honey was eaten to purify the tongue from sin.<sup>17</sup> The libations of honey<sup>18</sup> were described as *sober*,<sup>19</sup> in contradistinction to those of wine.<sup>20</sup> The Persians offered honey to Mithras, because it symbolised this god most clearly as the guardian and preserver of fruits. It was holy to the Naiades, because their element, the water, is purifying, not liable to putrefaction, and, as was considered, conducive to generation. Therefore, bees were believed to deposit their honey in bowls and jars, because these vessels typify fountains.

As if aware of the insufficiency of his first reason, Philo adds another one, hardly more convincing; the laws, he observes, interdicted honey in order to indicate that "all superfluous pleasure is unholy, making indeed the things that are eaten sweet to the taste, but later inflicting bitter and incurable pains, by which the soul must, of necessity, be agitated and thrown into confusion"; and this opinion, variously modified, recurs repeatedly. The Talmud commenting on those verses of the Proverbs which advise a moderate use of honey,<sup>21</sup> applies them figuratively to all kinds of intemperance, even to excesses in spiritual matters and in speculation.<sup>22</sup> Theodoret<sup>23</sup> deemed it unfit for the altar as a symbol of sensual enjoyment, since, in primitive times,

7b; comp. *Lerysokn*, Zoologie des Talmud §§ 89, 403.

<sup>12</sup> *Dioscor.* II. 101; *Plin.* XXIX. 6 (38).

<sup>13</sup> *Herod.* I. 198; *Lucret.* III. 904; *Plin.* VII. 3; XXII. 24 or 50 (mellis quidem ipsius natura talis est ut putrescere corpora non sinat).

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Porphyr.* Ant. Nymph. c. 15.

<sup>15</sup> *Athen.* X. 13; *Diog. Laert.* Pyth. VIII. i. 18. <sup>16</sup> *Matth.* III. 4; Mark I.

6; comp. *Crenz.* Symb. IV. 361.

<sup>17</sup> *Porph.* I. c. (καθαίροναι δὲ καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν τῷ μέλιτι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀμαρτηλοῦ). <sup>18</sup> *Μελίανοντα*,

*Plut.* Symp. IV. vi. *fin.*

<sup>19</sup> *Νηφαλία*, *Plut.* Cohib. Ir. 16 *fin.*

<sup>20</sup> Comp. *Porph.* I. c. 16—19.

<sup>21</sup> Prov. XXV. 16, 27; comp. *Pind.* Nem. VII. 52 (77); *κόρον ἔχει καὶ μέλι*.

<sup>22</sup> *Talm.* Chag. 14b.

<sup>23</sup> Quaest. I. in Levit.

and before the cultivation of the vine, it was a luxury of the dissipated, was believed to lead to wild indulgences and carnal desires, to indolence and thoughtlessness, and being effervescent, symbolised haughtiness and contumacy;<sup>1</sup> it was, in fact, used as an emblem of death, or of secret corruption by sin,<sup>2</sup> "because the life of the soul perishes by pleasure":<sup>3</sup> it was designed to teach that whoever is intent upon good works, must shun sensuality and exercise rigid severity towards himself.<sup>4</sup> Hence Jerome<sup>5</sup> believes that nothing that is merely sweet, without having in it an element of pungent truth,<sup>6</sup> was to be offered in the sanctuary;<sup>7</sup> and Nachmanides declared that everything sweet must be tempered with bitterness, just as God, in creating the world, coupled mercy and judgment. These opinions disregard the unmistakeable hints of the Hebrew text, which forbids honey, not because it is sweet, but because it is "fermenting" (פֶּחִי), and which fixes for the exclusion no other reason than for the prohibition of leaven.

It may be curious to notice Plutarch's statements on the subject.<sup>8</sup> He is notorious for his inveterate tendency to compare the institutions of the Hebrews with the rites of the worship of Bacchus. Thus he contends, the name *Levites* was derived from *Lysius* (Λύσιος) or *Euius* (Εὔιος), and that of *Sabbath* from the *Sabbac*, or Bacchantes; the Feast of Tabernacles was a festival of Bacchus, when the people entered the temple with "thyrsi" in their hands;<sup>9</sup> the mitre of the High-priest<sup>10</sup> resembled the tiara worn by Bacchus; and the bells of his robe<sup>11</sup> were imitations of the timbrels and drums used at the nocturnal celebrations of the same god, to increase the mirthful noise. Pursuing his self-chosen path, Plutarch dogmatically asserts that the Jews originally employed honey for their drink-offerings; that later, however, they substituted wine, which had been presented to them by Bacchus; but they carefully avoided to mix it with honey, which would have spoiled the gift of the god; just as the Greeks honoured him with libations consisting of honey alone, without any wine, because both, if mixed, are absolutely opposed to each other. But this view has not even the support of history; for the ancients regarded the compound of wine and honey<sup>12</sup> as most delicious, as Plutarch himself remarks in the very

<sup>1</sup> See *Porphyr.* l. c. 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Michael.* Typisch. Gottesgelahrtheit, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Porphyr.* l. c. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Hengstenb.* Auth. d. Pent. II. 650; comp. *Christolog.* III. 26, 120 (on Hos. III. 1); *Opfer*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Epist.* 23 ad Eustoch; comp. *Epist.*

<sup>12</sup> ad Gaudent.

<sup>6</sup> *Mordacis veritatis.*

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Outram*, De Sacrif. l. viii. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Sympos.* IV. vi. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Lev.* XXIII. 40.

<sup>10</sup> פֶּתֶחַ, *Exod.* XXVIII. 4, 37—39.

<sup>11</sup> צִנּוֹרֹת, vers. 33—35.

<sup>12</sup> *Olivé-mel*, or in Latin *mulsum*.

same work.<sup>13</sup> Besides, the prohibition of Leviticus relates to honey as a separate substance, not to its mixture with wine.

Maimonides<sup>14</sup> asserts that honey was forbidden to the Israelites, because it was commonly used at the sacrifices of the heathens. It is true that it was dedicated to nearly all gods,<sup>15</sup> among others to Janus, when he was implored to grant "a sweet" or happy year,<sup>16</sup> and especially to the evil deities and those of the lower world, to Pluto and Proserpine, Hecate and the Furies.<sup>17</sup> But the Pentateuch, though opposing pagan notions, left untouched innocuous pagan customs, which it readily employed if capable of embodying useful religious ideas.<sup>18</sup> If it had meant consistently to carry out the principle of opposition, it would have rejected the domestic animals for victims, flour, incense, oil, and salt, nay the sacrifices themselves, which yet Maimonides regards as an accommodation to deep-rooted pagan usages.<sup>19</sup>

Again, it has been supposed that honey was looked upon with disfavour, because it was largely employed at the libations for the dead,<sup>20</sup> which the Hebrews were to hold in abhorrence;<sup>21</sup> but such libations frequently consisted of oil and wine, which were not excluded from the offerings of the Hebrews.<sup>22</sup>

Some imagined that the bloodless oblations were to be pure and unmixed flour; others, that being pleasant to the taste, honey might mislead to the belief that offerings are agreeable to God in proportion to their palatableness; and others again,<sup>23</sup> that, being a later and artificial innovation, perhaps combined with idolatrous mysteries, it was banished by a legislator desirous to restore the old and patriarchal simplicity in the sacrificial service: but the bloodless offerings contained, besides flour, also salt, oil, and wine; and the Levitical rites, in point of simplicity, differed vastly from primeval practices.

<sup>13</sup> Sympos. VIII. ix. 3 (ἡδίστα τῶν γέγονεν... οἰνόμελες); comp. *Talm.* Abod. Zar. 30a (where מִדְּבַר — οἰνόμελες — is explained מִדְּבַר וּפְלִפְלִי); *Polyb.* XII. 2; *Dioscor.* V. 15, 16; *Plaut.* Pers. I. iii. 7; *Cic.* De Orat. II. 70; *Pallad.* VIII. 7; *Macrob.* Sat. VII. 12; *Plin.* XIV. 4 (6); XXII. 24 (53); see also *Hom.* Od. X. 234, 235; *Hor.* Sat. II. ii. 15, 16; iv. 24—27; *Mart.* IV. xiii. 3, 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Moreh Neboch.* III. 46.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. esp. *Paus.* V. xv. 6.

<sup>16</sup> *Ovid.* Fast. I. 165—188 (ut res sapor ille sequatur, Et peragat coeptum dulcis ut annus iter).

<sup>17</sup> *Apoll. Rhod.* III. 1034, 1035; comp. also *Virg.* VI. 417; etc. Proserpine herself bore the name μελιτώδης (*Theocr.* XV. 94).

<sup>18</sup> See Comm. on Exod. pp. 164, 221.

<sup>19</sup> See pp. 56, 57.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. *Hom.* II. XXIII. 170; Od. XXIV. 68; *Eurip.* Iphig. Taur. 165, 166 (ἀ νεκροῖς θαλατήρια κείται), 634, 635.

<sup>21</sup> *Spencer*, De Legg. Ritt. II. ix. 2, so that the honey was "diabolo jure quasi peculiari vindicatum".

<sup>22</sup> See Sect. XX.

<sup>23</sup> As *Spencer*, Legg. Ritt. II. ix. 2; III. ii. 2.

## 11. TYPICAL EXPLANATION.

From the preceding remarks on salt, oil, and frank-incense, on blood and fat, on leaven and honey, it will be manifest that the *symbolical* interpretation of the Hebrew sacrifices and their rituals is in accordance with the spirit of the Scriptures. It derives support from other commands of the Pentateuch, the tendency of which is evidently symbolical. Phylacteries are plainly ordained as a "sign" and a "memorial" for the Law and its observance.<sup>1</sup> The golden plate (פָּתָח) with the words "Holiness to the Lord", worn by the High-priest on his mitre, was clearly designed to lead the Hebrews to a consciousness of their sins, and thus to render their gifts and offerings acceptable.<sup>2</sup> The flesh of certain classes of sin-offerings was to be consumed by the priests, to indicate that they "removed the iniquity of the congregation and made atonement for them before the Lord."<sup>3</sup> The Hebrews were enjoined to sit in Tabernacles during seven days every year, that they might perpetually be reminded of the time, when their ancestors, rescued from Egyptian bondage, pitched their tents in the desert under Divine protection.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the Hebrew prophets insisted with holy earnestness upon the moral and spiritual ends of all ceremonials; and they taught impressively by symbolical acts,<sup>5</sup> which indeed, natural in themselves, are peculiarly suitable and attractive to a childlike intelligence requiring to perceive the ideas in some outward embodiment.

But very different from the symbolical is the *typical* explanation: this regards the ceremonies and events of the Old Testament as the prefigurements of some corresponding doctrine or occurrence recorded in the New;<sup>6</sup> it, more especially, supposes the Hebrew sacrifices and their rituals to foreshadow the person and nature, the life and death of Christ.<sup>7</sup> As it has exercised a momentous influence upon the formation of religious dogmas, the enquiry is not uninteresting what value ought to be attached to it. But it cannot be justly estimated, as will presently be evident, without a direct reference to the Talmudical

<sup>1</sup> Exod. XIII. 9, וְלֹא־זָרָן . . . לְאֹמֶת; comp. Deut. VI. 8, 9; Comm. on Exod. XIII. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. XXVIII. 36, 38; see Comm. on Exod. p. 548.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. X. 17; comp. Sect. X. 14; XV.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. XXIII. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Isai. XX. 2—4; Jer. XIII. 1—11; XVIII. 1—6; XIX. 1—12; XXIV. 1—8; XXVII. 2—12; XXVIII. 10—14; XXXII. 7—14; Ezek. IV. 1—13; V. 1—4; Hos. II. 1—9; III. 1—5; etc.

<sup>6</sup> "Typus est quum factum aliquod a V. T. accersitur, idque extenditur praesignificavisse atque adumbrasse aliquid gestum vel gerendum in N. T." (*Rivetius*, Praef. ad Ps. XLV); comp. *Gerhard*, Loci, II. 67.

<sup>7</sup> "Omnia victimarum generalibus ritibus et ceremoniis a Mose definita fuisse, quales eo maxime pertinebant ut sacrificia Judaeorum sacrificium Christi adumbrarent" (*Outram*, De Sacrif. I. 10, p. 107, 201—214); *Lightf.* Op. I. 701, 707.

and Rabbinical mode of exegesis; we therefore premise a short delineation of the latter, after which we shall compare it with that adopted in the New Testament.

As in nature, so in history, the same things are often repeated at different times and in different degrees of perfection; the development of nations and of mankind advances in rhythmic cycles, each complete in itself, and each analogous, but superior, to the preceding. The Hebrew mind had, in the period of the Old Canon, created for itself a certain system of religious thought and public devotion, compact and consistent, and for the time entirely satisfactory. But the Jews advanced; they unfolded the germs of the earlier literature, and they assimilated to their own views ideas borrowed from the creeds of other nations. Yet they had long learnt to look upon the Old Testament as the all-embracing code of wisdom and knowledge, which must contain — it may be in obscure allusions or hidden allegories — all truths that can ever be discovered by the human intellect to the end of time: they acted upon the conviction, "turn it and turn it, for everything is in it."<sup>8</sup> Therefore, they strove to corroborate any new conception or opinion by connecting it with some really or apparently kindred passage of the Scriptures, and they introduced that connection by the word "as it is written."<sup>9</sup> For instance, Ben Zoma said, "Who is wise? He who learns from every body; for it is written, 'I acquired knowledge from all who taught me';"<sup>10</sup> though the words employed have in the Psalms where they occur a very different meaning, viz. "I have more knowledge than all my teachers."

Such midrashic elements began to appear from very early times, in fact, not long after the completion of the second Temple; they are discernible in all, even the oldest translations of the Hebrew Bible, in those of the Septuagint, Symmachus and Theodotion, in Onkelos, Jonathan, and the other Targumim, in the Peshito, and even in the version of the Samaritans generally so reluctant to adopt anything from the rival sects;<sup>11</sup> they were recognised by the Essenes, of whom Philo clearly observes, "Engaged in the sacred Scriptures, they speculate on their national philosophy by allegorising; for they look upon the literal expressions as symbols of some secret meaning of nature, intended to be conveyed in those figurative expressions;"<sup>12</sup> and Philo

<sup>8</sup> *Mishn. Aboth*, V. 25, הפך כה והפך הפך כה; comp. Ps. I. 2; Acts XVII. 11; John V. 39; *Jos. Ap.* I. 8.

<sup>9</sup> שמעך or כשמעך, or רכחך or רמך קרן. <sup>10</sup> *Mishn. Aboth*. IV. 1; מכללם פריהם (Ps. CXIX. 99).

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Zenz, *Gottesd. Vorträge*, cc. 3, 4; *Frankel*, *Vorstudien zur Septuaginta*, pp. 179—191.

<sup>12</sup> De Vit. contempl. c. 3... ἀλλήγο-  
ρεῖντες, ἐπειδὴ σύμβολα τὰ τῆς φύσεως  
ἐμφανείας νομίζουσι φύσεως ἀποκρυφ-



iblical foundation," and of others that are "like mountains suspended by a hair, as they are little alluded to in the Bible, yet developed numerous ordinances."<sup>4</sup> But gradually, though not without opposition from some more sober sects, as the Sadducees and Baeothusians, pursued the same path with greater boldness and assurance; considered no opinion safe against later fluctuations, unless guarded by scriptural authority;<sup>5</sup> they deemed it, therefore, necessary to add the innumerable expansions of the Law to the Bible,<sup>7</sup> which they diligently searched and unscrupulously employed for that object. They seriously and confidently pointed to their discoveries, no matter how strange soever, as "proofs" of the doctrines they were anxious to diffuse.<sup>8</sup> In this manner, that which at first was understood as a happy and welcome *parallel*, was imperceptibly converted into an irrefutable *argument*.<sup>9</sup>

It is obvious that the text of the Bible could not without being stretched yield the desired results. How could the unlimited number of later traditions, precepts, and ethical precepts be pressed into the small compass

ἰσχυρῶς, ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ δηλοῦμεν; comp. *Bar. XXXIX. 1—3*; *Talm. Sanh. 34a*, מה פסוק... מקרא אחד יוצא לכמה טעמים.

<sup>1</sup> אֶסְמְכֶנָּה or רָצוֹן; comp. *Mishn. Sanh. VIII. 7*; *IX. 4*; *Sanh. VIII. 2*, אֵין, על פי שאין ראיה לדבר וזכר לדבר, or מיכן רצו or מיכן סמכו חכמים.

<sup>2</sup> It employs, like the Baraitas, the word דרש in the simple sense of explaining, not in the later sense of allegorizing.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. החלויין בשערה שהן מן המקרא מועם והלכות מרובות.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Mishn. Par. III. 7*; *Me*

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Mishn. Sol. V. 2*; *Sol. 27b*.

<sup>7</sup> Always enquiring נִי מִלִּי or מִנֶּלֶךְ or מִנֶּלֶךְ.

<sup>8</sup> רָאָה; comp. *Talm. Chag. 11* (in explanation of *Mishn. Chag. 11*).

Old Testament without the most hazardous and the most violent manipulations? Indeed, the expedients employed by the Talmudists to gain their object, form a most curious chapter in the history of human ingenuity and intellectual perversion; they are barely redeemed from reckless frivolity by the religious earnestness which prompted them, and the high aim which they were designed to serve — that of hallowing every thought and elevating every relation of life. It was supposed that the diction of the Bible, that is, the holy language of God, is superhumanly profound and significant, capable of involving all future progress and mental life, pregnant of marvellous and mysterious power; that it teaches many things at once;<sup>10</sup> hints by one word at many truths; conceals a lesson in every sign; is designedly obscure, and frequently renounces current expressions; that it may long baffle the efforts of human reflection and penetration, dimmed as these are by sorrow and suffering, but reveals itself at last to pious research; while the enigmas that remain unsolved, will one day be disclosed by the light of the Redeemer<sup>11</sup> — views which were encouraged by the peculiar and indefinite character of Hebrew phraseology, and by the indistinctness of many legal and ritual ordinances. Occasionally, a gleam of a better hermeneutical method broke through the chaotic confusion; it was declared, "In the whole Law, the text does not pass beyond the literal sense",<sup>12</sup> or "the Law speaks in the ordinary language of men",<sup>13</sup> or specific instances were judiciously generalised and referred to similar cases: but the actual application of these abstract principles was a rare and unavoidable exception; as a rule, they were absolutely ignored, and sometimes expressly disclaimed.<sup>14</sup> Ordinarily, letters of the Biblical text were transposed or read with different vowels and interpreted accordingly, combined with the preceding or following word, or permuted with letters of a similar form<sup>15</sup> or of an analogous position in the alphabet.<sup>16</sup> Words were interchanged with others of an approximate sound, or read in a different order, computed according to the numerical value of their letters, and then replaced by others making up the same sum; or they were pronounced superfluous, unusual, or anomalous, on purpose to render them available as supports of some fancied idea.

<sup>10</sup> It is often said תרתי שמעיה מנה.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Talm.* Menach. 45a; etc.

<sup>12</sup> *Talm.* Yevam. 24a; Shabb. 63a; ככל התורה אין מקרא יוצא מדי פשוטו.

<sup>13</sup> רבה תורה כלשון בני אדם (*Talm.* Git. 41b; Kiddush. 17b; Kethub. 67b; Sanh. 64b; Nedar. 3a; Zevach. 108b; etc.); or רבה תורה לשונות, or לש'

כפולק, to account for pleonasm in the style of the Bible; or אידי דכתב רחמנא כך כתב כך. <sup>14</sup> *Talm.* Yevam. 11b; 24a. <sup>15</sup> As ה and ח, ר and ד.

<sup>16</sup> E. g., according to the rule of א"ח or ב"ש, so that יִשְׂרָאֵל in Jer. XXV. 26 was read יִשְׂרָאֵל; comp. *Burl. Abbrev. Hebraic.* p. 41.

Some particles<sup>1</sup> were supposed invariably to include something else, others,<sup>2</sup> always to exclude a notion. Verses were torn from their context, and invested with a meaning utterly foreign to it, or they were divided, cut asunder, and distorted with such a degree of arbitrary freedom, that sometimes even Talmudists expressed their disapproval,<sup>3</sup> and began to doubt whether the literal exposition (פשוט) ought not to be admitted at least by the side of the allegorical.<sup>4</sup> Important analogies of religious law were founded upon a slight and accidental verbal resemblance; and inferences were drawn entirely unwarranted by the manifest tenour of the verse. The words of the Scriptures were compared to jewels set in silver plates, or to a string of pearls, beautiful as an entire ornament, but precious also individually; thus they were regarded as full of import both in their continuity and their isolation. The recurrence of the same word in different passages was deemed sufficient ground for explaining the passages themselves as identical or kindred;<sup>5</sup> and it was believed that every verse could be interpreted from multifarious points of view. Such rules were necessarily fraught with the most singular and most deplorable results. No conceit was too fanciful or grotesque, no construction too incongruous and artificial, too illogical and capricious, if insinuating by adroitness or wit, or evolving a novel idea from familiar terms. Every trace of sound comment vanished, and the Bible was overgrown with the weeds of eccentric paradox. All the conclusions so obtained were endowed with the same authority and holiness as the clear utterances of the Bible.<sup>6</sup> They were regarded not only as justified, but as so exclusively genuine and infallible, that Talmudists could propound the surprising rule, "he who renders a verse according to its plain form (that is, literally) is a falsifier"; although they had the boldness to add, "he who makes any addition is a blasphemer."<sup>7</sup>

The history of the Christian or typical interpretation of the Bible was in many respects analogous to that of the Jewish schools just sketched, and the stages of advance were nearly identical. The earlier phases are visible in the Books of the New Testament. The apostolic writers, Jews by birth and education, followed in the exposition of the Bible the taste and usage of their time and people; nay, they would probably, for practical ends, have accommodated themselves to the

<sup>1</sup> As *אף*, *אף*, *אף*.

<sup>2</sup> As *אך*, *אך*.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Talm. Bab. Bathr.* 119a.

<sup>4</sup> It was asked *פשוט דקרא במאי כחיה*.

<sup>5</sup> *גזירה שוה*.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Mishnah Aboth* II. 15 (חיי).

מתחמם כנגד אורן של חכמים ודור (בגזלתן וכי); the principle prevailed בל דחקן רבנן כעין דאוריתא חקן.

<sup>7</sup> *Talm. Kiddush.* 49a, המתרגם פסוק כצורתו הרי זה כדאי והמוסיף עליו הרי זה מתרגם ומטריף.

current manner, had it even, as is not apparent, been uncongenial to them.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the New Testament offers numerous instances both of "the support" and "the proof": the former is, as in the Mishnah and Talmud, introduced by "as it is written" or "spoken";<sup>9</sup> the latter usually by "that it might be fulfilled, what was spoken or written."<sup>10</sup> One instance of each will suffice. When Christ intended to enter Jerusalem, it is related, "when he had found a young ass, he sat thereon; as it is written, Fear not, daughter of Sion: behold, the king comes, sitting on an ass's colt."<sup>11</sup> Joseph returning with the child Jesus from Egypt, went into Galilee, and "he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled, what was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene."<sup>12</sup> Let us briefly examine the two passages. The second Zechariah prophesied of a time when peace would unite the nations of the world, when God would "cut off every chariot and every horse, and cut off every battle-bow, and He would speak peace to the nations"; when, therefore, the ideal king, "just, and victorious, and lowly" (יָגֵל), would not ride on a horse, used in war and loving the tumult of battle,<sup>13</sup> but on an ass, the peaceful, harmless, and patient animal,<sup>14</sup> which would alone be employed in those days of perfect harmony. How then can the riding of Christ on an ass at a time, when the horses were not "cut off" and warfare had not ceased, in any sense be called a parallel to Zechariah's description! how much less can it be considered a fulfilment! The picture which the prophet draws of the future monarch is not that of humiliation, but of humility,<sup>15</sup> and every one knows that the ass is, in the East, by no means looked upon with contempt.<sup>16</sup> More

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Semler* on 1 Cor. X. 4, haec talia, ingenio Judaico propria, a christiana vero mente plane aliena, non miramur Paulum isto tempore non refutare, quia illis utendum erat κατ' ἀνθρώπων; comp. also *Schoettgen* on Matth. I. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Καθὼς γέγραπται, John XII. 14; or τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον, Acts II. 16; comp. Matth. XXI. 13, 42, 44; XXVI. 31 (Zech. XIII. 7); 1 Cor. I. 19, 31; II. 9; IX. 9; 2 Cor. VI. 2; VIII. 15; Rom. II. 24; III. 4, 10, 18; V. 17; VIII. 36; IX. 13, 33; XV. 3, 21; Hebr. V. 6 (καθὼς λέγει); or εἰ λέγει ἡ γραφή; Rom. IV. 3; X. 5; XI. 2, 4; Gal. IV. 30.

<sup>10</sup> Ὡς ὅπως πληρωθῇ; Matth. I. 22; II. 15, 23; VIII. 17; XIII. 35; John XIII. 18; XV. 25; XVII. 12; XVIII.

9; XIX. 36; comp. Matth. II. 17; XXVI. 54, 56; Luke (IV. 17) XXII. 22 (κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον), 37; XXIV. (15) 27, 44; Mark IX. 13; John V. 40, 46; 1 Cor. XV. 54, 55.

<sup>11</sup> John XII. 14, 15; comp. Zech. IX. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Matth. II. 23, ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. esp. Job XXXIX. 19—25; see also Isai. II. 7; XXX. 16; *Propert.* IV. iii. 39, 40.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Gen. XLIX. 14; 2 Sam. XIX. 27; etc.

<sup>15</sup> יָגֵל is here not *poor*, but like יָגֵל, *lowly*, in the sense of humble and gentle; so Sept. πρῆς, Jonath. קנין, Kimchi, Gesen., Winer, De Wette, a. o.

<sup>16</sup> See Comm. on Gen. pp. 748, 755. Comp. the tortuous, and as usual specious and dialectic explanation of

characteristic still is the second passage. Isaiah speaks of the Messianic king in the following words, "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch (נֶצֶץ) shall grow out of its roots",<sup>1</sup> that is, the Messiah shall be a *netser* (נֶצֶץ) of the house of Jesse: therefore, concludes the Evangelist, Christ settled in *Nazareth* (Ναζαρέτ), that he might, in fulfilment of such prophetic expressions,<sup>2</sup> be called a *Nazarene* (Ναζωραῖος);<sup>3</sup> the Hebrew word *netser* for the appellative noun *branch* was thus taken as the type of the *town* Nazareth in Galilee — a combination preposterous in the extreme, and exactly in the spirit of the Jewish Midrash.<sup>4</sup>

But it seems expedient to insert a few specimens of the general interpretation of the New Testament, which will help to form a well-balanced judgment.

Christ endeavoured to prove the resurrection of the dead by the words which God spoke to Moses at the burning bush, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob", that is, manifestly, I am the God that was acknowledged by, or revealed to the patriarchs; but Christ interprets, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living";<sup>5</sup> therefore the patriarchs cannot cease to exist, they must be immortal: can this most casuistic deduction really be deemed a support of the doctrine of immortality? and has it the least reference to that of resurrection?<sup>6</sup> — The apostle Paul thus annotates or explains

the passage by *Hengstenberg*, *Christol.* II. 120—153: the objections that "the dominion of Christ does not extend over the whole earth, and that wars have not ceased since his advent", are not so "trivial" as an over-confident dogmatism believes or professes to believe.

<sup>1</sup> Isai. XI. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the plural *δια τῶν προφητῶν*, because the writer had several similar terms in his mind; comp. also *רָצַץ* in *Zech.* VI. 12; *Jer.* XXIII. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Aramaean modification of *Ναζαφαῖος* for *Ναζαρηός*; see also *Acts* XXIV. 5; comp. *Mark* X. 47; *Luke* XVIII. 37; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Hieronym.* ad *Isai.* XI. 1; *Baur*, *Bibl. Theol.* I. 163; *Gieseler*, in *Stud. und Krit.* 1831. III. pp. 591 *sqq.*; *De Wette* on *Matth.* II. 23, a. o. — The word *Ναζωραῖος* has no connection with *Ναζωραῖος* Nazirite, for Christ did not live in the manner of Nazirites, nor

is the Messiah in the O. T. described as one; nor does it allude to *נָצַץ* (Isai. XLIX. 6, so *Hitzig*), against which view the plural (*נָצַצִּים*) militates; nor with any probability to *נָצַץ* in *Psa.* XXXI. 24; *Ex.* XXXIV. 7 (*Riggenbach*, a. o.); and it is fanciful to explain that Nazareth, supposed to have originally borne the name *נָצַץ*, and to have been so called from its insignificance, is typical of that contempt and humiliation which were to characterise the life of Christ (so *Hengstenb.* *Christol.* II. 1—8; comp. *Tholuck*, l. c. p. 44; *Riggenb.* *Stud. u. Kr.* 1855, pp. 565 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Matth.* XXII. 32; comp. *Exod.* III. 6.

<sup>6</sup> The judgment of *Strauss* (*Leb. Jes.* I. 646 *sqq.*), *Hase* (*Leb. Jes.* p. 184), a. o. who call this ratiocination "rabbini-sche Dialektik", is not shaken by the remarks of *De Wette* (in loc.), who calls it "tiefsinniges Schriftverständniss", because it involves the idea that

some verses in Deuteronomy declaring that all enjoy ready access to the Law, and need make no perilous effort for its discovery, "Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? — that is, bring Christ down from above; or who shall descend into the deep? — that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead":<sup>7</sup> in the latter part, the Hebrew text is even inaccurately quoted or rendered, evidently for the sake of the application;<sup>8</sup> for the correct words in Deuteronomy are, "Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it to us?"<sup>9</sup> — God said to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed",<sup>10</sup> that is, evidently, in thy descendents, since immediately before God had promised, "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven";<sup>11</sup> yet St. Paul, urging the *singular* of the collective noun seed, argues, "To Abraham and his seed were the promises made: he says not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ."<sup>12</sup> — In one passage, the same apostle introduces an elaborate comparison of husband and wife with Christ and the Church, which he describes as "a great mystery";<sup>13</sup> and in another, he declares the verse of Deuteronomy, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treads out the corn", a command undeniably suggested by motives of humanity,<sup>14</sup> not at all to be meant literally — for "does God take care for oxen?" — but to teach that the minister ought to be maintained by the congregation and to gain his sustenance by the preaching of the gospel.<sup>15</sup> — Of Abraham's two sons Ishmael and Isaac, the former was born of the bondmaid Hagar "after the flesh", the latter of the free woman Sarah "by promise" or "after the spirit": this is by the apostle taken as an "allegory"<sup>16</sup> and interpreted to point to the old and the new covenant; for, says he, "Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answers to the actual Jerusalem which is in bondage with her children";<sup>17</sup> while Sarah is

God, the Eternal, cannot be brought into relation to the dead: did indeed the author of the passage in Exodus mean to teach by it, even implicitly and indirectly, the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body? if not, an interpretation, which finds these doctrines in the words, cannot be characterised as "tiefsinniges Schrift-verständniss", but as "rabbinische Dialektik."

<sup>7</sup> Rom. X. 6. ἵ (τοὐτόστις χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν . . . τοὐτόστις χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν. comp. Hebr. XIII. 20).

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Ps. CXXIX. 6; Am. IX. 2.

<sup>9</sup> אֲלֵעֲבֹר הַיָּם וְרִי; Sept. τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. XXII. 18. וְהִתְבָּרַכְנוּ בְּזֶרְעֵךָ.

<sup>11</sup> Ver. 17; comp. Gen. XIII. 15; XVII. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Gal. III. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Eph. V. 22—33. τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν (ver. 32).

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Phil. De Human. c. 19 (Opp. II. 399, 400).

<sup>15</sup> 1 Cor. IX. 9, 10; comp. Deut. XXV. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Galat. IV. 22—31. Ἀτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα.

<sup>17</sup> Τὸ Ἄγαρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστίν . . . οὐ στοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ γῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ κτλ.

"the Jerusalem above which is free and which is the mother of us all",<sup>1</sup> since to her apply the words of the prophet, "rejoice thou barren that bearest not etc.";<sup>2</sup> now as Ishmael persecuted his younger brother,<sup>3</sup> so must the followers of Christ, who, like Isaac, are the children of promise, be persecuted by their older kinsmen, to be, however, ultimately victorious and to inherit alone the kingdom of heaven. Irrespective of the taste in which this exposition is conceived,<sup>4</sup> it is wholly inappropriate with regard to the types and antitypes; for the *first* covenant or that of Mount Sinai was also concluded with the descendants of *Isaac*, while Ishmael stands in no relation whatsoever to that "testament" or the Mosaic Law: therefore even Luther was forced to the confession that the allegory of Sarah and Hagar is untenable because it disregards the historical truth.<sup>5</sup>

The author of the hundred and tenth Psalm, in language no less obscure and abrupt than fervid and devoted, congratulates a contemporary king of Judah upon achieved or expected victories, "Jehovah speaks to my lord, Sit down at my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footstool . . . rule thou in the midst of thy enemies;" and in rising veneration and enthusiasm the poet exclaims, "Jehovah has sworn and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,"<sup>6</sup> that is, he declares him worthy to unite, like Melchizedek in Abraham's time,<sup>7</sup> the crown of royalty with the crown of priesthood, and wishes or predicts the "eternal" preservation of the double dignity in his house. This Psalm received from an early date a Messianic interpretation, which was favoured both by its soaring elevation and pregnant brevity; it was evidently so understood by the Jews in the time of Christ; and Christ and the apostles applied it in this manner with the assent of their hearers.<sup>8</sup> It is, therefore, but natural that

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ὄντιν κτλ., comp. Ἱερ. ἐλευθερίαν (Hebr. XII. 22) or ἡ καινὴ Ἱερ. (Rev. III. 12; XXI. 2), and the Rabbinical ירושלים של מעלה.

<sup>2</sup> Isai. LIV. 1, quoted from the Sept.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Gen. XXI. 9, "Sarah saw the son of Hagar mocking" (מצחק), which allusion was much enlarged by tradition; for inst. "Ishmael shot arrows at Isaac, and did as if he sported" (מצחק; *Midr. Rabb. Beresh. LIII. 8*), and many similar fancies.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Iso *Philo, Legg. Allegor. III. 67* (l. p. 136 ed. Mang.).

<sup>5</sup> Die Allegorie . . . ist zum Stich zu

schwach, denn sie weicht ab vom historischen Verstand (Ausleg. des 1 B. Mos., Werke I. 1731). "Es muss anerkannt werden" observes de Wette (in loc.), "dass der Apostel ganz willkürlich verfahren ist . . . Seine Willkür aber ist eine unbewusste; was ihm der allegorische Witz an die Hand gab, hielt er für objective Wahrheit."

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 4, אתה כהן לעולם על־דברתי מלכ־צדק.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. XIV. 18; *Philo, De Abrah. c. 40* (II. 34), ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Ps. CX. 1 and Matth. XXII. 42—46 (Mark XII. 35—37; Luke XX.



Melchizedek "king of Salem, a priest of the most high God," expressly named in the ode, should have been taken as the type of Christ — "a priest or High-priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek."<sup>9</sup> But the expedients which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>10</sup> adopted to carry out the parallel, are indeed highly curious. He explained the *name* of the Canaanite monarch, which is simply "righteous king",<sup>11</sup> as "the king of righteousness",<sup>12</sup> the fountain of wisdom, sanctification, and redemption;<sup>13</sup> and he interpreted the *town* Salem (שָׁלֵם) or Jerusalem<sup>14</sup> as peace, so that Melchizedek was the "king of peace";<sup>15</sup> but more strangely still, he described him as "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God; abideth a priest continually."<sup>16</sup> What are the supports that justify the assumption of that marvellous nature of Melchizedek, to whom the Old Testament makes absolutely no other allusion except in the history of Abraham — "king of Salem, a priest of the most high God" — and in the Psalm above analysed, where he is but incidentally named both king and priest? But it is the silence of the Hebrew Scriptures which seems to have been eagerly seized by the author of the Epistle: they do not mention his father and his mother — therefore he had none; they do not mention his descent — therefore he was unconnected with human generations; they do not mention his birth nor his death — therefore he was neither born nor did he die; and all this was evidently assumed that he might be "like unto the Son of God", with whom, as was supposed, that Psalm compared him.<sup>17</sup>

41—44); Acts II. 30—36; 1 Cor. XV. 25—28; Hebr. I. 3, 13; X. 12, 13; esp. the sitting of Christ "on the right hand of God" (יְיָ יָשִׁיב, meaning "be thou My stadtholder or co-regent"; see De Wette on Ps. CX. 1); comp. also Matth. XXVI. 63, 64; Mark XIV. 61, 62; Luke XXII. 69; Acts VII. 55, 56; Rom. VIII. 34; Eph. I. 20—22; Col. III. 1; 1 Pet. III. 22; Hebr. VIII. 1; Rev. III. 21; V. 1, 7.

<sup>9</sup> Hebr. V. 6, 10; VI. 20; VII. 17, 21.

<sup>10</sup> Hebr. VII. 1—3.

<sup>11</sup> מֶלֶךְ צֶדֶק; see Gram. § 88. 1, 2; thus Josephus (Ant. I. x. 2) and Philo (Legg. Alleg. III. 25; Op. I. p. 103) explain βασιλεὺς δίκαιος; comp. also מֶלֶךְ צֶדֶק, a king of Jerusalem, in Josh. X. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Cor. I. 30; comp. Jer. XXIII. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Ps. LXXVI. 3, where שָׁלֵם stands in parallelism with יְיָ; comp. Jos. B. J. VI. x.; see Hengstenb., Hupfeld, a.o. in loc.; comp. Comm. on Gen. pp. 359—362.

<sup>15</sup> Βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης; Rom. V. 1; Eph. II. 14, 15, 17; comp. Isai. IX. 5 (רַם דָּלִיָּה), 6; Zech. IX. 9, 10; Philo. I. c.

<sup>16</sup> Ver. 3, Ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος (or μὴ γενεαλογούμενος ἀεὶ αὐτῶν, ver. 6), μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, ἀσωματωμένος δὲ τῷ νοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές (or εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, VI. 20; comp. X. 12, 14).

<sup>17</sup> Comp. Matth. I. 18, 20; Luke I. 35 (see, however, De Wette, Dogm. I. § 281). For this reason, it cannot be admitted that the author meant nothing more by the terms ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ καὶ than "one of whom the Bible records nei-

But is this surprising *argumentum ex silentio*, unparalleled as it is, efficacious after all? does it not prove even too much? Was indeed the Christ of the New Testament "without mother"? was he indeed "without descent"? he whose indispensable attribute it was to descend from the house of David? Can the proof that he was neither, be attempted without the most wanton distortions? But it must be observed that the idea of the possibility of a birth either without father or without mother seems to have been familiarly entertained about the time of Christ: thus Philo calls Sarah "without mother" (ἀμήτωρ), because "she had no share in the female race" and its weakness, and "was not formed of the materials accessible to outward perception, which are always in a state of formation and dissolution", but "had emerged out of the whole corporeal world."<sup>2</sup> It is certainly possible that the writer did not wish to press the analogies too closely, conscious that they would either lead to an unscriptural identification of Melchizedek and Christ,<sup>3</sup> or to a supernatural paradox,<sup>4</sup> or to a grave Biblical perplexity, since, if Melchizedek "abideth a priest continually," there would be neither room nor occasion for the priesthood of Levi and of Christ: but if so, the whole of that typical explanation collapses and falls to the ground. Indeed, how can Melchizedek, who was not even permitted to use the sacred

ther parents nor genealogy" (so many commentators); this would be a trivial truism (the instance in Livy IV. 3 that Serv. Tullius was born *patre nullo*, of an *unknown* father, is not analogous, as the addition *matre serva* together with the context sufficiently explains the sense); and where would be the resemblance with Christ? besides, ἀπάτωρ signifies clearly, as Pollux explains, ὁ μὴ πατέρα ἔχων ὡς ἑαυτοῦ (comp. *Lucian*, *De Sacrif.* c. 6). and ἀμήτωρ ὁ μὴ ἔχων μητέρα ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Those terms are no less to be taken literally than the following μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν κτλ., and they are intended to apply as well to the type as to the antitype.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. John VII. 42, "Hath not the Scripture said, that Christ cometh of the seed of David"? see also Matth. IX. 27; XV. 22; XXI. 15; etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Philo*, *De Ebriet.* c. 14 (Op. I. 365, 366), λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀμήτωρ γενέσθαι . . . θήλειος γενεᾶς ἀμέτοχος . . . οὐχὶ

γὰρ ἐξ ὕλης τῆς αἰσθητοῦ συνισταμένης αἰεὶ καὶ λυομένης . . . ὑπερκίνασα τὸν σωματοειδῆ πάντα κόσμον; comp. also *Quis Rer. Div. Her.* c. 12 (Op. I. 481), ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ πάντων θεοῦ μόνου γεννηθεῖσα ἡ ἀμήτωρ ἀρχή.

<sup>3</sup> The former was indeed regarded as an ἐνσάρκωσις of the latter, or of the λόγος, by Epiphan., Ambros., a. o.; and, by the "Melchizedekites", esp. their chief, the younger Theodotus, as the incarnation of a Divine power superior to Christ (against the New T., Rom. IX. 5; Col. I. 15; 2 Cor. IV. 4; 1 John V. 20; Hebr. I. 2, 3, 8, 10; Matth. III. 17; XI. 27; etc.), who was himself but the reflex of Melch. and the intercessor for men (Append. ad *Tertull.* *De praeser. haer.* c. 53; *Theod.* *Haer.* sal. II. 5, 6); *Epiphan.* *Haer.* 35; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Some, as Origen and Didymus, considered Melchizedek an angel (*Hieronymus* *Epistol.* ad Evag.; comp. *Fabric.* *Cod. Pseudep. Veter. Testam.* II. 329; III. 72).

name of Jehovah, because, not belonging to the race of Abraham, he had not fathomed His attributes,<sup>5</sup> and was merely a priest "of the most high God," how can he be the type of the "Son of God," the embodiment of Divine wisdom and holiness? how can he at all point to the future unfolding of God's kingdom? The comparison between the two lies in the blending of the regal and pontifical power, and in nothing else; and as the former was to remain "for ever" in David's house, so also the latter.<sup>6</sup> We are, therefore, happily released from following the writer of the Epistle into his remaining and over-subtle inferences, all designed to glorify Christ by means of Melchizedek — that the latter received the tithes from Abraham himself, and through him, as it were, from the Levites also, while these could exact them from their fellow-Hebrews only; that he blessed the patriarch and must therefore have surpassed him in exalted dignity; that he is immortal, while the Levites were perishable beings; that he, therefore, installed with the confirmation of an oath, absorbs and annuls the Levitical priesthood;<sup>7</sup> and we pass over the numerous and incredible reveries that have been ventured on the nature, the life, and the office of the priest-king so briefly and so imperfectly alluded to in the Old Testament.<sup>8</sup>

If, therefore, the speculative expositions of Talmudists and Rabbins must, in principle, be denounced as playful and futile, the same epithets apply with equal force to the typical expositions of the New Testament; both belong to the same class and the same mental bias, and fall at the slightest touch of criticism.<sup>9</sup>

Perceiving the questionable value of interpretations which might well tend to discredit the whole canon, great Christian divines alleged,

<sup>5</sup> Gen. XIV. 19, 20. See Comm. on Gen. p. 359.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Ps. CVI. 31 (לְדָוִד וְדָוִד עֲרֵעוּלָם); 1 Sam. II. 30 (עֲרֵעוּלָם), 35 (כָּל־הַיָּמִים).

<sup>7</sup> Hebr. VII. 4—21; this can hardly be called with Hupfeld (Psalmen, IV. p. 175) "durchgeführte tiefsinnige Allegorie üb. die Stellung Christi zum levitischen Priesterthum und Gesetz"; although we fully agree with his excellent remarks on the impossibility of the Messianic interpretation of the 110th Psalm (ibid. pp. 175—177); comp., on the other hand, the uncritical expositions of Hengstenb. Christol. I. pp. 139—153; Psalm. IV. pp. 223—258; Delitzsch, Psalmen, II. pp. 138—143; 148—150; a. o.

<sup>8</sup> Comp., f. i. *Michael. Typ. Gottesgel.* Introd. pp. 9—86, and in the body of the work pp. 122—126; *Heidegger*, Hist. patriarch. II. 38 sqq.; *L. Borger*, Hist. crit. Melchisedeci; *Carpzov*, Apparatus, p. 52—55; *Deyling*, Observ. II. 58 sqq.; *Nägelsbach*, in Herz. Real-Enc. IX. 300—304.

<sup>9</sup> Compare also the strange interpretations in Gal. II. 20; III. 13; VI. 14; etc.; see also *De Wette*, Dogmat. I. § 261. Apologetic attempts are not only unavailing, but exhibit the faults of argumentation still more strikingly; see, f. i. *Thol.* I. c. pp. 24, 25, 37—40, 45, 46, 61—76; *Lechler*, Das A. T. in den Reden Jesu, St. u. Kr. 1854, pp. 787 sqq.

disobedience of the Hebrews in the desert and their consequent punishment are described as "our examples to the intent we should not after evil things, as they also lusted",<sup>5</sup> which only implies the warning to expect similar disasters from similar offences.<sup>6</sup> As the braze therefore poisonless, serpent was lifted in the desert, and gave life to those who looked up to it, so Christ, sinless and nailed to the cross, saves those who turn to him in faith.<sup>7</sup> Jonah remaining three and three nights in the whale's belly, was a "sign" (σημεῖον) that we would be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The other passages entirely exclude such conception; they were undoubtedly meant to involve the idea of real types. Thus Adam is called "figure of him who was to come",<sup>8</sup> or "the first man of earth,"<sup>9</sup> while Christ is "the second man, the Lord from heaven."<sup>10</sup> The ark in which Noah was saved is a "figure" of baptism and its promise of salvation.<sup>11</sup> The history of Hagar and Sarah is an "allegory" of the former of the old Jerusalem, the latter of the new, or of the church.

<sup>1</sup> Ὡς ἀποδείκνυται τῇ ὑποθείσει, so Kosmas Indicopl. (Montfaucon. II. 227).

<sup>2</sup> Ad ornandam praesentem causam, so Calvin (ad Hebr. II. 6; comp. also ad Matth. II. 18); the Antiochian school, Diodor of Tharsus and Theod. of Mopsuestia; the Arminians (comp. Grotius and Wettstein on Matth. I. 22; Episcop. on Matth. II. 15; Hammond on Matth.

<sup>4</sup> Rom. X. 6, 7, 13, 18; Heb. 13; 1 Cor. XV. 25, 27; Eph.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. X. 6, ταῦτα δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔδειξεν, εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς κατὰς κακῶν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμεῶν.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. 1 Cor. I.

<sup>7</sup> Num. XXI. 8, 9; John III.

<sup>8</sup> Matth. XII. 39, 40; but this is not accurate. Comp. Matth. IV, 4—

through Christ.<sup>12</sup> The earthly Sanctuary made by human hands on celestial patterns and guarded by human priests, is the "figure of the true one" in heaven presided over by Christ.<sup>13</sup> And with a more comprehensive scope, "the holy ghost" signified the incomplete service in the Temple as a "figure" of the time when through Christ worship will be perfect.<sup>14</sup> The Jewish priests are affirmed "to serve unto the *example* and *shadow* of heavenly things",<sup>15</sup> while the Law has merely "the shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things", and could therefore not render those perfect who sacrificed under that dispensation,<sup>16</sup> since the ceremonial precepts, as those on food, the sabbath, and the holidays, were "a shadow of things to come", or "the weak and beggarly elements", whereas "the body is Christ."<sup>17</sup>

In narrating the life of Jesus, the Evangelists introduce a series of events which, though they had happened in previous times, occurred again in the history of Christ, but in a manner so much more real that they were considered as the "fulfilment" of the former. Jesus was born by the Virgin Mary, that a corresponding promise given to Isaiah more than 700 years before and at that time literally realised, might be "fulfilled."<sup>18</sup> He was taken to Egypt as a child and brought back to Palestine, that he might "fulfill" in a deeper sense the words of the prophet Hosea, originally applied to the Hebrews, "Out of Egypt have I called my son."<sup>19</sup> The child-murder at Bethlehem which he occasioned, was the "fulfilment" of the carnage perpetrated by the Babylonians in Jerusalem at the time of its destruction about six centuries before;<sup>20</sup> although the former was utterly insignificant compared with the fearful bloodshed of the latter.<sup>21</sup> He cast out the devils and healed the sick, that the utterances of Isaiah with regard to the servant of God who "took our infirmities upon himself and bore our sicknesses", might be realised in a profounder meaning.<sup>22</sup> He always spoke to the people in parables, that the intention of Asaph, who declared at the beginning of one of his Psalms, "I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter dark sayings of old", should be carried out in a manner as

<sup>12</sup> Gal. IV. 22—31; see pp. 149, 150.

<sup>13</sup> Hebr. IX. 23, 24, τὰ ὑποδείγματα τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . . . χειροποιήτα ἁγία . . . ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν; comp. IX. 11; VIII. 5 and Exod. XXV. 9, 40.

<sup>14</sup> Hebr. IX. 9, ἥτις παραβολή κτλ.

<sup>15</sup> Hebr. VIII. 5, οἵτινες ὑποδείγματα καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσιν τῶν ἐπουρανίων.

<sup>16</sup> Rom. X. 1, σκιὰν γὰρ ἔχων ὁ νόμος τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων, κτλ.

<sup>17</sup> Col. II. 17, ὃ ἴσταν σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ χριστοῦ; Gal. IV. 9, ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα.

<sup>18</sup> Matth. I. 23; comp. Isai. VII. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Matth. II. 15; Hos. XI. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Matth. II. 17, 18 (τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ρηθὲν, κτλ); comp. Jerem. XXXI. 15, 16.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. *Michael*. Typ. Gottesgel. pp. 195—201.

<sup>22</sup> Matth. VIII. 16, 17, Isai. LIII. 4.

it could never be done by Asaph himself.<sup>1</sup> He declared that Judas must betray him, that the Scriptures might be fulfilled, "He that eats bread with me, has lifted up his heel against me", words used many ages before by a poet groaning under misery, persecution and disease.<sup>2</sup> The money received by the traitor and then returned by him in the Temple, was employed for buying "the potter's field" as a burial place, in order that a corresponding purchase actually made by Jeremiah in the Babylonian period might be "fulfilled";<sup>3</sup> although the same transaction is, in another place, very differently related, so that evidently various traditions and legends existed on the subject.<sup>4</sup> Who does not see that these and similar "fulfilments",<sup>5</sup> founded neither upon human design and co-operation, nor upon internal necessity, nor the remotest causal connection, are nothing but self-discovered adaptations not always happy and invariably deceptive, in the Rabbinical taste above characterised?

But the New Testament proceeded even farther in this direction. The principle of fulfilment was applied not only to events, but to laws. The command to roast the paschal lamb entire, so that no bone of it is broken — to symbolise the unity of the families and the nation — found its true fulfilment, when the legs of Christ were not broken after the crucifixion.<sup>6</sup> But this latter accommodation was only a part of a larger conception. Starting from the notion of the Old Testament that leaven is corruption and decay, and that, therefore, Passover or "the feast of unleavened bread", is the emblem of purity and sinlessness,<sup>7</sup> and moreover considering that Jesus died on the day before that festival, evangelists and apostles took the paschal lamb for the type of Christ, and set forth the doctrine, "Christ, our passover, is sacrificed for us"<sup>8</sup> — manifestly as a sin-offering, in harmony with the character

<sup>1</sup> Matth. XIII. 35; see Ps. LXXVIII. 2.

<sup>2</sup> John XIII. 18; comp. Ps. XLI. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. XXVII. 9; comp. Jerem. XXXII. 8 *sqq.*; comp. Zechar. XI. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Acts I. 16—20; comp. Ps. LXIX. 29; CIX. 8, 10; see *De Wette* on Acts I. 18, 19.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Matth. IV. 15, 16 and Isai. VIII. 23; IX. 1; Matth. XII. 18—21 and Isai. XLII. 1—4; Matth. XIII. 14, 15 and Isai. VI. 9, 10; Matth. XXVII. 35 (John XIX. 24) and Ps. XXII. 19; John XV. 25 and Ps. LXIX. 5; John XII. 37—41 and Isai. VI. 10; LIII. 1; Acts XIII. 35—37 and Ps. XVI. 10; see also Matth. XXVI. 24, 54; XVII. 12 and XVIII. 9;

XIX. 28, 37; XX. 9; Luke XXIV. 25, 27, 44, 46; Mark IX. 13. Sometimes the quotations from the O. T. are incorrect, whether unconsciously or intentionally, in order to effect the desired fulfilment or to make it more striking; comp. Matth. II. 6 and Mic. V. 1; 1 Cor. II. 9 and Isai. LXIV. 3; while sometimes various passages are mixed or blended; comp. Rom. XI. 26, 27 and Is. LIX. 20, 21; XXVII. 9.

<sup>6</sup> John XIX. 36; comp. Exod. XII. 9, 46; and *supra* p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 134.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Cor. V. 7, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἰθὺς ἦν χριστός.

of the *first* or Egyptian paschal celebration.<sup>9</sup> Applying these notions to the sacrificial code in general, they maintained that Christ is the great sin-and purification-offering, by whose blood the transgressions of the world are for ever forgiven and eternal redemption is wrought;<sup>10</sup> and advancing a step farther, they arrived at the idea that he was the universal and true sacrifice, which had been foreshadowed by all the defective offerings of the Old Testament, and thenceforth rendered them for ever superfluous;<sup>11</sup> so that the Hebrew sacrifices, once acts of daily and perpetual necessity,<sup>12</sup> "were manifestly evangelical sermons on the suffering, death, and justification of Christ."<sup>13</sup> For he gave himself up as a sacrifice, not like all other victims, but self-consciously and spontaneously; and, possessing an inner affinity both with the human and the Divine nature,<sup>14</sup> he alone was able to effect a true intercourse between God and men, and to create a communion between mankind and God. And as every sacrifice was designed as a *covenant* with the Deity, from which reason each was to be accompanied by the "salt of the covenant of God",<sup>15</sup> so were the death and the blood of Christ the means of a new covenant between God and the human race, involving the everlasting remission of sins.<sup>16</sup> These ideas were, with eager zest, worked out into minute parallels: the lamb was in the Old Testament ordained as the most usual victim, because it is, like Christ, the emblem of innocence and of patience under sufferings;<sup>17</sup> the sacrificial animals were to be faultless, because Christ was without defect and free from all disease of guilt;<sup>18</sup> the sin-offering was burnt without the camp, as Christ suffered without the gates of Jerusalem;<sup>19</sup> the flesh of the victims was

<sup>9</sup> See Sect. XVII.

<sup>10</sup> Matth. XX. 28; XXVI. 28; Mark XIV. 24; Luke XXII. 20; John I. 29; III. 16; VI. 51; X. 15; Rom. III. 24, 25; IV. 25; V. 2, 6—9, 11, 15, 19; VIII. 31—39; 1 Cor. VI. 20; XV. 3; 2 Cor. V. 18, 19, 21; Gal. I. 4; Eph. I. 7; V. 25, 26; Col. I. 14, 20—22; II. 14; 1 John I. 7; II. 1, 2; III. 16; IV. 10; Hebr. II. 9; VII. 25; IX. 14, 15, 18—22, 26; X. 12; 1 Petr. I. 18, 19; II. 24; Tit. II. 14; Revel. I. 7; comp. also Eph. V. 2 and 1 Cor. V. 7. "Der Versöhnungstod Jesu", observes De Wette (Dogmat. II. § 73a), "ist ein Gegenstand des frommen Glaubens oder der Ahnung, nicht des Wissens."

<sup>11</sup> Hebr. IX. 25—28; X. 10, 12, 14.

<sup>12</sup> Hebr. X. 1—3, 11, 12.

<sup>13</sup> *Lundius*, Jüd. Heiligth. pp. 727, 728; comp. *Semler*, Antiquitäten der Heiligen Schrift, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 60; comp. 2 Cor. V. 15, 19; 1 Tim. II. 6; Eph. V. 2; see Matth. XX. 28; John X. 18; Rom. V. 19; 1 Pet. II. 22, 23; Hebr. IX. 14; X. 5, 6; *Irenaeus*, Adv. Haeret. III. xviii. 7.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 110; comp. Ps. L. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Matth. XXVI. 28; Mark XIV. 24; Luke XXII. 20; Hebr. IX. 14—22; XIII. 20; 1 Cor. XI. 25.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. Revel., where alone Christ is called lamb more than 30 times; comp. 1 Pet. I. 19, etc.

<sup>18</sup> ἄμωμος, ἁπλός, etc.; Hebr. IX. 14; 1 Pet. I. 19; II. 22; 2 Cor. V. 21; John VIII. 46.

<sup>19</sup> Hebr. XIII. 1—13.



consumed, because the flesh of Christ was to be eaten by the believers, and his blood drunk to acquire eternal life.<sup>1</sup> But Christ was regarded not only as the *victim*, but also as the *priest*,<sup>2</sup> that is, as the *mediator* between God and men,<sup>3</sup> in fact, as the true High-priest,<sup>4</sup> appointed by an oath of God,<sup>5</sup> eternally occupying the dignity, without follower,<sup>6</sup> and alone completely realising the idea of an intercessor, because in order to atone for others, he does not require first to atone for himself.<sup>7</sup>

Unbiased readers might suppose that these views of the New Testament approach the very boundary even of fantastical adaptation. They might consider that most of them obviously include their own refutation. The faultlessness of the victim was a requirement even in heathen sacrifices.<sup>8</sup> The holiest kind of sin-offerings was neither consumed by the priests nor the offerers, but burnt entirely; the less holy class was indeed partially eaten, but by the priests alone; while the worshippers were permitted to partake of the thank-offerings only, which involve the idea of atonement in the least degree;<sup>9</sup> and when Christ declared, "I say to you, Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you",<sup>10</sup> he amazed his own disciples, many of whom left him thenceforth for ever.<sup>11</sup> The Hebrew prophets never expected or wished the sacrifices to be abrogated in the time of the Messiah.<sup>12</sup> There lived indeed in the better minds of the nation the hope that God would, in due time, conclude with Israel "a new covenant"; but this covenant was not meant to consist in a new Law, but that the old one should become a truth and a reality in the lives of men, after a complete remission of their sins. "This shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: in those days, says the Lord, I will put My Law into their minds, and write it in their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more:"<sup>13</sup> "A new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh";<sup>14</sup> and in that time, it was anticipated,

<sup>1</sup> John VI. 53—56.

<sup>2</sup> Hebr. VII. 15; VIII. 4; etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Μεσίτης*, Gal. III. 20; 1 Tim. II. 5; Hebr. VIII. 6; IX. 15; XII. 24; comp. VII. 25; IX. 24; or *surety*, *ἑγγυος*, Hebr. VII. 22; comp. 2 Macc. X. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Hebr. III. 1; IV. 14; V. 5, 10; VI. 20; VIII. 1; IX. 11; X. 21; XIII. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Hebr. VII. 21; comp. Ps. CX. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Hebr. VII. 23, 24; comp. Ps. I. c. (לעולם); see pp. 152, 153.

<sup>7</sup> Hebr. V. 3; VII. 26, 27, 28; IX. 7.

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 94, 95.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Hebr. XIII. 10, 11.

<sup>10</sup> John VI. 53; comp. vers. 32, 33, 54—56.

<sup>11</sup> Vers. 60, 61, 66.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 62.

<sup>13</sup> Jer. XXXI. 33, 34 (Hebr. VIII. 7—13; X. 15—16); comp. XXIV. 7 (ותחתי לכם לב לרעה אחי וכ').

<sup>14</sup> Ezek. XXXVI. 26—28.

sacrifices would be performed not alone at the place of the Ark of the Covenant, but everywhere in Jerusalem, in which town, as at the throne of God, all nations would, in purity of heart, assemble with their offerings.<sup>15</sup>

But neither difficulties nor improbabilities deterred prepossessed minds from the dangerous path. With increasing exaggeration and arbitrariness, the typical method was pursued in subsequent ages. Degrees of deterioration are distinguishable in the New Testament itself. While the allegorical applications attributed to Christ are comparatively simple and intelligible, those of St. Paul are considerably bolder, though always ingenious and original, fresh and spontaneous, and often surprising by admirable and important deductions; but the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, basing his conclusions not upon the original Hebrew text, but upon the Greek translation, even where it is manifestly erroneous, is subtle, studied, and laborious, yet versatile, able, and dexterous.<sup>16</sup> However, even he was immeasurably surpassed by those who followed his track, by Barnabas, Justinus Martyr, and Origen, by Ambrosius and Hilarius, whose typical elucidations are often flimsy, poor, and trivial. In vain the voice of warning was raised by thoughtful and discerning men; in vain did St. Augustin advise the utmost caution and moderation; he observed that details of the Old and New Testament are often very ingeniously compared with each other, but that this is not done by Divine suggestion, but by conjectures of the human mind, which indeed sometimes discovers the truth, but is as frequently in error.<sup>17</sup> But so strong was the propensity of the time, and so powerful the temptation to yield to it, that St. Augustin himself propounded the theory of a fourfold interpretation of the Scriptures — according to history, causality, analogy, and allegory,<sup>18</sup> a theory which, in the Middle Ages, produced no less mischievous effects among Christian theologians, than the corresponding Talmudical canon of the four modes of exposition — according to the literary meaning, the occult or underlying sense, the allegory, and mystery<sup>19</sup> — called forth

<sup>15</sup> Jer. III. 16, 17; see pp. 53, 54.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Hebr. I. 6 and Ps. XCVII. 7 Sept.; Hebr. II. 10—12 and Ps. XXII. 23; Hebr. III. 7—IV. 9 and Ps. XCV. 8—11; Hebr. VII. 17, 21 and Ps. CX. 4; Hebr. II. 7; X. 5; XII. 26, 27 and Hagg. II. 6.

<sup>17</sup> *Augustin. De Civitate, Dei* XVIII. 52, Exquisite et ingeniose illa singula his singulis comparata videantur, non prophetico spiritu, sed conjectura men-

tis humanac, quae aliquando ad verum pervenit, aliquando fallitur.

<sup>18</sup> Secundum historiam, secundum aitiologiam (*why* the events happened), secundum analogiam (harmony of the Old T. and the New), et secundum allegoriam (*August. De Utilit. Cred.* c. 3; *De vera Relig.* c. 50).

<sup>19</sup> מִצְרַיִם, יִצְרָאֵל (ἐκείνη), הִיִּרְאָה, and תִּד, the initials of which words form the vox memorialis מִצְרַיִם.

among Jewish scholars; the former gave rise to the mystic and theosophic, the latter to the cabalistic and chasidic schools, the luxuriant extravagance of which totally overspread and buried the plain sense of the Bible. The typical method knew no bounds; and it went astray into the most arid wastes of fanciful speculation.

The broad doctrine was set forth, that even the actual events recorded in the Old Testament happened but figuratively, and were images to be realised and truly accomplished in Christ.<sup>1</sup> It would be unprofitable to recount all the typical inferences that have been ventured on such premises; let it suffice to mention some of the more moderate views and explanations. Rachel, long praying for issue, and at last giving birth to Benjamin under pain and death, was understood as the Jewish Synagogue, for ages expecting the Messiah and then killing him. The blooming rod of Aaron was the Divine appointment of Christ and his work through the resurrection.<sup>2</sup> The manna that fell from heaven in the night, is Christ, the heavenly, who was born in the night, the food of the soul; it was white in colour, because he was innocent and spotless; it was at first unfamiliar to the Hebrews, because he is not understood by ungraced men of nature; a part of it was preserved in a vessel as a memorial, to point to the Lord's supper that would in due time be instituted.<sup>3</sup> Nearly all the prominent persons of the Old Testament — as Isaac and Jacob, Joseph and Moses, David and Solomon<sup>4</sup> — were taken for types of Jesus, his life, and his sufferings; and Elisha with his twelve yokes of oxen for the emblems of Christ and his twelve apostles,<sup>5</sup> who, however, were also prefigured by the twelve wells of water at Elim, the twelve gems in the High-priest's breast-plate, the twelve stones selected from the Jordan by the command of God through Joshua,<sup>6</sup> and by the twelve cakes of shew-bread, pure and unleavened, since Christ is the bread of life.<sup>7</sup> The priest laid the incense of the people on the altar, because Christ alone can bring human supplications before God; and the incense was burnt with the fire taken from the brazen altar, because any prayer unconnected with the sacrifice of

<sup>1</sup> Zwingli on Matth. II. 18, omnia quae in V. T. etiam vere sunt gesta, in figura tamen contigerunt, et figurae fuerunt, in Christo omnia consummantur et vere implentur.

<sup>2</sup> Num. XVII. 23; comp. Hebr. IX. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Semler, Antiq. der heil. Sch. pp. 24, 25; comp. also pp. 103, 108, 113.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Hebr. I. 5 and Ps. II. 7; 2 Sam. VII. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 Ki. XIX. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. XV. 27; XXVIII. 17—21; Josh. IV. 2—8; Matth. XIX. 28; comp. *Tertull.* c. Marc. IV. 24, totidem apostoli ut fontes irrigaturi vallem aridam, ut gemmae illuminaturae sacram ecclesiae vestem, ut lapides fidei quos de Jordanis lavacro elegit.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. John VI. 35, 53, 54, 57, 58; see *supra*.

Christ is illegitimate and cannot approach the throne of God. All sacrifices were to be offered in Jerusalem, because Christ was there crucified;<sup>9</sup> yet the ashes were to be removed without the camp to a clean place, because Christ was buried at a spot that had not been rendered levitically impure by bones of the dead. The paschal lamb was to be selected five days before the festival, because Christ came to Jerusalem to suffer death a similar time before Passover;<sup>9</sup> and the former was to be killed "between the two evenings", because the latter was nailed to the cross at the same time of the day.<sup>10</sup> The victim was to be neither too old nor too young, because Christ took upon himself the punishment of human sin in the bloom of his life, when he was most able to feel the agony and to ponder over it. The offerer killed the victim himself, because Christ was slain by the people whom he redeemed. The fat and the fat parts, that is, the choicest portions of the animal, were to be burnt on the altar, because God gave for the salvation of the world His most precious treasure, His own son. Yet the burning of the animal symbolised both the tortures of hell that await the sinner, and the death of Christ which saves him. One goat was slain on the Day of Atonement, and another sent out free into the wilderness, because Christ was killed for mankind, which by his death became free from sin and its direful retribution. Certain pieces of the sacrifices were "heaved" and "waved", because Christ, when nailed to the cross, was lifted up, and as it were waved to the four winds.<sup>11</sup>

A number of objections against these and all typical views must at once crowd upon the reader's attention. He will first of all be struck by the uncertainty and indistinctness of the interpretations. Can Christ be at the same time the victim and the mediating priest? If the victim, how can he intercede? if the High-priest, how can his blood be shed for atonement? Yet he is represented both as the one and the other; in either case the parallels are worked out into microscopic details; and the inevitable result is a most perplexing confusion both in the sacrificial rites and in the attributes of Christ.<sup>12</sup> The author of the

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Matth. XX. 19; Mark X. 33; Luke XVIII. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. John XII. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Exod. XII. 6 and notes *in loc.*

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Michaelis*, Entwurf der typischen Gottesgelahrtheit; *Lundius*, Jüdische Heiligthümer, III. xlv. 15—41; *Deyling*, Observ. Sacr. V. 32, de typis proprie dictis et innatis; *Ph. Miller*, Neues System aller Vorbilder Christi im A. T. 1758 (1858); *Semler*, l. c.

pp. 124—126; *Blasche*, System. Comment. zum Hebräerbr., 1782; Neue Aufklärung über die mos. Typol. 1789; *B. W. Newton*, Thoughts on parts of the Book of Leviticus, 2nd ed. 1857; *Hengstenberg*, Opfer, pp. 17, 18, 27 sqq.; *Küper*, Das Priesterthum des alten Bundes, 1866; etc. etc.

<sup>12</sup> It has been observed "In as much as priests expiate by victims, priests and victims are but two sides of the

Epistle to the Hebrews seems indeed to have felt this difficulty; for he represents Christ as the victim on earth, but as the High-priest after his crucifixion, in heaven, which is the Holy of Holies where he performs his ministrations;<sup>1</sup> but if so, where is the analogy between the ordinary sacrifices and that of Christ? That one and chief inaccuracy led naturally to unlimited and almost universal identifications; Christ was contended to be, in his own and sole person, "victim, sacrifice, priest, altar, God, man, king, High-priest, sheep, lamb, in fact, all in all, that he may be our life in every respect";<sup>2</sup> till in this maze of entanglement every landmark disappeared, and all connection with the Old Testament was utterly lost. Occasional similarities may be discoverable, because, as we have above remarked, historical events repeat themselves within certain conditions; but even a cursory examination will generally prove the decided preponderance of the divergences. If Christ is the "Passover", how can his life, even by the remotest allegories, be harmonised with the requirements of the paschal lamb, which was to be *roasted*, consumed *entirely*, without the least portion being left, eaten with *bitter herbs*, and killed *annually*? Typical explanations cannot be consistently followed out without leading to absurdities, of which a treatise entitled "How Christ — the altar — was square"?<sup>3</sup> is but one specimen in a large class. If their adherents gave due weight to this consideration, they would attempt to test their religious tenets by their own intrinsic merits, rather than by unnaturally grafting them upon the Old Testament. As many theologians, therefore, had not the courage, typically to interpret all details, they selected some as adapted for that method, while they understood the rest literally;<sup>4</sup> but a principle which is not generally applicable is no principle at all, and reveals its fatal weakness. Some distinguished between *inherent* and *transferred* types,<sup>5</sup> the former being marked as such in the Scriptures, the latter formed by analogy; others explained every point in a twofold manner, once as a mystery of Christ, and once as a mystery of the Church, or as "a memorial" of

same idea" (*Tholuck*, l. c. p. 106): but fundamental doctrines of religion ought not to be supported by such sophisms.

<sup>1</sup> Hebr. V. 9, 10; VI. 19, 20; VII. 26; VIII. 4; comp. *Tholuck*, l. c. p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Epiphanius*. Haer. 55; αὐτὸς ἱερεὺς, αὐτὸς θύμα, αὐτὸς ἱερὺς, αὐτὸς θυσιαστήριον, αὐτὸς θεός, αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος, αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, αὐτὸς ἀρχιερεὺς, αὐτὸς πρόβατον, αὐτὸς ἀρνίον, τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν κτλ. Comp. even De

Wette (Dogm. II. § 68), "Christus, als Vollender der alttestamentl. Theokratie, hat alles in sich vereinigt, was Propheten, Priester und Könige in derselben geleistet und vorgebildet haben."

<sup>3</sup> Quadratus quomodo Christus fuerit, by *J. J. Cramer* in his work *De ara exteriori*, XII. 1; comp. *Comm. on Exod.* p. 496.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Michael*. l. c. pp. 26, 33, 39—42. <sup>5</sup> Typi innati et illati.

a past, and as "a type" of a future event,<sup>6</sup> so that the Old Testament was supposed frequently to interrupt itself in the historical context, in order to speak typically of the coming events of the New;<sup>7</sup> or an idea of the Hebrew Scriptures might be fulfilled at different times and in different degrees of distinctness and comprehensiveness,<sup>8</sup> so that, for instance, the prophet Elijah, promised to precede the Messiah, is not only John the Baptist, but "the impersonation of the preacher of repentance";<sup>9</sup> and the pouring out of the spirit of God upon all flesh announced by Joel, was by no means entirely realised by the inspiration of the apostles,<sup>10</sup> but continues to be fulfilled till it has indeed literally pervaded all mankind.<sup>11</sup> Some maintained that the Levitical institutions refer to Christ and to him alone; others averred, that they prefigure many necessary truths besides.<sup>12</sup> Some were of opinion that the Bible contains the whole sum of typical expositions, and others held that it includes but a fragmentary portion of them, while the rest, having lived for a time in oral tradition, were later forgotten and lost.<sup>13</sup> Thus the basis was found for the most contradictory views; one sect proved as a dogma what another rejected as heresy; and interpretations were continually propounded to be soon renounced as impossible by their own framers.<sup>14</sup> So understood, the Hebrew text would be more ambiguous and indefinite than any Egyptian hieroglyphic; it would be bereft of every practical value; ideas and institutions would be exposed to typical abuses just in proportion to their profundity and significance; and in the same measure would they cease to be intelligible or available.

Again, according to theories like those described, the sacrifices would, from the time of Moses to that of Christ, that is, during the whole period of their performance under the Law, have been devoid of all sense, of all meaning, of all tangible purpose whatever for the Hebrews. *Were* they understood by them as types? *could* they possibly be recognised as such? If the former alternative be supposed, all individual Israelites were prophetically inspired; if the latter, the typical

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Nitzsch*, *System der christl. Lehre* p. 68; such double sense was supposed by many Fathers of the Church, as Origen, Eusebius and Basilus, Gregorius of Nyssa and of Nazianz, Ephraim, Hilarius and Ambrosius; by most of the reformed divines as Zwingli, Pellicanus, Calvin, Bucerus, &c.

<sup>7</sup> So *Chrysostom.* ad Ps. CLX.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Hengstenb.* *Kirchenzeit.*

1833, No. 23, 24; *Gerlach*, on Matth. II. 16; *Teichler*, *Ausleg. des N. T.*

<sup>9</sup> Mal. III. 1, 23; comp. Mark I. 2; Matth. XI. 10, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Acts II. 16—21; comp. Joel III. 1—5.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Hengstenb.* *Christol.* III. 190, 441.

<sup>12</sup> *Nich.* I. c. p. 56.

<sup>13</sup> *Nich.* I. c. p. 57.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Nich.* I. c. pp. 107, 196, 197, etc.



relation must so clearly, so organically and inherently lie in the sacrificial laws, that it occurs spontaneously to every mind. But the one assumption is a paradox, though it has been asserted by some extreme champions of the method;<sup>1</sup> the other a palpable fallacy overthrown by experience, for even after the diffusion of Christianity and of the writings of the New Testament, the typical applications were neither discovered nor acknowledged by large numbers of Jews and Christians. Needs it to be seriously proved, that an ancient Israelite, in offering a sacrifice, hoped for expiation through the blood of the animal he was then killing, and through no other blood? Where does the Old Testament give the slightest hint or allusion to the contrary? Indeed, the early Hebrews were total strangers to the doctrine of a suffering and dying Messiah, as will be demonstrated in another place;<sup>2</sup> they could not possibly, therefore, in presenting a sacrifice, have had in their minds a redeemer at once God and man (*θεῖον ἄνθρωπον*),<sup>3</sup> at once victim and High-priest. The Old Testament describes the sacrificial enactments as eternal, the best and most advanced among the Hebrews deemed them so, and Jesus himself acted accordingly;<sup>4</sup> but after the death of Christ all oblations would have been superfluous for those who believed in him, since he is to them the great antitype, by whose brilliancy all the pale types of by-gone ages are eclipsed: thus the New Testament, instead of being a fulfilment of the Old, would be in embarrassing contradiction with its spirit.

It has been argued that God cannot delight in sacrifices, which in themselves are inexpressive; if He yet commanded them, they must have possessed some hidden object; and what better and deeper meaning could they involve than an internal affinity to Christ and his work? But for the ancient Hebrews the sacrifices were *not* inexpressive or meaningless; they were to them a momentous reality; they were deemed well-pleasing in the eyes of God if presented in the right spirit. The Cherubim, the shew-bread, the Tabernacle and its utensils, the offerings and their rituals, had certainly a symbolical significance; they were to impress and to familiarise certain ideas and truths held essential for devotion and moral improvement; this end was sufficiently important — and it was the only one that was aimed at.

It has often been asserted that the words of the prophets were, in the time of the latter, indeed to be understood far more in reference

<sup>1</sup> As Coccejus, and with certain limitations, by his learned pupil Vitringa, and others; see, however, *Taylor*, *L.c.* p. 129. "It was not necessary the Jewish

worshippers should understand all this", etc.; comp. p. 74. <sup>2</sup> See Sect. XIX.

<sup>3</sup> See *De Wette*, *Dogmat. I.* §§ 282—284. <sup>4</sup> See pp. 56—60.



to current events; but "the Divine intention looking far into the future, formed the speech so that it suits more properly the time of the Messiah";<sup>5</sup> and on such grounds, the Psalms in which the poet speaks in the first person, and which are quoted in the New Testament,<sup>6</sup> were supposed to be written in the name of Christ.<sup>7</sup> This irrational opinion is so entirely bound up with an antiquated and exploded or "mechanical" form of the doctrine of inspiration, that it vanishes before the light of historical criticism and philosophical analysis.<sup>8</sup>

And finally, the typical view is only compatible with false and inadmissible notions regarding the composition of the Biblical canon. It starts from the theory that "the same necessary connection subsists between the words of God as between His works in nature."<sup>9</sup> "The Bible", it is supposed, "is based upon an organic coherence, according to which the Old Covenant bears the same relation to the New, as the embryonic germ to the perfect development";<sup>10</sup> and on these or similar principles, the typical explanation is still defended by some writers.<sup>11</sup> That opinion contains indeed a certain general truth; but the truth is blended with deluding error which cannot be redeemed by its insinuating speciousness. It lay in the natural progress of development that ceremonials should gradually be superseded by a more spiritual worship, as they were partially renounced by sects anterior to the Christian era, like the Essenes and the Sadducees; it was equally natural that the ceremonial service, as ordained in the Hebrew Scriptures, should be made the foundation of the reformed faith: thus in a certain

<sup>5</sup> *Bengel*, Gnom. ad Matth. I. 22, eadem vero intentio Divina longius prospiciens, sic formavit orationem, ut magis proprie deinceps ea conveniret in tempora Messiae.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. V. (comp. Rom. III. 13); XVI. (comp. Acts II. 25; XIII. 35); XVIII. (comp. Rom. XV. 9); XXII. (comp. Matth. XXVII. 43, 46; John XIX. 24; Hebr. II. 12); XXXIV. (comp. 1 Pet. III. 10—12); XL. (comp. Hebr. X. 5—7); XLV. (comp. Hebr. I. 8, 9); LI (comp. Rom. III. 4); LXIX. (comp. John II. 17; XV. 25; Rom. XV. 3); LXXVIII. (comp. Matth. XIII. 35; John VI. 31); CII. (comp. Hebr. I. 10); CIX. (comp. Acts I. 20); CXVI. (comp. 2 Chron. IV. 13); CXL. (comp. Rom. III. 13).

<sup>7</sup> So Dereser, Kaiser, Claus, Hengstenberg, a. o.

<sup>8</sup> See Sect. XXVI.

<sup>9</sup> *Bengel*, Gnomon, Pref., § 13; comp. Ordo Temporum, IX. 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Beck*, Pneumat. hermen. Entwick. des neunten Capitels im Briefe an die Römer, p. 105; comp. also *De Wette*, Dogm. II. § 22.

<sup>11</sup> As Bähr (Symb. I. 15—21; comp. pp. 111—113; II. 156—160), Hofmann, Delitzsch, Kurtz, Auberlen, W. Böhmcr, a. o.; comp. also *De Wette*, Dogm. II. § 63 note c; *G. Baur*, Gesch. der alttestamentl. Weissag. I. 4 ("as a riddle is best appreciated through its solution, so the Old T. through the New"); *Nitzsch*, System der christlichen Lehre, p. 75; *W. Hoffmann*, Die göttliche Stufenordnung im Alten Testament p. 7; *Hävernick*, Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments p. 18.

sense, the earlier phase points to the later, and the later is derived from the earlier; and the apostle Peter might not unjustly say, that "the spirit of Christ" was in the old prophets.<sup>1</sup> But though the writers of the New Testament, following the bent of their age as has been shown, could represent their creed and dispensation as a "fulfilment" or more real manifestation of past doctrines and events; it must be absolutely denied that the authors of the Old Testament, and especially of the Pentateuch, regarded their laws and institutions as the transitory germ of some higher form to be unfolded in the lapse of ages, or as parts of a preparatory economy to be ultimately merged in some more perfect system; on the contrary, they looked upon them as final and immutable for all times, because embodying the sum of all truth and Divine wisdom. This is a cardinal point decisive on the question: the Old Testament repudiates all change as ungodly innovation; therefore, it can never be employed for sanctioning the important and often radical modifications adopted in the New; the one cannot be regarded as the "shadow" or "figure" of the other; in spite of many points of contact, both are two distinct designs separated from each other by numerous and heterogeneous influences.

Indeed the typical theories, after having been upheld for a time in the Reformed Church with tenacious and even vehement zeal, by Coccejus and his school, by Bengel and his followers, began to lose ground towards the end of the last century, and are at present virtually abandoned by Protestant critics and scholars. "We have no hesitation", wrote G. L. Bauer as early as 1805, "in acceding to the opinion at present all but generally entertained that typical exposition is not founded in the holy Scriptures, and that the types are pious plays of imagination and of wit."<sup>2</sup>

Now returning to the symbols, we shall describe and explain the sacrificial acts.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. I. 11; the reading τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα χριστοῦ is confirmed by the Cod. Sinait.; comp. also Gal. III. 24, ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς χριστόν; see also 2 Cor. III. 6; Rom. II. 29; VII. 6; Acts III. 18—26; and comp. Deut. XVIII. 18 with John VI. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Bauer, Gottesdienstl. Verf. der Hebr. I. 250; comp. pp. 224—250; Rau, Freimüthige Untersuchungen über die Typologie, 1784; Eichhorn, Bibliothek, V, 420 sqq.; Kanne, Christus im A. T.,

Untersuch. über die Vorbilder etc. 1789; Döpke, Hermeneutik der neutestamentl. Schriftsteller, I. 1829; Olshausen, Ueber tieferen Schriftsinn, 1829; De Wette, in Theolog. Zeitschr. von Schleiermacher a. o. Heft III; Bleek, Stud. und Krit. 1835, Heft II; Tholuck, Das A. T. im N. T., Beilagen zum Commentar des Hebräerbriefs, pp. 1—56, 99—112; and in Herzog's Real-Encycl. XVII. 359—397; Hupfeld, Die heutige theosophische oder mythologische Theologie und Schrifterklärung, 1861.

## X. SACRIFICIAL CEREMONIES AND THEIR MEANING.

## 1. PREPARATION.

THE presentation of an offering was naturally, and therefore probably, preceded by suitable preparations in consonance with the nature of the sacred ceremony. Outward and inward purity — the former the ritual prototype of the latter — was the primary condition of man's approach to God; it was enjoined before great festivals, and when some special Divine manifestation was expected or hoped for; it was, no doubt, after the diffusion of the Levitical spirit and law, rigorously enforced; it was under the specific name of "sanctification" made an indispensable preliminary to public assemblies and fasts, national works and enterprises;<sup>3</sup> and it was expressed by the removal and renunciation of every emblem of heathen superstition, by bathing, and washing or change of garments, and frequently by conjugal abstinence, extended on remarkable occasions to three and more days.<sup>4</sup> When Samuel arrived at Bethlehem, he addressed the elders, "Sanctify yourselves and come with me to the sacrifice: and he sanctified Jesse and his sons, and called him to the sacrifice."<sup>5</sup> The laws of purification were enlarged and intensified with respect to officiating priests.<sup>6</sup> The Mishnah propounded the principle that no one, even if he were pure, was permitted to enter the Court and to take part in the service unless he had bathed beforehand.<sup>7</sup> In the period of the second Temple,<sup>8</sup> when, corresponding to the 24 orders of priests,<sup>9</sup> the nation was divided into 24 sections<sup>10</sup> for the sake of representing the people, by weekly rotation, at the daily public sacrifices,<sup>11</sup> those who thus acted as national delegates had to fast during their week, except on Sabbath and the day that preceded and followed it;<sup>12</sup> the residents of Jerusalem and the neighbouring

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Joel I. 14; II. 15, 16; IV. 9; Mic. III. 5; Neh. III. 1; comp. Ps. XX.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Genes. XXXV. 2—4; Exod. XIX. 10, 14, 15; XXXIII. 5, 6; Josh. III. 5; VII. 13; see Comm. on Gen. p. 585; on Exod. p. 334; comp. also Zeph. I. 7; Jer. XII. 3.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. XVI. 5; comp. also Job I. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. XXX. 17—21; XL. 30—32; comp. Treatise on Priesthood, ch. I.

<sup>7</sup> *Mishn.* Yom. III. 3, אֵין אָדָם נִכְנָס לַעֲזֵרָה לַעֲבֹדָה אֶפֶּילוּ טָהוֹר עַד שִׁטְבוֹל; comp. Tamid I. 2; see also Berach. IX. 5. לֹא יִכְנֹס לְדֹר הַבַּיִת בְּמִקְלוֹ וּבְמַנְעָלוֹ. 5. וּבְפִתּוּרָו וּבְאַבְקָ שְׁעָל רִגְלָו; see also *Lightfoot*, *Opp.* I. 723—725.

<sup>8</sup> Though the Mishnah (*Taan.* IV. 2) refers the arrangements to the "early prophets" (נְבִיאִים רִאשֹׁנִים), to Samuel and David (Rashi, quoting 1 Chron. IX. 22).

<sup>9</sup> מַשְׁמֶרֶת, *ἑσμερίαι*.

<sup>10</sup> מַעֲמָדָה or מַעֲמָד, *virī stationarii*.

<sup>11</sup> For the offerer must be present at the oblation (*Mishnah*, I. c.; *הֵימָךְ קָרְבֶּנֶת שֶׁל אָדָם קָרֵב וְהָאֵת*; *עוֹמֵד עַל גְּבוֹ*; see also *Maimon.* *Kele Hamm.* VI. 1). Hence women, otherwise forbidden to enter the holy precincts, were admitted, if presenting a sacrifice.

<sup>12</sup> "Not on the sixth day of the week in honour of the sabbath, and not on

towns were obliged to attend at the Temple, while the inhabitants of more distant places had to perform particular prayers<sup>1</sup> and devotions in the Synagogues of their districts.<sup>2</sup>

Similar views pervaded all ancient creeds. The Hindoos were commanded to begin the sacrifice by a "bath of purification."<sup>3</sup> The Egyptians inaugurated the great festival of Isis and its solemn sacrifice by a fast<sup>4</sup> and matrimonial abstinence during nine days.<sup>5</sup> For some time, varying from 7 to 42 days, previous to important religious observances, they were scrupulous in chastity and lustrations, avoided animal food and certain kinds of vegetables.<sup>6</sup> Prior to killing any victim, the Persians addressed prayers to the fire, the pure element.<sup>7</sup> Those who came from whatever distance to worship in the temple of Hierapolis, were prescribed to abstain from any drink but water and from sleeping in a bed, till they had returned to their homes.<sup>8</sup> The Chinese emperor prepares himself for the grand procession and sacrifice, which take place at the commencement of spring, by severe religious exercises during three preceding days.<sup>9</sup> The Greeks, considering purity of body an indispensable requisite, appeared, with their offerings, not only in clean, generally white garments, but also, except in times of mourning,<sup>10</sup> festively decked with wreaths or

the first lest the people pass suddenly from rest and pleasure to toil and fasting and die" (*Mishn.* l. c.).

<sup>1</sup> Reading especially the history of creation (Gen. l. 1—II. 3), divided into 7 portions for the days of the week, "to indicate that the world stands by the service in the Temple" (see *Barle-nur.* in loc.).

<sup>2</sup> See *Mishn.* Taan. IV. 2, 3; Bikkur. III. 3; *Talm.* Taan. 26 sqq.; *Maimon.* Kele Hammikd. VI. 3; Hilch. Bikkur. IV. 16; comp. *Cicero*, De Republ. Hebr. II. c. 10; *Selden*, De Synedr. III. xiii. 3; *Othon*, Lexic. Talm. pp. 705—707; *Lightfoot*, Opp. I. 700, 701. This custom of fasting on the part of the "sacrificial assistants" (מַעֲמִידִים), was by Theophrastus, in perhaps the oldest classical account of the Jews and their religious rites, erroneously extended to all the sacrifices of the Hebrews (*Porph.* De Abst. II. 26, καὶ τοῦτο ὁρῶσι νηστεύοντες τὰς ἀνὰ μέρος τούτων ἡμέρας). By

another faulty generalisation, Theophrastus represents all sacrifices of the Hebrews as holocausts; comp. *Bernays*, Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit, pp. 113, 114, 187. The אנשי מעמד aided, moreover, in certain parts of the service (comp. *Mishn.* Tam. V. 6, וראש המעמד היה מעמד אחד המסאים) ; but it is not likely that they imposed their hands on the animals killed as public and daily holocausts (comp. *Maimon.* Maas. Hakkorb. c. 3), since these were offered by the priests alone.

<sup>3</sup> *Manu*, III. 208. <sup>4</sup> *Herod.* II. 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Juvén.* Sat. VI. 535 sqq. Ille petit veniam, quoties non abstinet uxor Con-cubitu sacris observandisque diebus etc. <sup>6</sup> *Porph.* Abst. IV. 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Strab.* XV. iii. 13, 16.

<sup>8</sup> *Lucian*, Dea Syr. 55.

<sup>9</sup> *Barrow*, Reise durch China, II. p. 125.

<sup>10</sup> Though only in post-homeric times.

garlands, which were made of appropriate leaves and flowers,<sup>11</sup> and which, by placing the wearer under the protection of the deity,<sup>12</sup> rendered him inviolable: and before the sacrificial acts were begun, a direct exhortation warded off all "profane" or unclean persons, and admonished those present to reverential silence.<sup>13</sup> An ancient writer comprehensively stated the requirements in the following words: "The worshipper must approach the gods cleansed, purified, bright, sprinkled with water, washed, stainless, chaste, unspotted, hallowed, sanctified, with a pure mind, with fresh and washed garments."<sup>14</sup> The women who took part in the processions of the festival of the Thesmophoria in honour of Ceres, shunned conjugal embrace for nine days before.<sup>15</sup> Washing of hands, facilitated by basins with holy water kept at the entrance of temples, commenced the sacrifice;<sup>16</sup> "to be excluded from the holy water",<sup>17</sup> was equivalent to being debarred from sacred rites, especially sacrifices, on account of guilt of blood; while "to allow the holy water",<sup>18</sup> expressed admission to religious privileges.<sup>19</sup> Hector, requested by his mother Hecuba during a battle to offer a libation, deprecated it with the words, "I dread to pour out the sparkling wine to Zeus with unwashed hands."<sup>20</sup> "Never venture", writes Hesiod, "to offer a libation of dark wine to Jupiter or the other immortals with unwashed hands; for they do not listen, and spurn thy prayers."<sup>21</sup> The Platonists, when intending to offer supplications to the gods, were

<sup>11</sup> For instance of ivy at the sacrifices of Dionysos, while that plant was strictly avoided at those of the Olympian gods, of Juno at Athens, and of Venus at Thebes; comp. *Plut. Quæst. Rom.* 112. The Persians also usually sacrificed with a wreath round the turban, most commonly of myrtle (*Herod.* I. 132); while the Indians refrained from this practice (*Strab.* XV. i. 54, p. 710).

<sup>12</sup> *Aristoph.* *Plut.* 21, 22.

<sup>13</sup> *Aeschin.* *Ctes. c.* 23 (§ 77, στεφάνωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν ἰβουθύται); *Plut. Nigrin. c.* 14 (it was criminal to attend the festival of Athene in a coloured garment); *Athen.* XV. 16; *Diog. Laert.* II. x. 54 (comp., however, *Apollod.* III. xv. 7, χωρὶς αὐλῶν καὶ στεφάνων ἐν Πάτρῳ—in Crete—θύοντες ταῖς χάρισι); *Lucian.* *De Sacrif.* 12—14 (θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλους); *Hom.* II. IX. 171; *Aristoph.* *Thesmoph.* 295;

*Achæarn.* 237; *Av.* 958 (εὐφημία ἐστὶν, εὐφημεῖτε).

<sup>14</sup> *Pollux.* *Onom.* I. i. 24, τὸ δὲ πρὸς εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κατηραμένον, καθαρεύσαντα, παιδρυνάμενον, περιβλάταμενον, ἀποξύνναμενον, ἀποκιννάμενον, ἀγνισάμενον, ἀγνείσαντα, ἡγνευμένον, ὠκυωμένον, καθαρῶ νῶ. ὑπὸ νιουρχῶ στολῇ, ὑπὸ νιοπλινεῖ ἐσθῆτι; comp. also 26.

<sup>15</sup> *Ovid.* *Metam.* X. 434, 435.

<sup>16</sup> *Hom.* II. I. 449; *Dion. Hal.* VII. 72.

<sup>17</sup> *Χερνίβων εἰργασθαι*; *Demosth.* *Leptin.* 155 (505. 13).

<sup>18</sup> *Χέρνιβος νέμειν*; *Soph.* *Oed. Tyr.* 240.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. *Eurip.* *Or.* 1602 (εὖ γοῖν θίγεις αὖ χερνίβων); *Iphig. Aul.* 675; etc.

<sup>20</sup> *Hom.* II. VI. 266; comp. XVI. 226—230; *Od.* IV. 750; *Porphyr.* *Abst.* II. 46.

<sup>21</sup> *Hesiod.* *Op.* 722—724; comp. vers. 735—739.

recommended to fast, or at least to abstain from meat.<sup>1</sup> In certain cases, offering in a state of moral impurity was, by Plato's advice, to be punished with death.<sup>2</sup> The Romans combined nearly all the introductory ceremonies — they bathed in spring water, arrayed themselves in fresh, white garments, washed their hands, adorned their heads with wreaths,<sup>3</sup> warded off unclean persons,<sup>4</sup> and in some instances refrained from sexual intercommunion in the preceding night or nights. "Worshippers shall approach to the gods with purity", observes Cicero, "that is to say with purity of mind, which is everything; not that the law dispenses with purity of body; but this must be understood in as much as the mind is superior to the body";<sup>5</sup> terms almost identical with those employed by Philo on the same subject, "It is necessary for intending sacrificers to be cleansed as to their bodies, and as to their souls before their bodies; for the soul is the mistress and the queen, and superior in everything, being endowed with a more divine nature";<sup>6</sup> and both utterances are perhaps an echo of the beautiful admonitions attributed to the Pythian priestess:

"Enter the pure god's temple sanctified  
 "In soul, with virgin water purified:  
 "One drop will cleanse the good; the ocean wave  
 "Suffices not the guilty soul to lave."<sup>7</sup>

The broad rule was established, "Whoever wishes properly to perform a sacred act in honour of the gods, must first thoroughly purify himself";<sup>8</sup> and Virgil was praised for strictly conforming his narrative to that law.<sup>9</sup> Inviting the peasants to the lustration-offering

<sup>1</sup> *Porph.* De Abst. II. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Plat. Legg.* X. 16 (p. 910 E, ὡς οὐ καθαρὸς ὢν θύων θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω).

<sup>3</sup> *Tibull.* El. II. i. 16. (vinclaque post olea candida turba comas).

<sup>4</sup> *Virg.* Aen. VI. 258 (procul o procul este profani); comp. *Plin.* H. N. XXVIII. 2 (3); *Tibull.* El. II. i. 1 (quisquis ades faveas); ii. 1, 2; *Ovid.* Trist. V. v. 5, 6 (lingua favens assit).

<sup>5</sup> *Cic.* Legg. II. 10, caste jubet lex adire ad deos, animo videlicet in quo sunt omnia; nec tollit castimoniam corporis, etc.; see pp. 68, 69.

<sup>6</sup> *Philo.* De Sacrif. c. 3, ἀναγκαῖον ... τό τε σῶμα παιδρύνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸ τοῦ σώματος; comp. also c. 1, βούλεται τὸν ἄγοντα τὰς θυσίας ὁ νόμος καθαρὸν εἶναι σώματι καὶ

ψυχῇ κτλ.; De Victim. c. 5, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀπορινάμενος ὁ προσάγων κτλ.

<sup>7</sup> Ἄγνος εἰς τέμενος καθαρῷ, ἔνε, δαίμονος ἔρχου Ψυχῇ, συμπαίου τάματος ἀνάμενος κτλ., Anth. Pal. XIV. 71; comp. the fine lines of a similar import, Ἰρὰ θεῶν ἀγαθοῖς ἀναπέπταται, οὐδὲ καθαρῶν Χρυσῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἤφατο οὐδὲν ἄγος. Ὅστις δ' οὐλοῶν ἦτορ, ἀπόστιχε· οὐποτε γὰρ σὴν Ψυχῇ ἐκίψει σῶμα διαινύμενον, ibid. 74; see *Shakesp.* Macb. V. i. 56 ("all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand").

<sup>8</sup> Quis diis superis rem sacram recte perficiat, prius eum rite purificari oportere; *Macrobi.* Sat. III. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Virg.* Aen. II. 718—720; IV. 635, 636; VI. 229—231, 635, 636; etc.

of the rural festival of the Ambarvalia, Tibullus demands, "You also I order to stand aloof — approach not the altar — you who the preceding night enjoyed the pleasures of Venus: chastity delights the gods; come in clean garments, and cleanse your hands with water from the spring."<sup>10</sup> And opponents of animal sacrifices pointed to the strange anomaly that, while the burning of flesh and fat, of skins and feathers, produced an intolerable stench, the worshippers were earnestly exhorted, "whenever they prepared to visit the temples, to preserve themselves pure from every stain, clean, and above all chaste."<sup>11</sup>

Numa ordained that previous to religious processions, heralds were to pass through the streets and order general cessation from labour. For, observes Plutarch, "as the Pythagoreans were known not to suffer casual devotion or worship, but demanded that people should undertake it well prepared in mind from the beginning, thus Numa believed that his citizens ought neither to hear nor to see anything appertaining to divine service at random or carelessly, but putting aside everything else to direct their whole minds to the pious act as to their most important business; wherefore he wished, during the sacred ceremonies, the streets to be kept clear of all din and noise and turmoil inseparable from everyday work." Hence it remained a Roman custom up to the latest time, that before the beginning of public sacrifices a herald proclaimed with loud voice the words "hoc age", thereby inviting all present to absorbed attention and silent devotion.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. THE TIME.

The Law contains no enactments with respect to the time of the day when the offerings were to be presented; except that it orders the daily holocausts to be killed "in the morning",<sup>13</sup> and "between the two evenings",<sup>14</sup> that is, between the later part of the afternoon or about 3 o'clock and sunset,<sup>15</sup> which hours are also fixed for the killing of the

<sup>10</sup> *Tibull.* El. II. i. 11—14, casta placent superis; pura cum veste venite, etc.

<sup>11</sup> *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 16, quorum templa cum adire disponitis, ab omni vos labe puros, lautos castissimosque praestatis; *Just. Mart.* Apol. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Plut.* Num. 14; comp. *Coriol.* 25. When among the ancient Prussians, their priest (Waidelotte) intended to sacrifice to the god Potrimpon, he had to fast during three preceding days, and to sleep in that interval on the bare ground (*Wackler*, l. c. p. 113).

<sup>13</sup> According to the Mishnah, at the earliest break of day: the preparations began when the appointed official said בִּרְקָא, that is, הָאֵיר וְהִבְרִיק הַשָּׁמֶר, or הָאֵיר פָּנֵי כָל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עַד שְׂרֹא בַחֲבֵרָן (*Mishn.* Tam. III. 2; comp. *Yom.* III. 1, 2; see also *Tam.* I. 2).

<sup>14</sup> בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם, *Exod.* XVI. 12; XXIX. 39, 41; XXX. 8; *Num.* XXVIII. 4.

<sup>15</sup> See Comm. on *Exod.* pp. 193, 194; comp. 1 *Ki.* XVIII. 36; *Ezra* IX. 4. According to *Mishn.* Pesach. V. 1, the evening holocaust, whether on week



paschal lamb,<sup>1</sup> and were later selected for the afternoon prayer.<sup>2</sup> As regards all other offerings, they were probably deemed suitable at any time during the day between the morning- and the evening-holocaust; for the former marked the commencement, and the latter the conclusion of the diurnal public worship; therefore, sacrifices were hardly offered either before the one or after the other;<sup>3</sup> though those that had been slain in the day could be burnt in the subsequent night.<sup>4</sup> Many nations selected the earlier part of the day for their offerings, in order to make the repast that followed the sacrifice coincide with their principal meal; but the Hebrews could not possibly sanction the distinction adopted by the Greeks and Romans, who sacrificed to the upper gods who give the light or enjoy its exhilarating rays, by day, and to those of the lower world who pass a cheerless existence in sombre darkness, by night.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. THE PLACE.

Prepared in the manner described, the offerer, whether man or woman,<sup>6</sup> brought<sup>7</sup> the gift to the place where alone it could be lawfully presented, namely "before the Lord",<sup>8</sup> or as it is more accurately qualified, "to the door of the Tent of Meeting",<sup>9</sup> that is, into the Court, where the altar of burnt-offering stood;<sup>10</sup> for rites designed to effect or to preserve the communion between men and God could fitly be performed nowhere except at the spot specially dedicated to Divine presence and revelation.<sup>11</sup> With such severity was this rule enforced that an

days or Sabbaths, was killed half an hour after the eighth, and offered half an hour after the ninth hour of the day; if the day before Passover happened to be Friday, the holocaust was killed and offered two hours earlier, after which the paschal lambs were slain.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. XII. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. IX. 21; Ezr. IX. 5; Acts III. 1; comp. 2 Chron. XXIX. 27—30.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Maimon. Tamid*, I. 3; *Maas. Hakk. IV. 1.*

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Lev. VI. 2; and Ebn Ezra in loc. *בכע רמז שלא יעלו עולה בלילה*. Theophrastus remarks incorrectly that the Jews burnt *all* their sacrifices in the night, because as either he or Porphyry who quotes him believed, they were aware of the iniquity of animal sacrifices, and did not wish the all-seeing Sun to be a witness of the crime (*ὅτι τοῦ δεινοῦ μὴ ἥλιος ὁ πανόπτης γένοιτο θεατής*, *Porph. Abst. II. 26*).

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Aeschyl. Eum.* 108 (*καὶ νυκτίσμενα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάρα πυρὸς ἔθιον, ὥραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν*); *Virg. Aen. VI.* 252 (*tum Stygio regi nocturnas inchoat aras*); *Lucan, Pharsal. V.* 402; *Pausan. II. xi.* 7; etc.; comp. *Schol. Pind. Isthm. IV.* 110; *Schol. Apollon. I.* 557; *Procl. ad Hesiod. Op.* 763; see Sect. XX.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Talm. Jer. Sol. c. 1*; *Tosepht. in Erachin c. 2*; see *supra* p. 167 n. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *לֵבִי, פָּרָאסֶתָּהּ, פְּרָאָהֵי עֹלָה*; comp. Lev. IV. 4, 14; XII. 6; XIV. 23; XV. 29; XVII. 4, 5, 9; also Rom. XII. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *לפני יהוה*, Lev. I. 3, 11; III. 1, 7, 12; IV. 4; IX. 2, 4, 5; comp. *Exod. XXIX. 42*; Lev. IV. 4; XV. 14; XVI. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*. <sup>10</sup> *Exod. XL. 6.*

<sup>11</sup> Talmudists considered "the bringing to the altar" as a distinct ceremony, and adopted the three successive acts of *הקריבה*, *הגשה*, and *הפרישה*,

Israelite or stranger who slaughtered a victim at any other place, was not considered as one who had presented a sacrifice, but as one who had committed a murder, "Blood shall be imputed to that man; he has shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people."<sup>12</sup> The injunction was therefore expressly repeated with regard to every individual class of sacrifice, to holocausts,<sup>13</sup> eucharistic<sup>14</sup> and expiatory offerings,<sup>15</sup> and offerings of purification.<sup>16</sup> It was evidently designed as a means of securing among the Hebrews the unity of public worship, of banishing by a rigorous control all idolatrous rites, and of permanently strengthening the faith in the undivided authority of God. But it was no more than a consistent consequence of Levitical principles; we have above pointed out the difficulties which operated against even its approximate observance, and have tried to prove its all but total disregard during long epochs of Hebrew history.<sup>17</sup>

In some other polities, analogous practices were observed or advocated. An enactment of the Roman Twelve Tables enjoined, "No one shall have gods privately."<sup>18</sup> Plato strongly recommended the following law, "Let no one perform sacred rites in private dwellings; but if any one desires to sacrifice, let him go to the public buildings, and there sacrifice; and let him place his offerings in the hands of the priests, and priestesses to whom the holy ritual is entrusted"; if a person is convicted of special orgies in private temples, he is to be warned, and punished by a fine or a heavier penalty.<sup>19</sup> His reasons are, in some respects, kindred to those which guided the Hebrew legislators; he saw the danger of extravagant aberration if sacrifices and the erection of private temples or statues were permitted to the caprice, ignorance, or superstition of every individual; but he was, in other respects, influenced by fanciful considerations; he feared that impious men, putting up altars in their private dwellings, might think they rendered the gods propitious by sacrifices and prayers in secret, and thus be encouraged in their iniquitous path, they might call down the anger of the gods upon the whole community — as if the wicked could not offer blasphemous gifts and prayers at public as well as private altars.

that is, of *bringing in, bringing near, and setting apart or hallowing* the oblation (comp. *Mishn. Menach. V. 5; Siphra 166*); but this view is hardly tenable; for the sacrifice was necessarily brought to the altar where it was to be presented, and the words *בניח, הקריב, and שילח* in connection with offerings are used promiscuously and as synonyms (comp. Lev. II. 6).

<sup>12</sup> Lev. XVII. 3—5, 8, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. I. 3.

<sup>14</sup> III. 2, 5, 12.

<sup>15</sup> IV. 4, 14; VI. 16; XIX. 21.

<sup>16</sup> XII. 6; XV. 29.

<sup>17</sup> See pp. 20—24.

<sup>18</sup> *Separatim nemo habessit deos; Cic. Legg. II. 5.*

<sup>19</sup> *ἵνα μηδὲ τις ἐν ἰδίᾳς οἰκίᾳ ἐκτελεῖται . . . πρὸς τὰ δημόσια ἵνα θύων, Plat. Legg. X. 16, p. 904 D.*

The Law ordains to kill the victim "on the side of the altar of burnt-offering northward."<sup>1</sup> As all the passages relate to holocausts and expiatory offerings, it has been concluded that the thank-offerings were slain at a different side of the altar, namely the eastern;<sup>2</sup> it is impossible to accept an opinion derived chiefly from the silence of the Scriptures; but it gains some support from the fact that the Law expressly commands to kill the expiatory offerings, which were of later date, at the place where the holocausts were slain,<sup>3</sup> as if to intimate that they should not be slaughtered at the place of the thank-offerings, the origin of which falls chronologically between the holocausts and the expiatory sacrifices.<sup>4</sup> According to a rule laid down in the Mishnah,<sup>5</sup> the "most holy" offerings were killed on the north-side of the altar, the "less holy"<sup>6</sup> in any part of the Court;<sup>7</sup> which distinction was extended to the act of receiving the blood.<sup>8</sup> However, the northern side of the altar was manifestly the most convenient locality for killing the victims; for to the west of it was the brazen laver and the access to the Holy; in the east, it would have obstructed the entrance of the Court, especially as the place for depositing the ashes was also on the same side;<sup>9</sup> and in the south, there was, at least in the later Temple, the gently sloping dam of earth, which led up to the top of the altar.<sup>10</sup> Thus the custom of sacrificing on the north-side of the altar, probably prompted by practical reasons, was hardly suggested by the analogy of the shew-bread table<sup>11</sup> which, in the Holy, occupied likewise a northern position;<sup>12</sup> but it is fanciful to suppose that it was adopted because the north is the cheerless, dark, hidden, and ominous region,<sup>13</sup> which applies to no part of the Sanctuary, the abode of light and life; and it is gratuitous to conjecture that it originated in the belief of a residence of God in the north,<sup>14</sup> since such view, though common to many eastern nations, cannot be proved or traced among the Hebrews.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> על ירך המזבח צפונה; Lev. I. 11; IV. 24; comp. 29, 33; VI. 18; VII. 2; XIV. 13; comp. *Ugolini* Thes. X. 516.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Lev. III. 2, 8; לפני מזבח.  
מזרח.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. IV. 24, 29, 33; VI. 16; VII. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 1—3.

<sup>5</sup> Zevach. V. 1—8.

<sup>6</sup> קדשים קלים, in contradistinction to קדשי קדשים, see p. 76.

<sup>7</sup> בכל מקום בעזרה, l. c. 6, 7, 8.

<sup>8</sup> See no. 6 of this Section.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. I. 16.

<sup>10</sup> See Comm. on Exod. p. 484; *Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. v. 6* (ἀπὸ μισθμβρίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν — τὸν βαμὲν — ἀνοδὸς ἡρίμα προσάνατης ὑπὲρ τὰς); comp. Lev. IX. 22 (וירד).

<sup>11</sup> *Knob. Comm.* p. 361.

<sup>12</sup> Exod. XL. 22; comp. Comm. on Exod. pp. 481—483.

<sup>13</sup> *Tholuck*, Das A. T. im N. T. p. 91.

<sup>14</sup> *Ewald*, Alterth. p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Comm. on Gen. p. 21. The passages Isai. XIV. 13; Ezek. I. 4; Ps. XLVIII. 3, are inconclusive.

The Greeks and Romans offered to the upper gods on high, to the terrestrial deities on low altars, and to the infernal powers on grates or in pits,<sup>16</sup> a custom which naturally grew from their mythological systems, and which corresponded with the practice of touching the ground with the hands while praying to Demeter or Terra, of stretching them forward while imploring the deities of the sea, and of lifting them to the skies while invoking Jupiter.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4. IMPOSITION OF THE HAND (סְמִיכָה):

When the offering had been brought within the precincts of the Sanctuary, and an appointed priest, after a searching examination, had declared it to possess all legal requirements and to be duly qualified for the altar, then only the proper rites of sacrifice commenced. If it consisted of a quadruped, whether an ox, a sheep, or a goat, the offerer, first of all, laid his hand upon the head of the victim. This act was identical in manner, whether the sacrifice was a holocaust, a eucharistic or an expiatory offering.<sup>18</sup> It matters little whether the hand was laid slightly upon the head, or as Jewish tradition contends with the full force of the body, though the latter view is supported by the etymology of the term.<sup>19</sup> As a rule, one hand was imposed,<sup>20</sup> probably

<sup>16</sup> Hence in Latin the distinction between *altaria*, *arae* and *foci* or *scrobi* (comp. βωμοί and ἱεράρα; see p. 16); comp. *Macrob.* Sat. III. 2 (diis danto in altaria aramve focumve); *Serv.* ad Virg. Ecl. V. 63; *Athen.* IX. 78 (ὄρνυται βόθυνον πρὸς ἱερίαν τοῦ σήματος κτλ.); *Herod.* V. 92 fin.; *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. IV. 9 (τοῖς μὲν ἐπιχθονίοις σφάζειν ἐπὶ βωμῶν, τοῖς δ' ὑποχθονίοις ἐπὶ βόθρων παρακλιύεται); *Lucian.* Char. c. 22. At the purification-offering *taurobolium* dedicated to Cybele, the sacrificer sat in a pit and allowed the blood of the victim to drip down upon his body from a wooden scaffolding on which the animal had been killed (see *Creuz.* Symb. II. 356, 357).

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Macrob.* Sat. III. 9 (cum Tellurem dicit, manibus terram tangit; cum Jovem dicit, manus ad coelum tollit); *Hom.* II. I. 351 (χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς); *Virg.* Aen. V. 233 (palmas ponto tendens utrasque).

<sup>18</sup> Lev. I. 4; III. 2, 8, 13; IV. 5, 15,

etc. Though it is not expressly mentioned in the summary account of the trespass-offerings (Lev. VII. 1—7), it took undoubtedly place in these also, as in the sin-offerings to which that account makes reference (ver. 7; see Sect. XV).—According to tradition, the victim was so placed that the offerer, while laying his hand between its horns, looked eastward.

<sup>19</sup> From סָמַךְ to lean or press upon: comp. *Talm.* Zevach. 33a; Chagig. 16b (סְמִיכָה בְּכָל כָּחוֹ בַּעֲתֵן).

<sup>20</sup> וְיָדוֹ אֶל יָדוֹ; Lev. I. 4; III. 2; etc.; so also, no doubt, VIII. 14, 15; hence Philo (*De Victim.* c. 5), in speaking of the burnt-offerings, says incorrectly, ὁ προσάγων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιτετῶται τῇ τοῦ ἱερέως κεφαλῇ; and so the Talmudists (*Mishn.* Menach. IX. 8, לַעֲדִים כְּשֶׁחֵי יָדָיו; *Talm.* Menach. 63; *Maimon.* De Sacrif. III. 9; etc.), Saalschütz (*Mos. R. I.* 318), a. o., wrongly quoting Lev. XVI. 21; comp. however, Num. XXVII. 18 and 23.

the right one,<sup>1</sup> since the right hand was considered stronger, more privileged, and more auspicious;<sup>2</sup> on the scape-goat alone, which was properly no sacrifice, but was under peculiar ceremonies sent alive into the wilderness on the Day of Atonement, the High-priest laid both his hands,<sup>3</sup> evidently because the head of the animal was to be marked, in the most signal manner, as laden with the sins of the people.<sup>4</sup> The act was performed, within the precincts of the Sanctuary,<sup>5</sup> by the offerer himself;<sup>6</sup> it could not be transferred or entrusted to any one else, not even a priest, except when the sacrifice was presented in the name or on behalf of the sacerdotal order.<sup>7</sup> It was hence confided to the elders of the people, if the sacrifice was presented for the whole community.<sup>8</sup> But on the Day of Atonement, it was, like all the other functions connected with the exceptional service of the day, performed by the High-priest who acted as mediator between God and the nation. From these facts it appears easy to determine its meaning and significance. It was manifestly designed to indicate the *personal and intimate relation* between the worshipper and the victim. Thus, when Moses consecrated Aaron and his sons as priests, he caused them to lay their hands on the head of the sin- and burnt-offerings,<sup>9</sup> to signify that the victims were killed on their behalf. Those who heard a man blaspheme the name of God, imposed their hands on his head to testify that both as Israelites and witnesses they were closely concerned in

<sup>1</sup> So distinctly *Targ. Jonath.* (Lev. l. 4; III. 2, etc.), יְמִינִיהּ.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Gen. XLVIII. 14, 17—19; Exod. XV. 6, 12; XXIX. 20, 22; Lev. VIII. 23, 24; XIII. 14, 17, 25, 27; 1 Ki. II. 19; Isai. LXII. 5; Zech. XI. 17; Ps. XLV. 10; CX. 1, 5; CXVIII. 15, 16; Job XL. 14; and especially Eccles. X. 2, "A wise man's heart is at his right hand, but a fool's heart at his left"; comp. *Plat. Legg.* IV. 8; *Plat. Num.* c. 25; De Garrul. c. 7. To begin at the right hand was by the Greeks looked upon as a happy presage (*Hom.* II. VII. 184; Od. XVII. 365; XXI. 141); and *δῆλος* means lucky or happy (*Hom.* Od. XXIV. 310, 311), like *יָדִי* in Hebrew (comp. Gen. XXXV. 16) and Arabic; comp. Comm. on Gen. p. 717. If the horse employed by some northern tribes as an oracle, stepped first forward with the left foot, the gods were

supposed to be unpropitious, and so also if the dying victim fell on the left side (*Wachter*, l. c. p. 109).

<sup>3</sup> וְסִמָּךְ אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ שְׁנֵי יָדָיו, Lev. XVI. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Ebn Ezra (on Lev. I. 14) remarks justly, "the nature of the scape-goat is different from the nature of any sacrifice; therefore the Law makes a distinction with regard to the ceremonies."

<sup>5</sup> If it had been done elsewhere, it had to be repeated in the Court: thus ordained tradition, and no doubt correctly.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. I. 4; III. 2, 8, 13; IV. 15, 24, 29, 33; 2 Chron. XXIX. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. XXIX. 10, 15, 19; Lev. IV. 4; VIII. 22; Num. VIII. 12. If several persons joined to offer one sacrifice, all imposed the hand in succession.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. IV. 5; comp. 2 Chr. XXIX. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. VIII. 14, 15.

his fate.<sup>10</sup> When Moses was to appoint Joshua as his successor, and to confer upon him a part of his own spiritual glory,<sup>11</sup> he was commanded to place his hand upon Joshua's head before the eyes of the congregation;<sup>12</sup> and similarly, in the New Testament, imposition of the hand is employed as an emblem of imparting the spirit of holiness.<sup>13</sup> The Israelites imposed their hands on the Levites, when the latter were initiated to serve in the Sanctuary in their stead,<sup>14</sup> in order to express the closeness and directness of their mutual relation. This was evidently the general character of the ceremony; but its nicer and more exact purport was qualified by the special nature of the sacrifice at which it was performed. In holocausts and thank-offerings it implied the confession of reverential submission and gratitude; while in expiatory offerings it conveyed, besides, the ideas of penitence and atonement. But in all cases it pointed to the vicarious nature of the animal, and its power of mediation between God and the suppliant.<sup>15</sup> More than this it was hardly intended to symbolise. It cannot have been designed to invest the animal with a higher sanctity or power,<sup>16</sup> in which case it would have been performed by the priest, the representative of God, and not by the offerer who himself required or solicited purification. Nor could it indicate that "the spark of life was conveyed through the hands and fingers, full of vital warmth, into the recipient; as if magnetically to communicate the spirit and will of the Israelite who offered the victim";<sup>17</sup> an explanation which would be curious if applied to the installation of the Levites by the Hebrews, as indeed to most instances. Other views are indistinct: it is contended that the imposition of the hand was an "emblem of dedication";<sup>18</sup> or was meant to express that

<sup>10</sup> Comp. also *Susanna* ver. 14, "then the two elders stood up in the midst of the people, and laid their hands upon her head." In Greece it was customary at the sacrifice connected with an oath, that he who swore laid his hand upon the victim, or dipped it in its blood; to express that he was prepared for the same fate, if he were guilty of perjury (comp. *Hermann*, *Gottesd. Alterth.* § 22, note 11).

<sup>11</sup> וְנָתַתָּה מִיְּדֻכְּךָ עָלָיו.

<sup>12</sup> Num. XXVII. 18—20; comp. Deut. XXXIV. 9; "als wolle der höherstehende", observes Ewald somewhat fantastically, "in einem solchen ausserordentlichen Augenblicke durch der Hände glühende Nerven seinen ganzen

Geist auf den überströmen lassen, den er seines Segens und seiner Aufträge würdigt" (*Alterth.* p. 44; comp. p. 45).

<sup>13</sup> Comp. Acts VI. 6; VIII. 17; XIX. 6; 1 Tim. IV. 14; etc.

<sup>14</sup> Num. VIII. 10.

<sup>15</sup> See Sect. XVIII.

<sup>16</sup> Baader, *Kanne*, a. o.

<sup>17</sup> *Stanley*, *Jewish Church*, II. 416, after *Ewald*, *Alterth.* pp. 44, 45; and similarly *Kurtz*, *Opfere.* § 36; *Öhler* in *Herz. R. E.* X. 627.

<sup>18</sup> *Kurtz*, l. c. §§ 36 (where the notion of dedication is very artificially employed and extended), 43, 48 ("die Weihung des Thieres zum Sühnmittel für die Sünden des Opfernden mittelst einer substitutiven Uebertragung der

with the idea of sacrifice itself, or at least with the acts of burning, and render the minor and subordinate ceremony or powerless; while the notion that its object was "to purify the victim the guilt of sinful man",<sup>4</sup> is too narrow, and applies to votive offerings only.<sup>5</sup> It is indeed so natural that we need not go to the origin to that criminal law above alluded to, concerning with proffered depositions:<sup>6</sup> thus among the Persians who devoted to deity the blood or the soul of the animal alone, the priest held on the head of the victim till the blood had completely flowed. Some have inappropriately compared the act with that of manumission among the Romans,<sup>7</sup> when the master laid his hand upon the head or any other part of his body, saying, "Hunc hominem liberum esse volo"; and dismissed him from his hand; here the symbol is in the idea of separation, while the Hebrew emblem pre-eminently implied affinity and connection.

The rite was omitted if the animal sacrifice consisted of

Verpflichtungen"); *Roskoff*, Hebr. Alterthümer, p. 47; comp. also *Hofmann*, Schriftbew. II. 1. p. 153 (1 ed.), p. 247 (2 ed.).

<sup>1</sup> *Philo*, De Victim. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Abarbanel* on Lev. I. 1—9.

<sup>3</sup> *Bähr*, Symb. II. pp. 341, 342.

<sup>4</sup> *B. Bauer*, Die Handauflegung, in Stud. und Kritik. 1865, p. 350; comp., in general no. 343—360. *Verdammung*

sprinkling of the blood was an act of mere supererogation.

<sup>5</sup> The act had a different meaning and tendency, if it accompanied offerings (Gen. XLVIII. 13—15; Matt. 13, 15) and miraculous cures (Mark VI. 5; Luke XIII. 18; Mark VI. 5; Luke XIII. 12, 17), when it symbolized the fulness of powers hoped for.



a pigeon or a turtle-dove. But according to the Mishnah it was, as a rule, only performed in private offerings, but suppressed in public sacrifices; though in either case exceptions are specified; for, on the one hand, it is said not to have taken place in the offerings of the firstborn animals and those presented as tithes, because they were sacred from the mother's womb, nor in the paschal sacrifice, because it was more particularly important for the sake of the repast which followed; and on the other hand, it was permitted in the scape-goat and the sin-offering of the whole community.<sup>9</sup> But these distinctions and exceptions are not in harmony with the precepts of the Pentateuch, which relate to all quadruped sacrifices alike. Jewish tradition further declared that the ceremony could not be performed by the "deaf and blind, by idiots and minors, by women and heathens, by slaves and delegates."<sup>10</sup> As the act naturally required consciousness of its meaning, the prohibition of it was justified with respect to idiots and minors; and as it devolved necessarily upon the offerer himself, it could not, according to the spirit of the Law, be entrusted to a servant or a delegate, since it was not even assigned to the priest; but the other restrictions are unwarranted, and are indeed in Jewish writings supported by very frivolous and futile reasons.<sup>11</sup>

Rabbinical writers maintain, moreover, that the imposition of the hand was accompanied by verbal utterances, in harmony with the nature of the sacrifice; namely by a confession of sins at expiatory offerings,

<sup>9</sup> Lev. IV. 13—21; XVI. 21; see *Mishn. Menach. IX. 7*, כל קרבנות הצבור, אין סמיכה וכו'; comp. also V. 7; Temur. III. 4; Pesach. VII. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Mishn. Menach. IX. 8*, הכל סומכין, חוץ מחרש שוטה וקטן סומא ונכרי והעבד והשליח והאשה.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, the elders of the congregation were commanded to lay their hands upon the bullock presented as a sin-offering of the whole nation (Lev. IV. 15); and as the elders formed the synhedrium, to which no blind person could belong, individuals so afflicted were incapacitated for imposition of the hand; see *Bartenurah* in loc. It is, however, admitted that women were not debarred from it, when presenting a thank-offering (*Talm. Chagig. 16b*); and the heir, if offering a sacrifice vowed by his departed father

or relative, was entitled to it (*Mishn. l. c.*). We may here at once remark, that according to the Mishnah (*Kiddush. I. 8*) the following rites were permitted to men but not to women, "imposition of the hand, waving, presentation (הנשה) of the bloodless offering at the south-western corner of the altar, taking off a handful (קמיצה), fumigation, wringing off of the head of a pigeon or turtle-dove (מליקה), receiving and sprinkling of the blood; except that in the offering of jealousy and that of female Nazirites, women could perform the "waving"; how far these regulations are in accordance with or against the sacrificial precepts of Leviticus, requires no specification, but how slender the support is on which they rest, is evident from the playful arguments offered in *Talm. Kiddush. 36*.

by a declaration of offences committed against positive injunctions of the Law at holocausts, and by a recital of the praises of God at thank-offerings.<sup>1</sup> Some oral expression of the feelings and cravings of the offerer is indeed not improbable. Even the patriarchs, after building altars, are generally reported to have "invoked the name of the Lord";<sup>2</sup> and this is certainly in accordance with the spirit of the ceremony under consideration. Expiatory offerings are repeatedly stated to require confession of sins;<sup>3</sup> and the Deuteronomist sets down an elaborate address to be spoken at the oblation of firstfruits and tithes.<sup>4</sup> In fact, sacrifices are, in a remarkable passage, used as an equivalent for mentioning the name of God: "An altar of earth shalt thou make to Me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings...; in all places where I shall let My name be mentioned<sup>5</sup> I will come to thee and bless thee."<sup>6</sup> The Psalmist entreats, "Let my prayer be set forth before Thee as incense!"<sup>7</sup> Jonah promises, "I will sacrifice to Thee with the voice of thanks-giving."<sup>8</sup> The Temple is indifferently called "house of sacrifice"<sup>9</sup> and "house of prayer."<sup>10</sup> The later Isaiah declares, that the sacrifices of both Hebrews and strangers will, in a happier age, be offered in the Temple, because this will then be called "a house of prayer for all nations."<sup>11</sup> In the long address of Solomon, at the consecration of the newly-built Temple, he often and emphatically mentions the prayers,<sup>12</sup> but only once and obscurely hints at the sacrifices of the worshippers,<sup>13</sup> a proof that the former must have constituted a common and ordinary mode of devotion. Strangers even came to pour out their supplications, and entered the sacred precincts, certain of being graciously accepted by God.<sup>14</sup> On some occasions, the sacrifices are distinctly recorded to have been attended with prayers or invocations,<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Maimon. Maas. Hakkorb.* III. 9; similarly Ebn Ezra, Nachmanides, Abarbanel, a. o.; see also *Outram, De Sacrif.* I. xv. 8, 9, 10—12.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 15 note 12.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. V. 5; Num. V. 7; comp. Lev. XVI. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. XXVI. 3—10; 13—15.

<sup>5</sup> *אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֹהֵינוּ*.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. XX. 21 (comp. p. 17); see 1 Sam. XIII. 12; Prov. XV. 8. The Mishnah (*Tam.* IV. 3; V. 1) observes that after the killed victim had been prepared for the altar, the priests were invited by the presiding official first to recite a prayer or blessing (*ברכו בְּרַסָּה*), then the ten commandments,

next the portion of the Pentateuch "Hear o Israel" (Deut. VI. 4—9), and lastly the section "And it will come to pass if you listen (Deut. XI. 13—21): comp. also *Lightf. Opp.* I. 720—722.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. CXLI. 2; comp. XXVI. 6, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Jon. II. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *בֵּית זֶבֶח*, 2 Chron. VII. 12.

<sup>10</sup> *בֵּית תְּפִלָּה*, Isai. LVI. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Isai. LVI. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. 1 Ki. VIII. 28—30, 33, 35, 38, 42, 44, 45, 47—50, 52; see also 2 Chr. VI. 12—42.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. 1 Ki. VIII. 31.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Ki. VIII. 41—43; 2 Chr. VI. 32, 33.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 9; Job XLII. 8; Ezra VI. 10; 1 Chr. XXI. 26; XXIX. 10—21;

on others with songs, music, and psalms of praise.<sup>16</sup> Among the ordinary functions of the Levites is enumerated "standing every morning to praise and to extol the Lord, and so also in the evening."<sup>17</sup> After the exile, the Israelites were in the habit of offering up prayers while the fumigations with the sacred incense took place in the Holy;<sup>18</sup> and they performed their daily devotions in the Synagogues at the times fixed for the regular sacrifices in the Temple.<sup>19</sup> Josephus sets it down as a common duty incumbent upon all sacrificers to pray not only for their own, but for the general welfare.<sup>20</sup> However, it is more than probable that prayers were, for many ages, left to the option and impulse of the worshipper. It was certainly very long before they were fixed in formulas such as have been handed down by tradition. One of them, asserted to have been uttered by the offerer of an expiatory sacrifice during the act of imposition, runs thus: "O Lord, I have sinned, I have offended, I have transgressed, I have done this and that; but now I return to Thee in repentance, and may this victim be my expiation."<sup>21</sup> Another and similar prayer is attributed to the High-priest on the Day of Atonement, before he sent away the scape-goat, and one before he slaughtered the bullock for the expiation of himself and his house.<sup>22</sup> While the Israelites killed their paschal lambs in the Temple, the priests are said to have chanted the great praise (הַלֵּל) consisting of Psalms CXIII to CXVIII.<sup>23</sup> But independently of other arguments, the language of those

<sup>2</sup> Chr. XXX. 22; Ps. LXVI. 13—20; CXVI. 13, 17; CXVIII. 1—29 (see ver. 27); Bar. I. 10, 11.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Chr. XXIX. 26—30; comp. Judg. XXI. 21; 1 Sam. I. 15; Am. V. 22, 23; Ps. XXVI. 6, 7; XXVII. 6; L. 14, 15; LXIX. 31; C. 4; Sir. L. 17—19; see also the strict ordinances on the music of the Temple in *Mishn.* Erach. II. 3 (אין פוחחין מעשרים ואחת חקיעות במקדש 'וכי); Tam. VII. 3, 4 (where the Psalms chanted by the Levites on each of the seven days of the week are stated, viz. Ps. XXIV; XLVIII; LXXXII; XCIV; LXXXI; XCIII; and XCI. respectively; see also *Talm.* Rosh Hash. 31a); *Talm.* Erach. 11a (עיקר שירה בפנה); but the music does not seem to have commenced before the libation of the wine (*Talm.* l. c. אין אמרים שירה אלא על *Talm.* l. c. *comp. Mishn.* Tam. VII. 3; *Light-foot*, *Opp.* L pp. 695—700).

<sup>17</sup> 1 Chr. XXIII. 30; comp. XVI. 4—6, 8—36.

<sup>18</sup> Luke I. 10; comp. Revel. VIII. 3, 4; V. 8; see p. 118. <sup>19</sup> See p. 119.

<sup>20</sup> *Joseph.* Contr. Apion. II. 23, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εὐχεσθαι δεῖ πρῶτον σωτηρίας, εἰθ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν; comp. Bell. Jud. VII. v. 6, ἤρχοντο τῶν θυσιῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ ταῖς νομιζομέναις καλλιστοῦσιν εὐχαῖς.

<sup>21</sup> אָנָּה הַשֵּׁם חַטָּאתִי עֲוִיָּה פִשְׁעֵי עֲשִׂיתִי כָךְ וְכָךְ וְחֻזְרֵי כְחֻשְׁבָּה לִפְנֵיךְ וְכִפְרֵתִי; comp. *Maimon.* Maas. Hak-korb. III. 8, 9, 14, 15.

<sup>22</sup> *Mishn.* Yom. IV. 2, אָנָּה הַשֵּׁם עֲוִיָּה פִשְׁעֵי חַטָּאתִי לִפְנֵיךְ אֲנִי בִּיתִי וּבְנֵי אֹהֶלֶן עִם קֹדֶשׁ אָנָּה הַשֵּׁם כִּפְרָה נָּא לַעֲוֹנוֹתַי... שְׁעִיָּה... לִפְנֵיךְ אֲנִי וּבִיתִי וּבְנֵי אֹהֶלֶן עִם קֹדֶשׁ וְכִי אָנָּה הַשֵּׁם עֲוִיָּה פִשְׁעֵי חַטָּאתִי לִפְנֵיךְ עִם בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכִי; comp. III. 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Maimon.* De Sacrif. Pasch. I. 11.

formulas alone suffices to prove their post-Biblical origin. Indeed, supplication formed, up to the time of the exile, no indispensable part of public worship,<sup>1</sup> though, of course, prayers were addressed to God by individuals both for themselves and others, as necessity or impulse prompted,<sup>2</sup> till they became a regular, if not mechanical practice with fixed hours, generally three times a day, and appointed forms of supplication, pronounced with the face turned towards Jerusalem, and accompanied by prostration, bending of knees, stretching out and uplifting of hands, and were, together with fasting, sometimes extended to the domestic animals, the chief exercise of piety.<sup>3</sup> It seems to have been usual for the officiating priest to pronounce a blessing upon the offerer;<sup>4</sup> but that blessing was

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Vitrina*, De Syn. Vet. pp. 50—52; the opposite assertion of Ewald (l. c. p. 48) cannot be substantiated.

<sup>2</sup> "Das alte Volk Israel kannte kein einmal feststehendes Gebet, keine indische Gajatri, kein Vaterunser, keine erste Sure" (*Ew.* l. c. p. 12). Comp. Gen. XX. 7, 17; XXIV. 12, 27; XXVIII. 22; XXXII. 10—13 (comprising in a brief compass nearly all the elements of prayer — thanksgiving, contrition, and entreaty); Exod. VIII. 4, 5, 24, 25; IX. 28, 33; X. 17, 18; XV. 1—18; XXXII. 11—13; Lev. XVI. 21; Num. X. 35, 36; XVI. 22; Deut. IX. 26—29; X. 10; XXI. 7, 8; Josh. VII. 6—9; Judg. VI. 36—40; XVI. 28; 1 Sam. I. 10, 12, 15; VIII. 6; XII. 19, 23; 2 Sam. VII. 18—29; 1 Ki. VIII. 22—54, esp. vers. 30, 35, 38; XVII. 20; XVIII. 36, 37; 2 Ki. IV. 33; VI. 17, 18, 20; XIII. 4; XIX. 4, 15—19; XX. 2, 3; Isai. I. 15; Jer. XXIX. 7; XXXII. 16—25; Hos. XIV. 3; Jon. II. 2—10; Hab. III. 1—19; many Psalms (as III—X, XII, XIII, XVI—XVIII, etc. etc.), esp. XXII. 1—26; XXXV. 13; LV. 18; LXIII. 2—12; C. 1—5; CII. 1, 2; CXIX. 58, 164; CXLII. 1—8; CXLIII. 1—12; Job XLII. 8; 1 Chr. XXIII. 30; 2 Chr. XX. 6—13; and so among the Greeks and other nations (comp. *Hom.* II. I. 472—474 (Οἱ δὲ πανήμεροι πολλῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο Καλὸν αἰδόντες παιήονα πλ.); *Plat.* Tim. c. 5 (p. 27 C, τοῦτό γε δὲ πάντες, ὅσοι καὶ κατὰ

βραχὺ σωροσύνης μετέχουσιν, ἐπὶ παντὸς ὁρμῇ καὶ μικροῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος θεὸν αἰεὶ πρὸς καλοῦσιν); *Thucyd.* VIII. 70; *Lucian.* Dea Syr. 57; *Curt.* IV. xiii. 15; *Plin.* H. N. XXVIII. 2 or 3 (praeterea alia sunt verba impetritis, alia depulsoriis, alia commendatoriis); etc.; comp. *Hermann.* l. c. § 21; *Wachsmuth.* Hellen. Alterth. § 126 (Gebet und Musik gehörten meistentheils zur Einleitung oder Begleitung der Feier); *Döllinger.* Jew and Gent. I. 221—225, 398, 403; II. 75—77, 187 *sqq.* But it is too much to assert that "the sacrifice is the complement and consummation of prayer" (*Tholuck.* Das A. T. im N. T. p. 81), which is contrary to the natural laws of development (see p. 61).

<sup>3</sup> See Ezra VIII. 21; IX. 5—15; Neh. I. 4—11; IX. 1—37; XI. 17; Dan. VI. 11 (comp. 1 Ki. VIII. 48; Ps. LV. 18); IX. 3—21; Esth. IV. 1, 2, 15, 16; 2 Chr. XX. 3, 4 (comp. *Gramb.* Rel. Id. I. 430, 431); Tob. III. 11—15; XII. 6; Judith IV. 9—13; VIII. 6; XIII. 7; 1 Macc. IV. 30—33; V. 33; VII. 40—42; XI. 71; 2 Macc. VIII. 29; XV. 26; Acts III. 1; X. 9, 30; XXVII. 35; Matth. VI. 5—13; X. 14; Luke II. 37; XVIII. 12; 1 Tim. II. 1—8; comp. *Orach Chayim* §§ 89—127; see also *Bauer.* Gottesd. Verf. I. 357—372, 378—380.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. II. 20; 2 Sam. VI. 18; 1 Ki. VIII. 14, 55—61; see also Lev. IX. 22, 23; Num. VI. 23—27;

no necessary or essential part of the sacrificial ritual.<sup>5</sup> Similar accompaniments of sacrifices were usual among most ancient nations. The Scythians offered up a prayer while felling the victim to the ground,<sup>6</sup> the Egyptians either before killing or after flaying it; the latter, at the burning of the body beat themselves, as a mark of humiliation, while the Carian settlers in Egypt went so far as to express their submission by cutting their faces with knives.<sup>7</sup> In Persia, the sacrificer, before the act of immolation, invoked the name of the deity, and prayed both for his welfare and that of the king and the nation; while after the animal had been slain and duly laid upon myrtle and laurel bunches, the Magi, holding in their hands a bundle of slender tamarisk rods with which they touched the flesh, chanted long hymns supposed to recount the origin of the gods:<sup>8</sup> indeed the Persians seem to have considered prayer the chief part of the sacrifice, and in itself the most acceptable oblation.<sup>9</sup> The Greeks accompanied their offerings frequently with hymns of praise and with religious dances (*ὑπορχήματα*) round the altar and the sacrificial fire;<sup>10</sup> the invocation was generally pronounced at the killing of the victim;<sup>11</sup> a sacrificial prayer from a work of Menander has been preserved to us: "Now let us pray to the Olympian gods, and now to all the Olympian goddesses, to give us safety, health, and all good things in future and full enjoyment of all present happiness."<sup>12</sup> Pliny observes, with regard to the Romans, "It is a general belief that without

1 Sam. II. 20; 1 Chr. XVI. 1, 2; 2 Chron. XXX. 27; Sir. L. 17—19.

<sup>5</sup> Later, however, this element of the ceremonial was also fixed, and according to the Mishnah (Tam. V. 1), the officiating priests had to pronounce a threefold blessing, first that commencing *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* (comp. *Mishn.* Berach. II. 2; *Talm.* Berach. 13a; and the Jewish Prayer-Book, edit. by H. Edelman — *סדר הנימן* — p. 50, and notes in loc.; see also *Lightf.* l. c. p. 721), next that of the service (*שְׁמִינִי*), and then the sacerdotal benediction (Num. VI. 24—26), to which a fourth was added on Sabbath (see *Barten.* in loc.)

<sup>6</sup> *Herod.* IV. 60 (*πίπτοντες δὲ τοῦ ἱερῆος, ἐπικαλεῖ τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἅπλῳ θυῇ*).

<sup>7</sup> *Herod.* II. 39 (*καὶ ἐπικαλίσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσιν*), 40, 61; comp. *Sect.* XXI.

<sup>8</sup> *Herod.* I. 132; *Strab.* XV. iii. 14

(*τὰς δ' ἐκπράξας ποιοῦνται πολὺν χρόνον*); comp. *Lucian*, *Dea Syr.* c. 57.

<sup>9</sup> See *Zend-avesta* I. 111 (Kleuker, "I offer a prayer for the pure milk of the animals on the sacrificial table", etc.); II. 172; comp. *supra* p. 70; *Völcker* in *Ersch und Gruber's Encycl.* III. iv. 80; *Flügel*, *ibid.* p. 126.

<sup>10</sup> *Lucian*, *De Saltu*, c. 16; *Porphyr.* *De Abst.* II. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Hom.* II. I. 451—457; II. 412—418; *Od.* III. 445, 446; XI. 34, 35; XIV. 423, 424 (*καὶ ἐπύχετο παῖσι θεοῖσιν*); *Sophocl.* *Antig.* 1019 (*θεοῖσιν*); *Virg.* *Aen.* V. 235—238; *Ovid.* *Metam.* VII. 246—254; *Apoll. Rhod.* I. 410—424; *Dion. Hal.* VII. 72; *Tacit.* *Hist.* II. 3 (*precibus et igne puro altaria* — of Venus in Paphos — *adolentur*); *Lucian*, *Dea Syr.* c. 55; *Euseb.* *Praep. Ev.* IV. 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Athen.* XIV. 78, *διδόναι σωτηρίαν*.

a certain form of prayer, it would be unavailing to immolate a victim, and that without it the gods would be consulted to no purpose";<sup>1</sup> nay the omission or improper performance of the prayer was supposed to be most ominous and often portentous.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, in order to prevent hesitation or faultiness in the recital, a priest read from a book the prayer, which the sacrificer repeated after him word by word.<sup>3</sup> And both among the Greeks and Romans, the sacrificial act was occasionally accomplished with the shrill sounds of the Phrygian pipe, partly to add solemnity or cheerfulness to the ceremony, and partly to prevent any irrelevant or inauspicious words being heard during the sacred rites;<sup>4</sup> just as men veiled their heads during prayers, lest they beheld anything unlucky.

#### 5. KILLING THE ANIMAL (שְׁחִיטָה).

The offerer, after having signified by imposition of the hand his intimate relation to the victim and his readiness to surrender it to God in his stead, forthwith proved and sealed this readiness by at once killing the animal at the sacred altar.<sup>5</sup> The worshipper was designedly permitted to perform the act of immolation, that the offering might clearly be marked as his own; and it was therefore entrusted to one of the elders of the people, if the sacrifice was presented in the name of the community.<sup>6</sup> This privilege alone was left to the Israelites to remind them that they were designed to be "a kingdom of priests and a holy

*Ἰγλυίαν, ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ, τῶν θυτῶν τε  
τῶν Ἀγαθῶν ὀνησιὸν πᾶσι.*

<sup>1</sup> *Plin.* H. N. XXVIII. 2 (3), quippe victimam caedi sine precatione non videtur referre aut deos rite consuli; comp. *Cato*, R. R. 132, 134; *Liv.* XXIX. 27; *Hor.* Ep. I. xvi. 58—62; *Macrob.* III. 9 (in eadem verba hostias fieri oportet); *Senec.* Thyest. 691, 692 (Ipse est sacerdos, ipse funesta prece Letale carmen ore violento canit).

<sup>2</sup> *Plin.* l. c., memoria insigni, quotiens ipsae dirae obstrepentes nocuerint quotiensve precatio erraverit, sic repente extis adimi capita vel corda aut geminari victima stante.

<sup>3</sup> *Plin.* l. c. videmusque ... ne quid verborum praetereatur aut praeposterum dicatur, de scripto praecire aliquem; *Juven.* Sat. VI. 391, 392, dictataque verba pertulit, Ut mos est.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Herod.* I. 132; *Dion Chry-*

*sost.* Or. XXXII. 57; *Tibull.* El. II. i. 86 (and Heyne in loc.); *Plin.* l. c. (ubi cinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiat).

<sup>5</sup> וְחִכָּה לְסַמִּיכָה שְׁחִיטָה, says the Mishnah (in *Menach.* IX. 8; comp. *Talm.* Berach. 42a), and it adds, in harmony with the meaning of the precept, that the killing must be performed at the same place as the imposition of the hand (וּבְמָקוֹם שֶׁשִּׁמְכֵן שְׁחִיטָה). But it certainly errs in denying to it all significance, and therefore permitting it to any one, even to unclean persons (*Mishn.* Zevach. III. 1; comp. *Talm.* Zevach. 32; see *infra*).

<sup>6</sup> *Lev.* IV. 15. At the consecration of Aaron and his sons, *Moses* killed the victims (*Lev.* VIII. 15, 19, 23), because he acted throughout that ceremony as the direct instrument of God (see *Comm* in loc.). — Every Moslem in Turkey is bound to slaughter his



nation."<sup>7</sup> It would scarcely have been prudent on the part of the compilers of the Pentateuch wholly to exclude the people from all participation in the sacrificial ceremonies which they had so long performed as of natural right; such immoderate ambition would probably have provoked a dangerous reaction, which not even the growing power of the tribe of Levi would have been able to resist. The Law is therefore in harmony with the Talmudical canon that the duties of the priests commenced with the act of receiving the victim's blood; and that, therefore, the killing might be lawfully performed by any one.<sup>8</sup> With this rule corresponded, in bloodless offerings, the law that the sacerdotal functions began with the act of taking off a handful to be burnt on the altar as a memorial,<sup>9</sup> while the Israelite poured over and mixed the oil himself.<sup>10</sup> However, priests were *permitted* to slaughter the animals for the offering Israelites;<sup>11</sup> they did so regularly with respect to the purification-offering of the leper,<sup>12</sup> or when the victims were presented in the name of the whole people, whether on Sabbaths and festivals or on other occasions;<sup>13</sup> and they invariably killed the pigeons and turtle-doves by wringing or wringing off their head;<sup>14</sup> several reasons seem to have suggested this last exception; first because in such cases the ritual was so simple that it could scarcely be divided between the worshipper and the priest;<sup>15</sup> especially as the blood of those birds is so scanty that it could not well be sprinkled or pressed out on the altar, unless so disposed of at once by the person who killed them, without being previously received in a vessel; and then because it was deemed desirable to enhance the value of the small sacrifice of fowls, often presented by poor people as a substitute for more expensive animals, by confiding its performance exclusively to the holy ministers of God.

How far the act of slaying the victim represented the life and death

Beiram sacrifice at easter with his own hand, or if unable to do it, to be at least present during the act.

<sup>7</sup> See the Treatise on Priesthood, ch. II.

<sup>8</sup> מקבלה ואילך מצוח כהונה לימד על  
השחיטה שכשה בכל אדם  
Zevach. 32a; comp. Maimon. De Sanctuar. IX. 6. Hence the Sept. renders unnecessarily *וְיָצַח* in Lev. IV. 24, 29, 33, and *he shall kill*, viz. the chief or the common Israelite, by *καὶ σφάζουσιν* and *they shall kill*, viz. the priests; and Philo (De Victim. c. 5) writes incorrectly that a priest always performed the slaughtering (*μετὰ ταῦτα*, sc. after the imposition of the hand, *λαβὼν τις τὸν*

*ἱερέων παραθύρετω*); and similarly Ebn Ezra (on Lev. I. 11) and others. The statements of the text on the subject are unmistakable; see Lev. I. 5; III. 2; IV. 24, 29, 33; see also VIII. 15.

<sup>9</sup> מקמיצה ואילך מצוח הכהונה.

<sup>10</sup> יקיצה ובלילה כשרה בור; Talm. Menach. 15b; see p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. 2 Chron. XXX. 15—17; XXXV. 10, 11.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. XIV. 13, 25.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. also 2 Chron. XXIX. 22—24; Ezra VI. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. I. 15; V. 6; see Sect. XIII. 3; XV.

<sup>15</sup> See Lev. I. 14—17, and notes in loc.



of the offerer will be pointed out in another place;<sup>1</sup> it here concerns us to observe that even the mode of killing had, in many instances, undoubtedly a symbolical significance. So if the Greeks or Romans offered a victim to an Olympian god, the head was turned upward and cut with the sacrificial knife from above downward; while the head of animals dedicated to the lower gods, to heroes, or to the dead, was turned downward to the ground, and cut from below upward;<sup>2</sup> in the latter case, the blood was poured into a pit dug for the purpose.<sup>3</sup> The Greeks generally stunned and felled the victim to the ground by striking its temples with an oak club;<sup>4</sup> but this was distinct from the proper slaughtering (*σφάζειν*),<sup>5</sup> which was usually performed by cutting the sinews of the neck with a sharp axe,<sup>6</sup> and which formed the essential part of the ceremony, for by that slaughtering only which made the blood gush forth, the soul or the life of the victim was surrendered.<sup>7</sup> And similarly among the Romans, an inferior official or assistant<sup>8</sup> first struck the victim with a hammer, after which the priest slaughtered it with a knife.<sup>9</sup> Some tribes seem to have abstained from the use of iron instruments in killing sacrificial animals, apparently for the same reasons which induced others to avoid them in the construction of altars.<sup>10</sup> Plato in his mythical description of primeval customs mentions that the animals intended for victims on solemn occasions were caught "without iron, with staves and cords",<sup>11</sup> though they were apparently slaughtered in the usual way (*εσφαττον*). The Magi in Cappadocia called pyraethi or fire-kindlers, "did not perform the sacrifice with a knife, but beat the victim to death with a log of wood as with a mallet."<sup>12</sup> The Scythians and Indians strangled or suffocated the animal, "that nothing mutilated, but only that which is entire, might

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Which act was termed *subponere cultrum*; comp. *Eustath.* ad Il. I. 459; Schol. Apollon. Argon. I. 585; *Serv.* ad Virg. Georg. III. 492; *Myrtillus*, Lesb. 2; *Saubert*, De Sacrif. p. 415.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. IV. 9 (*Νεφτερίων—θυσιάς—κατάθαινα, καὶ εἰς βόθρον αἷμα ἵαλλε*); *Hom.* Od. XI. 35, 36 (*τὰ δὲ μῆλα λαβὼν ἀπεδυσσεύετο—μῆσα εἰς βόθρον, ἥτις δ' αἷμα κελαινευτός*); *Apollon.* Argon. III. 1030—1033; *Ovid.* Met. VII. 245 (*et patulas perfundit sanguine fossas*); comp. p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Hom.* Od. XIV. 425, 426; III. 442, 443, 449, 450; *Dion. Hal.* VII. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Hom.* Od. XIV. 454.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Dion. Hal.* l. c.

<sup>7</sup> *Hom.* Od. XIV. 455; comp. *Apoll.* Arg. I. 427—432.

<sup>8</sup> The *popa* or *victimarius*; comp. *Cic.* Mil. 24; *Liv.* XL. 29; *Val. Max.* I. i. 12; etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Servius* ad Aen. XII. 120; *Suet.* Calig. 32.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 16. The prohibition of the Pythagoreans adopted by Numa, not to stir fire with a sword (*Plut.* Num. 14), may rest upon a similar notion, since fire was regarded as holy (see no. 13 of this Section).

<sup>11</sup> *Plat.* Critias, c. 11 (*ἄνευ σιδήρου ξύλων καὶ βρόχων*).

<sup>12</sup> *Strab.* XV. iii. 15, p. 733.

be offered to the deity."<sup>13</sup> The Syrians in Hierapolis threw the wreathed victim over the terrace in the court of the temple, and killed it by the fall;<sup>14</sup> while on some occasions, as on the "Festival of Torches",<sup>15</sup> it was suspended on trees within the precincts of the temple and burnt alive.<sup>16</sup> Similarly at Patrae in Achaia, on the festival of Artemis Laphria, pigs, stags and roes, wolves and bears, young and old, and every kind of eatable birds were cast alive into the flames.<sup>17</sup> The Trojans sacrificed horses to Poseidon by throwing them alive into the waves;<sup>18</sup> and the old Rhodians did the like in honour of Helios.<sup>19</sup>

It is uncertain whether the Hebrews adopted any peculiar rite or observed fixed rules in slaughtering the victim; but the regulations laid down in the Talmud are unquestionably of later growth; they all aim at causing the death of the animal in the most natural and least painful or violent manner, so that it might not even remotely fall under the category of a "torn animal" (טרפה).<sup>20</sup> How little these laws harmonize with the simplicity of primitive ages will be manifest from the following short survey. The knife with which the animal is killed must have no notch (פנימה) that can be felt with the tips of the fingers or with the nails; it must, therefore, be well examined both before and after the killing; if a notch is discovered after it, the animal is unlawful for food. The knife must be put on in the middle of the neck,<sup>21</sup> and in quadrupeds cut through the greater part of the circumference both of the windpipe and the gullet,<sup>22</sup> while in birds it suffices to cut through one of the two. During the act of cutting five things are particularly to be avoided, 1. interruption (שרירה);<sup>23</sup> if this is extended so long that in the interval an animal of the same species might be killed, the animal is unlawful for food; 2. pressure (ררסה); the knife must be moved to

<sup>13</sup> *Herod.* IV. 60; *Strab.* XV. i. 54, p. 710, ἵνα μὴ λελωβημένον ἀλλ' ὀλέκλον διδῶται τῷ θεῷ.

<sup>14</sup> *Lucian*, *Dea Syr.* 58. In a similar manner, the human victims were killed in Iceland, or they were dashed against the sacred stone of Thor, or immersed in a morass, while, among the Saxons, they were hanged, or hurled into thorny thickets (see *Wachter* l. c. pp. 94, 95), and in Rome buried alive (*Liv.* XXII. 57).

<sup>15</sup> *Πυρὴ* or *λαμπάς*.

<sup>16</sup> *Lucian* l. c. c. 49.

<sup>17</sup> *Pausan.* IV. xxxi. 7; VII. xviii. 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Hom.* II. XXI. 132 (ζῶον δ' ἐν δέσσει καθίστατο μώνυχας ἵππους); comp. *Eustath.* ad II. XXIII. 148; *Euseb.* *Praep.*

*Ev.* IV. 9 (ἐς βαθὺ πῦμα θαλάσσης ζῶον ὅλον προβάλλε); and *infra* no. 13.

<sup>19</sup> *Festus* s. v. October equus; comp. p. 87 note 19, p. 69 note 12. — On some barbarous modes of killing animals practised among the Romans in the time of their degeneracy from motives of wanton gluttony, see *Plut.* *De Esu Carn.* II. 1.

<sup>20</sup> See the Treatise before the eleventh chapter.

<sup>21</sup> *Yoreh Deah* § 20, מקום השחיטה בצוואר בקנה לצד הראש משפוי כובע ולמטה.

<sup>22</sup> קנה and חשט, which are termed the "signs" (סימנים) of the animal.

<sup>23</sup> L. c. § 23, הרי שהחזיל לשחוט והגבית ידו קודם שיגמור.

and fro,<sup>1</sup> and must therefore have at least double the length of the animal's neck; 3. concealment (חלודה) of the knife between the two pipes in the neck of the animal, so that it is afterwards covered with skin or flesh;<sup>2</sup> 4. irregularity or deviation (הגדרה), for instance, if the knife is put on in an unlawful place, or if during the act of cutting it strays to such a part;<sup>3</sup> and 5. disrapture (עיקר) either of the wind-pipe or the gullet.<sup>4</sup> After the killing, the animal is submitted to a close scrutiny, and if it is found to have in one of the vital organs a defect which in all probability would render it unfit to live beyond one year, it is interdicted to be eaten; such faults are especially a hole, however small, in the lungs or any part of the stomach, an abnormal addition to the lungs, or a deficiency in the liver or the upper jaw; imperfect formation of the skin on the brain or of the spinal marrow, and fracture of the greater part of the ribs.<sup>5</sup> Though these natural precautions may have suggested themselves at a comparatively early period, and are certainly extremely commendable as dietary rules, they are neither alluded to nor implied in any precept of the Old Testament; much less is any trace to be found of laws directing the mode of killing the victims. In fact, the only two statements made in this respect are entirely opposed to the rules laid down by Jewish tradition. For birds, though sometimes slain with a knife,<sup>6</sup> were in some chief instances to be killed by wringing or wringing off the head with the hand,<sup>7</sup> which, according to the Talmud, was done in the following manner: the priest took the feet of the bird with two fingers of his left hand, and the wings with two other fingers, and then turning the head between the thumb and the index, he made a cut with his nail behind the neck, and separated the nape till he came to the two *signs*, the wind-pipe and the gullet; and if the bird was intended for a holocaust, he broke both of them; if for a sin-offering, only one.<sup>8</sup> And in the ritual

<sup>1</sup> L. c. § 24, כגן שהניח הסכין על הצוואר ודחק וחתך למטה כחותר צנן או קישוח.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. כגן שהכניס הסכין בין סימן לסימן... או החליד את הסכין תחת העור או תחת צמר מסובך בצוואר הבהמה; comp. *Talm. Chul.* 20b; *N. Fuller*, *Miscell. Sacr.* III. c. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. השוחט בקנה ולמעלה במקום שאינו ראוי לשחיטה או שהתחיל לשחוט במקום שחיטה ושחט מעט והטה הסכין וכו'.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. כגן שנעקר הקנה או הושט מהם. מהלחי ומהבשר ושחט אחד מהם.

<sup>5</sup> Rabbinical tradition, subdividing these chief defects, enumerates 70 blemishes disqualifying the animal for food. \* שחט, Lev. XIV. 5, 50.

<sup>6</sup> מלק, Lev. I. 15; V. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Talm. Zevach.* 65b, כיצד מולקין חטאת העוף חותר שדרה ומפרקת בלא רוב בשר עד שמגיע לחושט או לקנה; see also *ibid.* fol. 64; *Chul.* 21, 22; comp. in general, *Talm. Chul.* 18—22; *Yoreh Deah*, §§ 1—28; esp. §§ 16—25; *Maimon.* הלכות שחיטות; *Kimchi*, Lexic. sub מלק; *Reland*, *Antiqq.* III. i. 18—20 (Ego, observes

## X. 6. SACRIFICIAL CEREMONIES—RECEIVING THE BLOOD. 189

of averting the guilt of blood after hidden murder, not the usual mode of killing<sup>9</sup> was employed, but a more summary method of striking off the neck,<sup>10</sup> in harmony with the symbolical nature of that ceremony which thereby was to be *deprived* of the character of a sacrifice. One object was above all kept in view and aimed at, namely that all the blood should completely stream out of the body, and that none of it should be lost; for it was forbidden as food, but indispensable for atonement; though the general disregard of all religious and ceremonial laws down to the latest time,<sup>11</sup> extended to that one supreme point also; for Philo remarked, "Some men prepare sacrifices which ought never to be offered, strangling the victim and stifling the essence of life, which they ought to let depart free and unrestrained, burying the blood as it were, in the body."<sup>12</sup> Guided by similar views, the old Teutons struck the heart of the victims, whether these were men or animals, because the heart is the fountain of the blood, and the blood of the heart was pre-eminently regarded as the blood of sacrifice.

### 6. RECEIVING OF THE BLOOD (קָבַל הַדָּם or קָבַלָהּ or לְקַיְחָהּ).

When the blood streamed out of the dying victim, the utmost care was taken by the officiating priest, clad in his holy vestments, to receive it, at the same side of the altar where the slaughtering had been performed,<sup>13</sup> in a vessel<sup>14</sup> of rather large dimensions,<sup>15</sup> which he held in his right hand and was specially appropriated to the purpose.<sup>16</sup> It was

Ravius in loc., unguis adhibendi ad hunc ritum apud antiquos nec volam nec vestigium reperiō); *Outram*, De Sacrif. I. xvi. 1; *Creizenach*, Schulchan Aruch, I. pp. 139, 139.

<sup>9</sup> דָּבַח, Sept. σφάζειν.

<sup>10</sup> הָרַג, Deut. XXI. 4, 6; Sept. νευροκοπεῖν; Josephus (Ant. IV. viii. 16) τοὺς τέμνοντας κοψάμενας τῆς βεός; comp. Exod. XIII. 13; XXXIV. 20; Isai. LXVI. 3; see also *Talm.* Kerith. 25a; *Maimon.* Rotzeach, c. 9.

<sup>11</sup> See Section III.

<sup>12</sup> *Philo*, De Concupisc. c. 10, Op. II. p. 356, ἀγχορτες καὶ ἀποπνίγοντες τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἣν ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἄφροτον ἐχρήσαντο, ἐντρομβεύοντες τῇ σάματι τὸ αἷμα.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Zevach. V. 1 sqq.; see p. 174.

<sup>14</sup> מִזְרָק (Exod. XXVII. 3; XXXVIII.

3; Num. IV. 14; 1 Ki. VII. 40), or זֶבַח (Exod. XXIV. 6), or דִּב (Siphra); φιάλη or καλυπτῆρ (Sept., Philo); comp. ἀμύριον (*Hom.* Od. III. 444) or σφάγιον and σφαισίον (*Aesch.* Agam. 1092; *Eurip.* Troad. 747; *Elect.* 800); *patera* among the Romans (*Virg.* Aen. III. 67, sanguinis et sacri pateras).

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Zechar. IX. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* I. c. קָבַל דָּמָן בכָּלִי שֶׁרָח. If it was allowed to flow on the ground and was then taken up for sprinkling, or if it was received in the left hand, the act was, according to Jewish tradition, illegal (*Mishn.* Zevach. II. 1); although it was supposed that the blood of "the red cow" was received into the left hand, an exception that can certainly not be supported by Num. XIX. 4; comp. Lev. IV. 25, 30, 34; VIII. 15.

deemed so all-important that no part of the blood which is the life and soul of the animal, should be lost or wasted, that the Law deviated from a fundamental principle at the offering of birds, by directing the killing to be performed by the priest instead of the offerer (see p. 185). But the act of receiving the blood was on no account permitted to the Israelite;<sup>1</sup> it was by tradition, and no doubt in accordance with the spirit of the Law, strictly regulated;<sup>2</sup> it was illegal, if performed by a non-Levite or an uncircumcised person,<sup>3</sup> or by the priest or High-priest without a full array of priestly garments,<sup>4</sup> or in a state of total or partial uncleanness,<sup>5</sup> or by a common priest who, on that day, had been thrown into mourning;<sup>6</sup> for it was the direct preliminary to that ritual, in which the whole sacrificial ceremonial centred, namely

7. THE SPRINKLING OF THE BLOOD (נִחְיָנָה or זִרְקָה or הִזָּה).<sup>7</sup>

This was the exclusive privilege of "the priests, the sons of

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Tam. IV. 1, שחט השוחט וקבל המקבל.

<sup>2</sup> See *Mishn.* Zevach. II. 1. The blood was constantly stirred to prevent coagulation (comp. *Mishn.* Yom. IV. 3, שחטו וקבל כמורק אחדדמו ונחתו למי שהוא (סמרים בו... כרי שלא יקרוש); therefore the vessel is said to have been pointed at the bottom to preclude the priest from setting it down. But there is no foundation in the O. T. for the view implied in a passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that water was mixed with the blood (IX. 19, λαβὴν τὸ αἷμα ... μετὰ ὕδατος; the mistake arose probably from an erroneous application of Lev. XIV. 5, 6; Deut. XIX. 16); the Mishnah (Zevach. III. 3) declares indeed the sprinkling lawful if the blood was by chance mixed with water and kept the appearance of blood; but it would have been utterly inappropriate that the blood, the means of atonement, should be purposely diluted and vitiated. ערל or זר.

<sup>4</sup> That is, if the former was not dressed in his 4, the latter in his 8 appointed pieces (comp. Exod. XXVIII. 4; Comm. on Exod. pp. 522 seq.), in which case either of them was called מחוסר בגדים. In exceptional cases,

Levites received the blood and handed it to the priests for sprinkling (2 Chr. XXX. 16).

טכול יום or מחוסר כפורים.

<sup>5</sup> The High-priest was not disqualified by being a mourner (אונן); see Treatise on Priesthood, ch. I. Other precepts are futile (*Mishn.* Zevach. I. c. ישב, עומד ע"ג כלים, ע"ג בהמה, ע"ג רגלי חברו, קבל בשמאל וכי

<sup>7</sup> The Hebrew text uses three different terms with regard to this rite; namely 1. הִזָּה to *sprinkle*, exclusively in connection with sin-offerings (Lev. IV. 6; 17; V. 9; XVI. 14, 19); 2. זִרְקָה to *aspersion*, in reference to holocausts, thank- and trespass-offerings, generally with the addition "upon the altar round about" (על המזבח סביב; Lev. I. 5, 11; III. 2, 8, 13; VII. 2; IX. 12); and 3. נָחַן to *put*, with respect to sin-offerings when blood was to come on the horns of the altar, and when, therefore, sprinkling would have been unsafe (Lev. IV. 7, 18, 25, 30, 34; XVI. 18; etc.). The term הִזָּה is evidently sprinkling in a stricter sense, with the finger which had before been dipped into the blood, so that but little of it was used and the rest poured out at the bottom of the altar (Lev. IV. 7, 18;

Aaron."<sup>8</sup> It was invalid if attempted by any one not belonging to that elected family. Only when Moses initiated his brother with his sons into their sacred functions, he himself, the Levite, sprinkled the blood, because on that exceptional occasion he officiated as chief priest.<sup>9</sup> Indeed if an intercessor between God and the Israelite was at all deemed desirable, he was properly employed for that special act. For it not only formed the weightiest of the rituals without which the sacrifice was not considered accomplished, but it involved the chief means of atonement,<sup>10</sup> and was, therefore, justly termed "the kernel of the offering."<sup>11</sup> It was rigorously and carefully performed in all animal sacrifices of whatever class.<sup>12</sup> Its eminent significance is manifest: in burnt- and expiatory offerings it typified contrition and atonement; in thank-offerings, humility and submission. For the blood represented the life and existence of the animal which man offered to God either

V. 9; Sept. *βάλω*; Vulg. *aspergo*). But *קָרַף* is probably a copious pouring out, direct from the basin, or an aspersion of all the blood on the sides of the altar, or rather on the lower half of it, from the part where the grate (*קָרָבִי*) of network ceased downward (see Comm. on Exod. p. 484; in the Temple of Herod, below a red-line running round the middle of the altar); so that nothing was discharged at the base (Sept. *προεχέω* or — in Exod. XXIV. 8 — *κατασκαδίζω*; Vulg. *fundo*). Some understand *קָרַף* to mean sprinkling upon or over the surface of the altar; so Hofmann (l. c. p. 256) renders "aus-schwenkend über die Oberfläche des Altars", Winer (Real-Wört. I. 193) "über den Altar hin" (comp. *σπένδειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ αἷμα*, Pausan. VIII. ii. 3; see *infra*), Kurtz (Opfere. p. 209) "rings um den inneren Rand des Altars"; but these and similar translations are excluded by the qualifying addition *round about* *כָּרְכִיב* (comp. *Jos. Ant.* III. ix. 1, *τὸν κύκλον τῷ αἵματι δέοντες τοῦ βωμοῦ*); in some cases, the text plainly states that blood was to be poured along the *sides* (Lev. I. 15; V. 9); and Jewish tradition rigidly enjoined that no blood should come on the upper surface of the altar. The general

expressions "the blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar" (*עַל-מִזְבֵּחַ*, Deut. XII. 27) afford no conclusive argument, as the passage in which they occur is not intended as an accurate or ritual statement. Philo (De Victim. c. 6) takes the term "round about" (*כָּרְכִיב*) at once too literally and too figuratively in explaining, the blood is to be poured out in a circle (*κύκλῳ*) round the altar, "because the circle is the most complete of all figures", which would not have been easy of accomplishment on a square altar; he adds, therefore, more correctly "and also in order that no part whatever may be left empty and unoccupied by the libation of life"; though he concludes fantastically, the rite teaches that "the mind which is always performing its dances in a circle, is by every description of words, intentions, and actions, always showing its desire to please God."

<sup>8</sup> Lev. I. 5, 11; III. 2, 8, 13; IV. 16—18, 25, 30, 34; VII. 14; V. 9; IX. 9, 12, 18; XVII. 6; comp. 2 Ki. XVI. 13; etc.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. VIII. 15, 19, 23; see pp. 176, 184, 200.

<sup>10</sup> עֵקֶר הַבְּפֹרֶה.

<sup>11</sup> עֵקֶר הַזֶּכֶחַ.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. XVII. 6; VII. 2; etc.



as a substitute for his own life forfeited by sin, or as an oblation of gratitude and praise for benefits received.<sup>1</sup> Hence it was sprinkled either on the brazen, or the golden altar, or the mercy-seat, that is, on the most important and most characteristic implements of the three chief divisions of the Sanctuary, the Court, the Holy, and the Holy of Holies; it was, in fact, put upon those parts which symbolized, though in different degrees, the revelation and holiness of God, and which, therefore, if covered with the emblem of the offerer's soul, were best calculated to point to his purification and his restored union with the Deity. And while the preceding ceremonies were uniform in all classes of offerings, this chief rite varied in mode and manner according to the nature of the different sacrifices. The blood of thank-offerings and holocausts consisting of quadrupeds, was sprinkled *round about upon* the brazen altar;<sup>2</sup> while the blood of holocausts consisting of fowls was pressed out on its *side*,<sup>3</sup> evidently because it would not have sufficed for so complete an aspersion of the altar as to be everywhere visible. If the High-priest presented a sin-offering for himself, or if the elders of the people presented one for the whole community, the High-priest dipped his finger into the blood, and sprinkled of it "seven times before the Lord against the vail of the Sanctuary."<sup>4</sup> By the peculiar force of the number seven which indicated the sacred covenant between God and Israel,<sup>5</sup> and by the approach to the vail through which lay the passage from the Holy to the Holy of Holies, the ceremony was invested with the character of aspiration for purity and for harmony with God. To impress these ideas still more markedly, the High-priest put a part of the blood on the horns of the altar of incense within the Holy; for the horns, the most prominent as well as the most important part of the structure, pointed strikingly to the presence of God; while the rest of the blood was poured out at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offering.<sup>6</sup> If the sin-offering was presented by a chief or a common Israelite, the inferior degree of authority and distinction was denoted in a twofold manner: the blood was sprinkled by a *common* priest, and a part of it was put, not on the horns of the golden, but of the *brazen*

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. IX. 7, pp. 121 *sqq.*; comp. *Saalschütz*, *Mosaisches Recht*, I. 307, 308.

<sup>2</sup> על־המזבח סביב, see p. 190, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> על־קר המזבח, Lev. I. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. IV. 6.

<sup>5</sup> The same significant number occurs frequently in reference to the rites of expiation and purification; comp. Exod. XXIX. 35, 37; Lev. VIII. 11, 33;

XIV. 8, 16, 51; XV. 13, 24; Num. XIX. 4, 11, 12, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. IV. 7, 18, 25, 30, 34; comp. IX. 9; probably at the south-western corner where, in the second Temple, it was led through two small apertures (כֶּסֶם שְׁנֵי חֻטְמֵי דִקְרָן) into a subterranean channel in the Court and from thence into the valley of Kidron, where it was sold by the treasurers of



altar in the Court.<sup>7</sup> For both the High-priest and the community were identified with the Hebrew theocracy, the former as its chief representative, the latter as its actual embodiment; both stood, therefore, towards God in a relation of supreme holiness; but any individual Israelite, were he even a chief, was allied to the Deity only in proportion to his personal merit.

But it is necessary to observe, in this respect, the following chronological distinction. In holocausts, or the oldest kind of sacrifice, and in thank-offerings, the class next to them in antiquity, the blood was sprinkled "round about upon the altar."<sup>8</sup> There are traces to prove that the same method was for a long time also followed with regard to the latest class, or the expiatory offerings; for in reference to trespass-offerings (חטאת) it is expressly commanded, that the blood should be sprinkled "round about upon the altar";<sup>9</sup> and the same section adds, "as the sin-offering is, so is the trespass-offering; there is one law for them."<sup>10</sup> Later, however, when the sin-offerings (חטאת), developed by Levitical legislators with ardent partiality, were appointed as the most effectual and most sacred means of theocratic worship, it was found appropriate to distinguish them by a peculiar proceeding with respect to the blood; and it was then determined that, on ordinary occasions, a part of it should be put on the *horns* of the brazen altar, but in cases of special moment, not only on the horns of the *golden* altar, but also on still holier parts of the sacred edifice.<sup>11</sup> Some such distinction was already introduced or contemplated at the time when birds also were admitted for animal offerings;<sup>12</sup> for while the blood of pigeons or turtle-doves offered as holocausts was simply pressed out (תקצץ) on the side of the brazen altar,<sup>13</sup> it was, if these birds were presented as sin-offerings, partly *sprinkled* (הקטיר) on the side of the altar, and partly pressed out at its base;<sup>14</sup> though the change had not advanced so far as to direct some of the blood to be put upon the horns of the altar.<sup>15</sup>

The most solemn sacrifices in the whole course of the religious year were doubtless those performed by the High-priest on the Day of Atonement for the expiation of himself and the people; and they

---

the Temple for manuring the fields (comp. *Mishn. Midd.* III. 2).

<sup>7</sup> Lev. IV. 25, 30, 34.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. I. 5, 11; III. 2, 8, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. VII. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Ver. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. IV. 6, 7, 17, 18, 25, 30, 34.

<sup>12</sup> See notes on I. 14—17.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. I. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. V. 9.

<sup>15</sup> It is not in accordance with the spirit of the laws of expiatory offerings to contend that "the sacrifice of two birds was not valuable enough to warrant the putting of their blood upon the horns of the altar, and thus to bring it before God's special presence" (Knobel); for even a less valuable

were, among other characteristics, distinguished by a remarkable mode in the disposal of the blood. The High-priest sprinkled some of it "upon the mercy-seat eastward, and before the mercy-seat seven times",<sup>1</sup> that is, in the Holy of Holies, on that part of the Ark of the Covenant which bore the mysterious figures of the cherubim, the emblems of the Divine presence.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he put a part of the blood round the horns of the altar of incense and sprinkled upon its sides seven times, and he thereby "cleansed it and hallowed it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel."<sup>3</sup> No symbols could possibly be devised more strongly expressive of the craving for union and reconciliation with God.

So essential was the act in sin-offerings, that it took place even in connection with the *red cow*, which was no proper sacrifice, and was slain and burnt without the camp: the blood was sprinkled seven times in the direction of the Tabernacle,<sup>4</sup> to indicate that though that animal had not been killed at the altar, it bore an intimate relation to the Sanctuary and the religious blessings which it secures.<sup>5</sup>

The Law contains no directions or allusions as to the mode of sprinkling. It may be expected that Jewish tradition did not fail to define a ceremony connected with one of the most important points of public worship. Accordingly, the Talmud observes that the blood was sprinkled either above or below a red line drawn round the altar midway between the base and the top: in sin-offerings, above that line, with the index of the right hand, on the horns at the four corners, beginning with the south-eastern, and proceeding round the altar from right to left, successively sprinkling at the north-eastern, north-western, and south-western corner;<sup>6</sup> in burnt-, thank-, and trespass-offerings, below the line, in the following manner: the priest went first to the north-eastern corner, and sprinkled at once upon the eastern and northern sides, then he passed to the south-western corner, and sprinkled the southern and western sides, so that the four sides were sprinkled with two aspersions;<sup>7</sup> while in the offerings of the firstborn and tithe

gift, the tenth of an ephah of flour, was accepted as a sin-offering (Lev. V. 11—13).

<sup>1</sup> Lev. XVI. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. ver. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Vers. 18, 19; and similarly VIII. 15, חטאת אחד המזבח... ויקרשנו לכפר עליו.

<sup>4</sup> אל-נכח פני אהל מועד, Num. XIX. 4.

<sup>5</sup> On the custom of putting, in certain cases, blood upon the right ear,

hand, and foot of persons, as the leper after his recovery, and Aaron and his sons at their consecration (Exod. XXIX. 20; Lev. VIII. 24; XIV. 14), see Comm. in locc.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Mishn. Zevach. V. 3*; Tam. VII. 3.

<sup>7</sup> This is expressed by the phrase רמן טעון שתי מחטות שהן ארבע, i. e. the blood requires two aspersions which are (virtually) four (see *Mishn.*

animals, and in the paschal lamb, one single aspersion sufficed at the lower part of the altar.<sup>8</sup> We need hardly remark that the simple and plain regulations of the Pentateuch utterly repudiate such futile and microscopic subtleties.

Bringing the blood of the victim upon the altar was so completely in harmony with the notions generally entertained of the importance of blood in sacrifices, that it is naturally found among many ancient nations, especially among the Greeks and Romans;<sup>9</sup> in fact, *to sprinkle the altar with blood*<sup>10</sup> was synonymous with *sacrificing*.<sup>11</sup> The Chinese, after cutting the throat of the victim, generally a pig or cock, allow the blood, while still warm, to flow over the hands and feet of the idol, or they sprinkle it on the entire length and surface of the figure;<sup>12</sup> and so the old Teutons sprinkled or smeared the blood drawn from the heart of the victim upon the image of the god, and especially upon its base;<sup>13</sup> sometimes, as in Norway and in the great temple at Hofstader in Iceland, the blood was received in a cauldron specially placed on the altar, and containing the sacrificial twig or rod, with which the blood was marked on the image.<sup>14</sup>

After the blood was sprinkled followed

#### 8. THE FLAYING OF THE ANIMAL (הַפְּשִׁי or הַפְּשִׁי).<sup>15</sup>

In ordinary holocausts, the skin was taken off before the victim was burnt, and fell to the share of the officiating priest. This was probably the case whether the offering consisted of a bullock, a sheep, or a goat, although it is expressly stated with regard to the bullock only.<sup>16</sup> In sin-offerings of the High-priest or of the whole people, the

Zevach V. 4—7; comp. Zechar. IX. 15), and resembled in form the Greek letter Γ (גל רגל, *Maimon. Maas. Hakkorb.* c. 5); comp. also *Mishn. Tam.* IV. 1, etc.

<sup>8</sup> *Mishn. Zevach.* V. 8; see *Maimon. Maas. Hakkorb.* V. 6—10.

<sup>9</sup> Hence the usual phrases τὸ αἷμα περιχέειν τῷ βωμῷ (*Lucian, De Sacrif.* c. 13), or περιάγειν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν (*Euseb. Praep. Ev.* IV. 9), or ἐπιχέειν τῷ βωμῷ (*Eustath. ad Hom. Od.* III. 446), or σπένδειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ αἷμα (*Paus.* VIII. ii. 3, see *supra*), or αἷμα φάλειν πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς (*Porphyr. Abstin.* II. 27; comp. *Plat. De Legg.* VI. 22, p. 782, τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμούς αἵματι μιάνειν); and aras sanguine spargere (*Lucret.* V. 1199, 1200), or

sanguinem arae obfundere (*Tacit. Hist.* II. 3), or sanguinem in aras fundere (*Serrius ad Aen.* III. 321).

<sup>10</sup> Αἱμάσσειν τοὺς βωμούς.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Porphyr. De Abst.* II. 7 (see p. 126); comp. c. 27, ταύρων δ' ἀρχήτοισι πόρους οὐ δύνετο βωμός.

<sup>12</sup> *Neuhof, Sinische Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 105, 126.

<sup>13</sup> *Mone, Geschichte des Heidenthums*, I. 26, 69, 92, 260.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 33 *sqq.*; *Mone*, l. c., p. 294.

<sup>15</sup> The Talmudical rule was פָּנֵי וְרִיחָהוּ קָרַח וְרִיחָהוּ (Talm. Zevachim. 103b, 104a).

<sup>16</sup> Lev. I. 6; VII. 8; see *Rashi*, on Lev. I. 6.

skin was burnt together with the flesh,<sup>1</sup> as was occasionally done by heathen nations;<sup>2</sup> but it was not so destroyed in sin-offerings of a chief or a common Israelite.<sup>3</sup> The flaying was probably performed by a Levite under the direction of the officiating priest,<sup>4</sup> not by the Israelite who presented the offering,<sup>5</sup> since his permissive functions ceased with the slaughtering of the animal, after which commenced the duties of the appointed mediators. But the paschal lamb was, in accordance with its specific nature as an individual and domestic sacrifice, probably flayed by the offering head of the family himself, as the Levites would scarcely have sufficed for the vast number of victims killed simultaneously and within a few hours. The ancient Hebrews seem to have employed a peculiar mode of flaying not known or practised at present; they began to draw off the hide by the feet<sup>6</sup> in a manner that it remained entire and completely connected.<sup>7</sup> For this purpose there were in the Court of the second Temple eight columns with three rows of iron hooks, adapted for beasts of different sizes, since the victims were, during the operation, not to touch the ground; the animals were suspended on the hooks, and flayed on tables placed between the columns.<sup>8</sup>

#### 9. DISSECTING OF THE ANIMAL (נִתְּחָה or נִתְּחָן).<sup>9</sup>

If the entire animal was to be devoted to the flames, as was the case with burnt-offerings, the body was "cut into its pieces",<sup>10</sup> that is, into its natural limbs or members.<sup>11</sup> Although this arrangement probably originated in the eastern custom of serving up the meal cut into pieces or portions, and of roasting it in very small bits,<sup>12</sup> and was perhaps partially devised for placing the animal more conveniently upon the altar, and for facilitating its consumption by the fire; it is

<sup>1</sup> Lev. IV. 11, 12, 20, 21; comp. VIII. 17; IX. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Plut. Sympos.* VI. 8; *Lucian, De Sacrif.* c. 13; *Pausan.* II. xi. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Lev. IV. 26, 31, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. 2 Chr. XXIX. 34; see *Ebn Ezra* on Lev. I. 6.

<sup>5</sup> So *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 200, 351; *Knobel*, Lev. p. 343; *Keil*, Lev. p. 11; *Philippson*, Pent. p. 545.

<sup>6</sup> Hence this process was called *הרגיל*.

<sup>7</sup> See *Talm. Bechor.* 33a (where Rashi explains the term *הרגיל* thus: להפשטראת הבהמה דרך הרגלים, כל (העור שלם).

<sup>8</sup> See *Mishn. Tamid* III. 5; *Middoth* III. 5.

<sup>9</sup> The Sept. has generally *μελίζεν*, the Greek technical term for the dissection of victims; Josephus (*Ant.* III. ix. 1) *διαμελίζεν*; comp. *Dion. Hal.* VII. 72; Philo (*De Victim.* c. 6) ἡ εἰς μέλη τοῦ ζώου διαμερή.

<sup>10</sup> נָחַח לְנֶחָחָהּ, Lev. I. 6; VIII. 20; IX. 13; comp. *Exod.* XXIX. 17.

<sup>11</sup> *Targ. Onkel.* Lev. I. 6, וַיִּפְלֵג יָתָהּ, וַיִּנְחָחָהּ; comp. *Judg.* XXIX. 29, וַיִּנְחָחָהּ; *Philo* (*De Victim.* c. 5), inaccurately, εἰς ἀλόμλητα μέρη διαμερίσθω.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Movers*, *Opferwesen d. Carth.* p. 96.

not impossible that it tended, besides, to make each member appear as a distinct offering, pleading in itself for Divine mercy,<sup>13</sup> in addition to the aggregate bulk of the animal. Hence the parts were probably not divided again into smaller pieces,<sup>14</sup> lest the victim appeared as a confused and chaotic mass of unseemly fragments.<sup>15</sup> Nor is it quite inconceivable that it was designed to characterise the sacrifice as a means of *covenant* between God and the offerer; for it is well known that compacts and treaties were frequently ratified by dissecting animals into pieces through which the contracting parties passed.<sup>16</sup> In thank- and expiatory offerings, the division of the victim into parts to be burnt upon the altar, and others to be handed over to the priest, was almost tantamount to dissection, which is therefore not specially enjoined with respect to those classes of sacrifice. If turtle-doves or pigeons were employed as a holocaust, the head was wrung off and burnt separately;<sup>17</sup> if as a sin-offering, the head was merely wrung at the neck, without, however, being separated from the body;<sup>18</sup> and in either case, the wings were only broken, without being severed entirely; for it evidently appeared expedient to consecrate to the holy flames the small body of the birds as complete as possible;<sup>19</sup> and the wings could scarcely be presented to God as a distinct offering. A proceeding analogous to

<sup>13</sup> Comp. Ezek. XXIV. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Rashi* on Lev. I. 6, לֶחֱלֹק לְחֵצֵי הַחֵטִּי; see also *Maimon. Maas. Hakkorb.* VI. 1—19.

<sup>15</sup> Hence tradition enjoined that the pieces of a holocaust should be so placed upon the altar as to resemble as nearly as possible the form of the living animal (see Sect. XIII. 3). We might understand in this sense the remark of Philo (l.c.), "The whole victim is given over to the flames on the altar, having become many things instead of one, and one instead of many" (γεγονὸς καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἓν): but these terms have, no doubt, a mystical import admitting of various allegorising interpretations; the more so as Philo supposes the same rite to show "that all things are but one, or that they are derived from one and dissolved into one"; or that men are to thank God for the creation as a whole and for all its separate parts.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. XV. 10, 17, 18; Jer. XXXIV.

18—20; and Comm. on Gen. p. 367; to the passages there quoted may be added *Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 111 (*Βοιωτοῖς δὲ δημοσίᾳ καθορμός ἐστι κυνὸς διχοτομηθέντος τῶν μερῶν διεξιθεῖν*); see also *Plut. De Mulier. Virtut.* cap. vii. (*Πύθεω γυνή*); also 1 Sam. XI. 7; and oaths were confirmed by touching the pieces of a dissected victim; in this manner Tyndarcos made the suitors of his daughter Helena swear — *ιστάς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔκρου τῶν τομίων*, *Pausan.* III. xx. 9; comp. *Demosth. Aristocr.* 66 (*στάς ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων κάπρου καὶ κρεῶν καὶ ταύρου*); *Aeschin. Fals. Legat.* 87 (*τίμνοντας τὰ τόμια ... ἐφορίζεσθαι*); *Paus.* IV. xv. 4 (*Ἡρακλῆα ... ὄρκων ἐπὶ τομίων κάπρου ... δεύσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ... λέγουσιν*); *Hom.* II. XIX. 197, etc.; comp. in general, *Bochart, Hieroz.* I. ii. 33, pp. 325, 326.

<sup>17</sup> Lev. I. 15.

<sup>18</sup> Lev. V. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. Gen. XV. 10, רָצַף הָרָצָה לֵךְ.

dissection of quadrupeds, took place in the bloodless oblations that were baked in a pan; they were divided into pieces (מִדֵּי), before a part was burnt on the altar as a memorial.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, "an offering of pieces"<sup>2</sup> was common from early times, and remained in use during long periods.<sup>3</sup>

Some similar practices are found among other ancient nations. The sacrificial tablet of Marseilles enjoins that the honorary portion (מִשְׁמַח) "be cut off in pieces."<sup>4</sup> The Egyptians, on the great festival of Isis, cut off the legs, the extremity of the hips, the shoulders, and the neck of the victims; filled the body with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, and various perfumes; burnt the latter with a profusion of oil, and consumed the pieces at a common banquet.<sup>5</sup> The Romans cut off morsels of meat<sup>6</sup> from the hip, the chine-bone, or other parts, and either burnt them on the altar or laid them before the gods as food.<sup>7</sup> The Greeks cut the animal into small pieces,<sup>8</sup> not at random, but according to certain well-devised rules,<sup>9</sup> probably in order that all who attended at the offering might obtain a piece; so at the great festival in honour of Zeus Polieus, the body of the bull sacrificed to the god, was divided into pieces and distributed among all.<sup>10</sup> In China, the large clay-cow which, at the grand vernal festival, was in solemn procession carried round richly decorated, was finally broken up into fragments which were allotted to the crowd.<sup>11</sup> The ancient Germans dissected the victim, offered one piece to the god, and left the rest to be consumed by the people.<sup>12</sup>

#### 10. WASHING OF THE PARTS OF THE VICTIM (מְרִיחָה or רְחִיצָה).

The bowels and legs of holocausts, previous to being placed upon the altar, were carefully washed,<sup>13</sup> since they are chiefly liable to un-

<sup>1</sup> Lev. II. 5, 6; VI. 14.

<sup>2</sup> מִנְחַח מִדֵּי.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Comm. on VI. 12—16.

<sup>4</sup> ובצורת קצרה, lines 4, 6, 13; or יקצרה, line 10.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. II. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Porriciae, prosiciae, or ablegmina.

<sup>7</sup> See no. 12 of this Section; comp. Voss, Mythol. Briefe, II. p. 376.

<sup>8</sup> Μιστυλλόν τ' ἄρα τᾶλλα; Hom. II. I. 465; II. 428; Od. III. 462; XII. 365; XIV. 430; etc.; Apollon. Rhod. Argon. I. 433 (κόπτον, δαστρεύοντε, καὶ ἱερὰ μῆρ' ἐτάμοντο); Dion. Hal. VII. 72; and so Virg. Aen. I. 212 (pars in frusta secant).

<sup>9</sup> Therefore the phrase μιστυλλόν τ' ἄρ' ἐπισταμένως, Hom. II. VII. 317; XXIV. 623; etc.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Porph. De Abst. II. 29.

<sup>11</sup> Du Halde, Beschreibung des Chin. Reiches, III. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, pp. 27, 34.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. I. 9; VIII. 21; IX. 14; comp. 2 Chr. IV. 6. In the second Temple this was done first privately in a special cell (לשכת מריחמים), and then openly on the marble tables placed before the columns on which the victim was flayed (p. 196); comp. Mishn. Shekal. VI. 4, עשר שלחנות היו

cleanness. This reason sufficed to suggest the law; it is hardly necessary to look for hidden motives or symbolical explanations, such as are pointed out by Philo,<sup>14</sup> who supposes that the cleaning of the bowels exhorts us to purify our appetites, while the cleaning of the feet signifies that "we must no longer walk upon the earth, but soar aloft through the air" by following the impulses of the soul which yearns for Divine truth and longs "to move in concert with the sun, the moon, and all the rest of the most sacred and most harmonious company of the stars, under the immediate command and government of God." As a necessary preliminary to being placed upon the altar, all the offerings were salted, and thus rendered fit to serve as a covenant between God and the worshipper.<sup>15</sup>

### 11. THE RITE OF WAVING (תְּנוּפָה).<sup>16</sup>

Certain offerings or portions of offerings mostly belonging to the eucharistic class, before being put upon the altar, were to pass through a ceremony which the Levitical law calls *waving*. The rite is not described in the Bible; but according to Jewish tradition, it was performed in the following manner. The priest placed the offering in the hands of the offerer,<sup>17</sup> and his own hands under the offerer's hands, after which he made first a motion forward and backward,<sup>18</sup> and then upward and downward,<sup>19</sup> which rites were supposed to indicate, first, that the offering was really the gift of him who presented it; secondly, that it was laid before God by His chosen priests, to whose share it partially fell;<sup>20</sup> and lastly, that it was devoted to the Lord of heaven and earth who rules in every sphere and region;<sup>21</sup> while in the waving of the firstfruit-sheaf, the movement to and fro is said to have been designed to avert obnoxious winds,<sup>22</sup> the movement upwards and down-

במקדש שמנה של שיש בבית המטבחים  
שעליהן מרחין את הקרבים.

<sup>14</sup> De Victim. c. 6.

<sup>15</sup> See Sect. IX. 1; comp. *Talm.* Menach. 21a היין והדם והעצים והקטרת אין (טענין מלח).

<sup>16</sup> Sept. ἀφαιρεμα, ἀφάρωμα, πίθμα; see *infra*.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. Exod. XXIX. 24; Lev. VIII. 27; hence the Sept. πίθμα (Lev. VIII. 29; comp. VII. 30, πίπιθται δόμα). If several persons presented one sacrifice together, one of them only performed the waving in the name of all (comp. *Mishn.* Menach. IX, 9, אחד מנין).

(לכל החברים), whereas in such cases all took part in the imposition of the hand (see p. 176).

<sup>18</sup> מעלה ומוריד <sup>19</sup> מולך ומביא.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. Lev. VII. 34.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. *Talm.* Succ. 37b, מולך ומביא למי שהארבע רוחות שלו מעלה ומוריד למי שהשמים והארץ שלו; *Abarhan.* on Lev. XXIII. 20, p. 57a לששח צודי העולם להראות כי ליהוה (הארץ ומלואה); *Wilsius.* Misc. I. 503 (Deo omnia implenti, omnia tuenti et possidenti victima rite porrecta fuit); see also *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 376—378.

<sup>22</sup> כדי לעצר רוחות רעות.



wards, to avert injurious dews.<sup>1</sup> This rather complex conception is hardly in harmony with the spirit of the Pentateuch. On the one hand, the offerer did not at all co-operate in the rite, which was exclusively performed by priests even in absolutely private offerings.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the Hebrew term does not authorise a movement to the four parts of the globe, but merely one forward and backward,<sup>3</sup> it may be, several times repeated, to mark the gift as *presented* and *dedicated* to God, since men also were "waved."<sup>4</sup>

The following oblations, including both animals or portions of them and vegetables, were associated with the ceremony: the firstfruit-sheaf offered on the second day of Passover;<sup>5</sup> the two firstfruit-loaves presented on Pentecost, and the two lambs which accompanied them;<sup>6</sup> particularly the breast of the ordinary thank-offerings,<sup>7</sup> to which, in the ram of consecration of Aaron and his sons, and in the thank-offerings at the conclusion of the priests' installation, the fat and fat parts, and the right shoulder were exceptionally added;<sup>8</sup> the cereal offerings which accompanied the ram of consecration,<sup>9</sup> the fore-shoulder (זרע) of the ram together with the cereal oblation presented at the comple-

<sup>1</sup> כרי לעצר טללים רעים, *Talm.* Menach. 62a.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Lev. XIV. 12, 24; Num. V. 25; VI. 20; etc.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Isai. X. 15; XI. 15; XIX. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Num. VIII. 10—21; see *infra*; comp. Exod. XXIX. 24, 26, 27; Isai. XLV. 6; Ps. CXIII. 3; Mal. I. 11; also Genes. XLIX. 25; Deut. XXXIII. 13. Hence מנחה is simply a dedicated gift (Exod. XXXV. 22; XXXVIII. 24, 29; Num. XVIII. 11), synonymous with מנחה (comp. Num. XXXI. 52 and Exod. XXXVIII. 24). The view was once extensively upheld, and by a strange anachronism has still its supporters, that the מנחה took the significant form of the cross (comp. *Vitring. Obs.* Sacr. Lib. II. c. 16, p. 457; *Neumann Sacr. Vet. T. Salut.* p. 38); but it was merely assumed from dogmatical or typical conjectures, without the slightest foundation in fact or argument. Michaelis (Suppl. p. 1615) explains the word from a Syriac etymology "depositio rei sacrae ante Jovam et altare"; but the act of offering or surrendering

the oblation was more essential than that of placing it upon the altar; besides the waving and the placing on the altar are mentioned as two separate operations (Num. V. 25). Keil (Lev. p. 51; Arch. I. 244), Öhler (in Herz. X. 640), Hofmann (l. c. p. 283), a. o. believe that, while the movement forward indicated the devotion of the gift to God, the movement backward symbolised that it was taken back and given over by God as a present to the priests, His servants (comp. also Kliefoth, Lit. Abh. IV. 59); but the rite has exclusive reference to the altar, not to the priests. — On להניף in Lev. VII. 30, see Comm. in loc.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. XXIII. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. XXIII. 17, 20.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. VII. 30, 34.

<sup>8</sup> Exod. XXIX. 22, 26; Lev. VIII. 25, 29; IX. 21. From these extraordinary sacrifices it can hardly be concluded, that the fat was always, much less that everything intended for the altar, was waved or heaved.

<sup>9</sup> Exod. XXIX. 23, 24; Lev. VIII. 26.

tion of the Nazirite's vow;<sup>10</sup> the lamb and the log of oil brought by the leper after his recovery;<sup>11</sup> and lastly the offering of jealousy presented by the suspected wife.<sup>12</sup> With the exception of the last, all these sacrifices were, or bore the character of thank-offerings, in which indeed a symbolical acknowledgment of the blessings bestowed by the Lord of Creation was eminently appropriate.<sup>13</sup> Whenever the rite was performed with the entire victim, it preceded the slaughtering.<sup>14</sup> In some cases, the offerings so hallowed were burnt on the altar,<sup>15</sup> while in others, they belonged to the priests.<sup>16</sup> Thus the ceremony, from whatever point it may be viewed, manifests itself as a consecration and surrendering of the gift to God. But its character is still more distinctly revealed by the fact that the Levites also, on their initiation into their solemn functions, underwent the same procedure: for Moses was commanded, "Thou shalt bring the Levites before the Lord; and the children of Israel shall put their hands upon the Levites; and Aaron shall wave the Levites<sup>17</sup> as a wave-offering before the Lord from the children of Israel, that they may execute the service of the Lord":<sup>18</sup> which words leave no doubt with regard to the deeper meaning of this peculiar act. The shew-bread was not waved, because it was marked as holy to God by the very place which it occupied on the golden table of the Sanctuary; nor was the holocaust or the bloodless oblation of the High-priest and the priests at their consecration waved, because they were burnt entirely to God; nor the bloodless offering that accompanied a holocaust or thank-offering, because the latter were sufficiently characterised as sacred; nor the expiatory offerings, whether animal or vegetable, because they were no "food of the Lord."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Num. VI. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. XIV. 12, 24.

<sup>12</sup> Num. V. 25. Comp. *Mishn. Menach.* IX. 9, חטפה נידנת בקרבנות היחיד, ובקרבתו הצבור. בחיים ובשחוט, בדבר שיש בו רוח חיים ובדבר שאין בו רוח חיים.

<sup>13</sup> That most of the portions waved were not consumed on the altar, but surrendered to the priests, makes little difference in the matter; for after they had once been dedicated to God, He disposed of them according to His pleasure; see no. 14 of this Sect.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Lev. XIV. 12, 13, 24, 25; XXIII. 20. According to the *Mishnah* (*Menach. V. 7*), the private thank-offerings were heaved when killed, the

public thank-offerings either alive or killed, and the trespass-offering of the leper alive.

<sup>15</sup> Exod. XXIX. 22, 24; Lev. VIII. 25, 26.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. VII. 31, 34; IX. 21; X. 14, 15; XXIII. 11, 20; Num. V. 25; VI. 20; XIV. 12, 24; comp. also Exod. XXIX. 26; Lev. VIII. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Probably by making them walk forward and backward before the altar, but hardly by conducting them up the elevation that leads to it, or to the door of the Sanctuary, since the Levites officiated before, not at the altar, and in the Court, not in the Holy.

<sup>18</sup> Num. VIII. 10, 11.

<sup>19</sup> See Sect. XV.

## 12. THE RITE OF HEAVING (תְּרוּמָה).

In some passages the rite of *heaving* is mentioned in conjunction with that of waving. It is in the Pentateuch no more described than the latter; nor does the etymology of the term suggest a clear notion; for it merely implies that the offering was passed upwards and downwards, or more probably that it was raised to or towards the altar, which was high,<sup>1</sup> in order to dedicate it to God.<sup>2</sup> The various conjectures hazarded are purely imaginative.<sup>3</sup> The ceremony took place, except in a few extraordinary cases,<sup>4</sup> with the right shoulder of thank-offerings, after which this belonged to the priest.<sup>5</sup>

It is, however, probable that originally the identical rite of waving (חֲנוּפָה) was performed both with the right shoulder and with the breast, those two chief portions of the victim, which in thank-offerings were allotted to the priests,<sup>6</sup> evidently after those parts had been placed upon the fat and the fat pieces;<sup>7</sup> for the term תְּרוּמָה, occasionally employed in connection with the shoulder, signifies merely the consecrated gift or the offering;<sup>8</sup> and it is used in this sense with reference

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Lev. IX. 22, וִירָד; p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Ebn Ezra* on Exod. XXIX. 27, וְאֵין הוֹנֵף כִּמוֹ דְּהוֹרִם כִּי יוֹרֵם לְמַעְלָה וְלֹא יוֹנֵף.

<sup>3</sup> As an instance may be mentioned Neumann's explanation (l. c. p. 35) "Si eam contractat Dei revelationem, quae Hebraeis nomine יהוה adoratur, תְּרוּמָה tendit ad obscuros horrores, qui in appellatione אֱלֹהִים conseruntur: ubi junguntur, nomen iudicii cum nomine gratiae unitum apparet"; a conceit not unworthy of the most uncritical age and school; comp. also Michaelis on Lev. VII. 34, "Presents might be humbly presented to a king, either by lifting them up to his throne, or by laying them down at his feet"; but the latter meaning does not lie in the derivation of חֲנוּפָה, from הָנַף to turn, to move.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. VIII. 25, 29; IX. 21; see *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. VII. 30—34; X. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. XXIX. 24; Lev. VIII. 27; Num. VI. 20; see notes on Lev. X. 12—15.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. IX. 20, 21; X. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. VII. 14; Num. XVIII. 8, 11;

so that תְּרוּמָה is formed from תְּרוֹם as תְּרוֹם from תָּרַם; and is, therefore, an equivalent of חֲנוּפָה (see *supra*), with which it is sometimes employed promiscuously (comp. Exod. XXXV. 21, 24 and 22; XXXVIII. 24 and Num. XXXI. 52; see Num. XVIII. 11. Ewald (*Alterth.* p. 79) translates 'תָּרַם' and 'תְּרוּמָה' aptly *Weihung und Schenkung*; Sept. generally ἀφοσμία καὶ ἀγαλία, though it does not consistently maintain the distinction between the two notions; Vulg. in Exod. XXIX. 24 explains rather than translates the words וְהִנַּפְתָּ אֹתָם חֲנוּפָה by et sanctificabis eos elevans coram Domino. On the Punic tablet of Marseilles, תְּרוּמָה occurs repeatedly for *honorary portion of sacrificial meat* (from תָּרַם in the sense of *vocem tollere, to vow, to dedicate*; Levy, *Phoen. Stud.* III. pp. 45, 60; see *supra* p. 72 note 3; comp. תְּרוּמָה, Gen. XLIII. 34; 2 Sam. XI. 8; see also Jer. XL. 5; Am. V. 11; Esth. II. 18; *Movers*, *Opferwes. der Carth.* pp. 89—91, 127, 126), though in other Phœnician inscriptions that word is used as a synonym of נָדָה *vow*.

to all oblations presented to God and to all imposts paid to the priests,<sup>9</sup> to taxes consisting of animals and productions of the soil, as firstborn beasts and tithes, of gold and silver, of territory and pious contributions of any kind.<sup>10</sup> However, it seems impossible to deny<sup>11</sup> that in several passages the *heaving* (תרומה) appears as a distinct ceremony in some way analogous to the *waving* (תנופה); as, for instance, "Thou shalt sanctify the breast of the wave-offering, and the shoulder of the heave-offering, which is waved and which is heaved up, of the ram of consecration";<sup>12</sup> here the parallel cannot be mistaken, and it must be admitted that Hebrew ritualists of a later date, deriving תרומה from תרם not in the meaning of *giving* and *presenting*, but of *lifting up*, understood it as the rite of heaving, in the sense above described:<sup>13</sup> but we need hardly remark that it would be erroneous to attribute this meaning to the word everywhere, as has been done both by ancient and recent writers.<sup>14</sup>

No decided analogy to the Hebrew rites of waving and heaving can be discovered among other nations. The supposed allusions on the sacrificial tablet of Marseilles are too uncertain for clear inferences.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Num. XV. 19, 20; XVIII. 19, 24, 26 *sqq.*; Deut. XII. 6, 11, 17; Neh. X. 38; XII. 44; XIII. 5; Sept. in Exod. XXV. 2 ἀπαρχαὶ *firstfruits*; in Exod. XXX. 13 εἰσφορά *tax*.

<sup>10</sup> Exod. XXV. 2—7; XXX. 13—15; XXXV. 5, 21, 24; XXXVI. 3, 6; Lev. XXII. 12; Num. V. 9; XXXI. 28, 41, 52; Isai. XL. 20; Ezek. XX. 40; XLV. 1, 13, 16; XLVIII. 8—12, 20; Mal. III. 8; Ezra VIII. 25; and תרם with תן means simply *to take off* (Lev. II. 9 — like קטף in ver. 2 — IV. 8, 10 — like תרם in vers. 31, 35 — 19; VI. 8; Num. XVIII. 26, 30, 32; comp. also Lev. IV. 8 and III. 3); so that תרומה would be *a portion set apart* to God, (thus Onkelos תרומה, in Exod. XXV. 2; XXX. 13; XXXV. 21; Lev. VII. 34; etc.; Sept. ἀπαρχα in Ex. XXXV. 21; Germ. *Abgabe*; though this does not apply to Num. XXXI. 50, 52, where all the gold was a תרומה); and תרם with ליהוה *to dedicate to God* (Lev. XXII. 15), like תרם ליהוה (Exod. XXXV. 22; comp. Num. VIII. 13); whereas the phrase תרם אל-יהוה or תרם ליהוה never occurs.

<sup>11</sup> As has been done by Gesenius (Thes. p. 1277, although in an earlier part of his work, Thes. p. 866, he seems to incline to the received opinion); Knobel (Comm. p. 413); Öhler (l. c. p. 641), F. W. Schultz (Das Deuteronomium erklärt, pp. 397, 398); see, on the other hand, Kurtz, Opfere. §§ 133—136, where, however, not all arguments are equally acceptable.

<sup>12</sup> Exod. XXIX. 27; comp. Lev. VII. 34; X. 14, 15; Num. VI. 20.

<sup>13</sup> It is not impossible that they "connected the waving with God's dwelling in the Tabernacle among His people, but the heaving with His residing in heaven" (Kurtz l. c. p. 234).

<sup>14</sup> As Reland (Antiqq. Sacr. III. i. 17), Carpzov (Appar. pp. 709 *sqq.*), Outram (De Sacrif. p. 162), Bauer, Gottesd. Verf. I. 135—137, Bähr (Symb. II. 355 *sqq.*), Ewald (Alterth. pp. 79—81), Winer (Real-Wört. II. 677, 678), Kurtz, (l. c. § 136), a. o.

<sup>15</sup> Supposed even that the words in line 20, כל כהן אשר יקח משאת בר צל, are to be translated "every priest who takes an honorary

It is true, the Romans designated the act of offering to the gods the entrails of victims, or of laying them upon the altar or at any other appropriate place, by the special and technical term *porricere*;<sup>1</sup> but that term, merely retained from the old religious phraseology,<sup>2</sup> implied no ceremony or fixed form of dedication. The eastern and imaginative character of the Hebrews was more fertile and inventive in significant religious symbols.

### 13. THE BURNING OF THE OFFERING.<sup>3</sup>

The sacrificial rites were completed by the combustion of the offering or of those parts of it that were destined for the deity. Though common to animal and vegetable sacrifices, the act and its meaning are best understood in reference to the former. In bringing the victim to the door of the Sanctuary, the worshipper signified his intention of devoting it to God; by the imposition of the hand he marked it as his own gift and his substitute; as such he proved and surrendered it by the act of killing; then the sprinkling of the blood signified the devo-

portion, single, roasted in fire, puts it into the hand of him who moves", it is impossible to ascertain the nature and object of that "moving"; were it analogous to הניף or הרים, we should expect a causative form הניף, not the intransitive נף; besides, waving and heaving took place with the raw, not with roasted pieces. Movers (l. c. p. 126) explains, "it denotes the solemn manner in which the offerer, with the sacrificial portions in his hands, moved in different directions, as if to seek the deity, at whatever part it might be, and to invite his acceptance of the gift" (comp. pp. 124, 125); but הניף and הרים imply the moving of the oblation, not of the offerer.

<sup>1</sup> For porrigere, projicere; comp. *Macrobius* III. 2, et ex disciplina haruspicum, et ex praecepto pontificum verbum hoc solemne sacrificantibus est; Varro (R. R. I. 29) explains it, exta deis cum dabant, porricere dicebant; and Varianus (after Q. Fabius Pictor in *Macrobius* l. c.), exta porriciunt, diis danto in altaria aramve focumve, eove quo exta dari debebunt; comp. also *Virg. Aen.* V. 237, 238 (Extaque salsos porriciam in fluctus), 775, 776; see also *Plaut.*

*Ps.* I. iii. 34; *Liv.* XXIX. 27; therefore, *porrectum* was used in contradistinction to *profanum* (see *Festus* sub *profanum*); and *porriciae* were consecrated gifts, whether consisting of sacrificial pieces or other oblations, exactly like הניפה (see *Solin.* V. 23; *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 25, *praesiciae*, *prosiciae*).

<sup>2</sup> Like *commovere* (*struem*) and *ob-movere* (*ferctum*), *Cat. R. R.* 134.

<sup>3</sup> The usual term for burning sacrifices on the altar is הִקְטִיר, that is, to make rise in smoke (comp. קִיטַר *smoke*, *Gen.* XIX. 28; *Ps.* CXIX. 83); hence קִטּוֹרָה (*Deut.* XXXIII. 10) or קִטְרָה *incense*, which was entirely burnt on the altar; and it is employed with reference to all classes of sacrifice (*Lev.* I. 9, 17; II. 2, 9; III. 5, 11, 16; IV. 10, 19, 26; V. 12; VI. 8, 15; VII. 5; etc.); whereas burning elsewhere and not in connection with the service of the altar is expressed by שָׂרַף (*Exod.* XII. 10; XXIX. 14, 34; *Lev.* IV. 12, 21; VI. 23; VIII. 17, 32; IX. 11; XVI. 27; *Num.* XIX. 5; etc.); comp. a similar distinction between profane and clerical terms in טָבַח and זָבַח, to slaughter for consumption and to kill as a sacrifice; a. o.

tion or wrought the justification of his soul; while lastly the burning, that is, not the annihilation<sup>4</sup> but the rising up of the offering in smoke, represented the soaring of the soul, cleansed and hallowed, heavenward to the throne of God, who graciously accepts the humble oblation. It indicated that the end of the sacrifice was fully attained;<sup>5</sup> for it practically gave up the sacrifice as "the food of God", and as "the offering made by fire, a sweet odour to the Lord." It was, therefore, the final consummation of the pious deed.<sup>6</sup> In holocausts and thank-offerings, it symbolised the worshipper's unlimited submission to God, whether in reverence or gratitude, but in expiatory sacrifices, it typified the complete removal or covering (כפר) of the transgressions thenceforward effaced in the sight of God.<sup>7</sup> It was equal in significance to the imposition of the hand and the sprinkling of the blood. For these three rites mirrored the chief stages in the inward transformation of the offerer — from his feeling of meek dependence or of sinfulness, through the hope of moral liberty and atonement, to the certainty of acceptance and spiritual regeneration. One of them possessed pre-eminent weight in one of the three chief classes of sacrifice — the burning in holocausts, the sprinkling of the blood in expiatory offerings, and the imposition of the hand in thank-offerings; and thus the specific character of each is unmistakably marked.<sup>8</sup> In any case a portion of the victim was burnt on the altar, and it was this circumstance that stamped the animal as a *sacrifice*<sup>9</sup> — in holocausts, the whole animal with the exception of the skin; in eucharistic and most of the expiatory offerings, the fat and some fat parts which might well be taken to represent the whole victim;<sup>10</sup> while in the most solemn of the sin-offerings, those killed for the High-priest or the whole people, the remaining flesh together with the hide was burnt, in a clean place, without the camp or town, where the ashes, temporarily preserved in the Court eastward of the brazen altar,<sup>11</sup> were poured out<sup>12</sup> by a priest

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Avr/*: L c. p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Hence הקטיר is not only used as coordinate with זבח (1 Ki. III. 3, מזבח ומקטיר), but assumes the general sense of *sacrificing* (1 Ki. XIII. 1; Jer. XLVIII. 35; Hos. II. 15; 1 Chr. XXIII. 13; 2 Chr. II. 5; etc.).

<sup>6</sup> Considering the importance of this part of the ritual, Jewish tradition declared that the fire was to be put on the altar by priests, not by Levites, and not by less than two persons; see *Ebn Ezra* on Lev. I. 7.

<sup>7</sup> The ideas of substitution and vicarious suffering are expressed by the killing, not the burning of the victim.

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 1—4.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Isai. I. 11; see Sect. XIII. XIV.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. I. 16, מקום הקטן.

<sup>12</sup> טָפַף הַקֹּחַ; Lev. IV. 11, 12, 21; VI. 4; VIII. 17; IX. 11; see Sect. XV. In the time of the second Temple, there was a house for the reception of the ashes, בית האשן (*Mishn. Meil. II. 4; Maimon. Maas. Hakkorb. VII. 2, 3, or*



not clad in his pontifical robes or his official garments of white linen, but in his ordinary dress;<sup>1</sup> for the flesh could, in those cases, not be burnt on the altar, nor within the camp or holy city which represented the community of God, because the victims had been laden with the punishment of those in whose name they had been offered:<sup>2</sup> yet it could be burnt in a clean spot only, because it was the flesh of sacrifices, which could never be divested of their sacred character, and inherently differed from ordinary animals.

The bloodless offering of the High-priest and the priests was burnt entirely;<sup>3</sup> for it could not be consumed by priests, because they were the offerers, nor could it be allowed to the Israelites, because none of them was entitled to touch the "food of God." In all other vegetable oblations, which, with a few remarkable exceptions, were invariably accompanied by incense and oil,<sup>4</sup> a small portion only, generally a hand-full, was burnt by the priest on the altar, together with all the frank-incense, as "a sweet odour" or as a "memorial" (מִזְכָּרָה) to God, significantly so called,<sup>5</sup> because it was designed to bring the worshipper into the grateful remembrance of God,<sup>6</sup> whether the *nunchah* was the usual cereal gift,<sup>7</sup> or the extraordinary offering presented in cases of conjugal jealousy,<sup>8</sup> or merely the frank-incense put on the shew-bread and then burnt.<sup>9</sup> This explanation, simple and obvious as it is, seems in harmony with the whole sacrificial ritual, and therefore preferable to the various conjectures that have been ventured; so it has been maintained that the "memorial" indicated the proclamation, diffusion, or praise of the name of God;<sup>9</sup> but the burnt portions, rising on the

בִּיחַד הַשְּׂרָפָה (*Mishn. Kerith. VI. 2; Yom. III. 2; VI. 7*). The "red cow" intended for purposes of purification, was both killed and burnt without the camp (Num. XIX. 5, 9); it was brought into no connection with the altar, and it was therefore no sacrifice (see p. 194).

<sup>1</sup> Lev. VI. 4, see Comm. in loc. This circumstance proves sufficiently that the ashes and its removal possessed no religious or symbolical character, though as the residue of that which had been consumed on the holy altar, the ashes claimed a certain consideration, and were therefore deposited in a clean place, and according to later regulations by a priest who had prepared himself by bathing (comp. *Mishn. Tam. I. 2, מִי שֶׁהָיָה רֹצֵה לְתָרוֹם מִשְׁכִּים*

(וּמִטְבֵּל). Unnecessary are the speculative or typical interpretations of Baumgarten (Comm. p. 141), Michaelis (Typ. Gottesg. p. 75), Brentano (Comm. on IV. 12), a. o.

<sup>2</sup> See Sect. XVIII.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. VI. 15, 16.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 114—120.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the pregnant phrase מִזְכָּרָה לְבָנָה (Isai. LXVI. 3) *he who offers incense as a memorial*. The מִזְכָּרָה was, therefore, not meant "to testify the offerer's remembrance of God" (Vater); see notes on II. 1—3, Philological Remarks.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Lev. II. 2, 9, 16; VI. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Num. V. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. XXIV. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Bähr*, Symb. II. 328.



altar as the principal or exclusive gift of the offerer, were meant to plead *his* cause, not to glorify God; it cannot be proved that the term was originally applied to frank-incense only, which typified the name of God, and that it was gradually extended to all the parts of the sacrifices which, like frank-incense, were burnt to God.<sup>10</sup> Nor do we require mysterious interpretations—for instance, that the burning of the sacrifice was “a yielding up to the Lord of the body with its members, powers, and instincts”, to be purified from frivolity and sin by the fire of “the sacred and sanctifying spirit of God”;<sup>11</sup> or that it intended to purify the *offering*, “the earthly elements” of which were said to remain behind, while “its proper essence rose to heaven in finest and aerial embodiment”,<sup>12</sup> or “divested of its material form and changed from a terrestrial into a heavenly nature.”<sup>13</sup> the oblation, in itself pure, was delivered up to the fire not for its own sake, but for the relation it bore to the worshipper and to God. But we are utterly unable to understand the process of reasoning which suggested the opinion, that the burning of the sacrifice — the hope and means of grace — typified the *eternal punishment of hell*, wherefore the fire on the brazen altar, miraculously kindled by lightening from heaven, was to burn perpetually, and salt, the emblem of permanence,<sup>14</sup> was to be employed with every offering:<sup>15</sup> an opinion which confusedly throws the flesh of sin-offerings into the same category as the oil and incense of vegetable oblations, and which interprets the “sweet odour” ascending to God to mean the unspeakable and ever relentless torture of wretched sinners.

It is true that the smell of the burnt animals or of parts of them must have been most offensive;<sup>16</sup> we can well understand the surprise of strangers who asked, “whether the smoke and stench of burning hides, bones, bristles, fleeces, and feathers, a smell intolerable to the sacrificers themselves, could possibly be pleasing to the deity”;<sup>17</sup> and

<sup>10</sup> See pp. 116—120.

<sup>11</sup> *Keil*, Archæol. I. p. 210; comp. p. 231; Comm. on Lev. p. 17; similarly also *Hirscher* (Christl. Moral, I. p. 327); *Hasenkamp*, Kalnis (Dogm. I. 272 “the purification of man reconciled with God by the fire of the holy ghost”), *Philippson* (Pentat. p. 570, the burning is a symbol of the transition and the transformation of the visible and earthly into the invisible and Divine by means of purification). *Kurtz* (Opfsc. pp. 130—132) has, if not retracted, at least modified, a similar opinion advocated

in a previous work (*Mos. Opfsc.* pp. 87 sqq.).

<sup>12</sup> *Kurtz*, I. c. p. 125.

<sup>13</sup> *Kliefoth*, I. c. p. 62.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Lev. IX. 24, and Comm. in loc.; Sect. IX. 1.

<sup>15</sup> So *Michaelis*, Typische Gottesgelahrth. pp. 62—64; *Meyer*, Blätter für die höhere Wahrh. X. 51—53; *De Maistre*, Abendstunden, II. 354; and others; comp. Isai. LXVI. 24; Mark IX. 43—45; see *Bähr*, Symb. II. 349; *Kurtz*, Opfsc. § 73.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. *Theodor.* Quaest. 62 in Exod.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Arnob.* Adv. Nat. VII. 16,

it is not impossible that the desire to counteract that ill-odour originally prompted the addition of the frank-incense.<sup>1</sup> But it ought to be remembered that the sacrifices had an ulterior or symbolical significance; that the burning of the victim or of its best parts, whatever the attendant circumstances, was an act of self-denial, or of pious submission, or of grateful acknowledgement, and that the physical inconvenience which it engendered, was utterly insignificant compared with the noble and spiritual ends desired.<sup>2</sup>

The sacrificial portions, unless placed before the gods as *lectisternia*,<sup>3</sup> were by most other nations also devoted to them by means of the flames; in which respect we find even the curious notion that the smoke of the burning oblation carried the worshipper's name to the knowledge and the abode of the deity.<sup>4</sup> The Thebans in Egypt buried in a sacred vault the ram which they annually killed in honour of Jupiter and Hercules;<sup>5</sup> and the Phocaeans in Tithorea buried in an appointed place the remains of victims killed at the festivals in honour of Isis.<sup>6</sup> The Scythians, after having strangled the victim completed the sacrifice, "without kindling any fire."<sup>7</sup> The Greeks generally buried the animals slain to propitiate the lower gods<sup>8</sup> or to ratify oaths;<sup>9</sup> and both Greeks and Romans threw the dedicated portions of victims destined for marine deities into the sea.<sup>10</sup> But flesh buried or thrown into the water is inseparable from putrefaction, a notion scrupulously avoided in connection with sacrifices;<sup>11</sup> while the burning not only makes the offering *rise* heavenward towards the Divine abode,<sup>12</sup> but

Ergone ille putor qui ex coriis tollitur, atque exspirat ardentibus, qui ex ossibus, qui ex setis, ex agnorum lanitiis gallinarumque deplumis, dei munus et honor est, mactanturque hoc illi quorum templa cum adire disponitis, ab omni vos labe puros, lautos castissimosque praestatis?; comp. cc. 15—17.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 118.      <sup>2</sup> Comp. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Lucian*, *Ikaromen.* c. 26, ὁ καπνὸς ἀνιὼν ἀπήγγελλε τῷ Δεὶ τοῦ θύοντος ἐκείνου τοῦνομα.

<sup>5</sup> *Herod.* II. 42; comp. *Lucian*, *De Sacrif.* c. 15, οἱ δὲ καὶ θάπτουσι μόνον ἀποσφάζαντες.      <sup>6</sup> *Pausan.* X. xxxii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Herod.* IV. 60; see p. 156.

<sup>8</sup> *Euseb.* *Praep. Ev.* IV. 9, Λεργαρίον κατέθαπτε, καὶ εἰς βόθρον αἷμα ἔαλλε; and καὶ θάπτειν τοῦτοις — τοῖς ὑπε-

χθονίοις — θύοντας τὰ σώματα; comp. also *Pausan.* II. xxxi. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Pausan.* III. xx. 9 (ἐξορκίῳ δὲ τὸν ἵππον κατέρυξεν ἐνταῦθα); see p. 197.

<sup>10</sup> *Virg.* *Aen.* V. 237, 238, 775, 776; *Liv.* XXIX. 27 (secundum eas preces cruda exta victimae, uti mos est, in mare porricit); see p. 187.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. pp. 133, 134.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. ἡ ὕψις 'burnt-offering' (Section XIII); *Hom.* II. I. 317 (κρίση δ' οὐρανὸν ἔκιν' ἐλίσσασθ' ἐπεὶ καπνὸς); VIII. 549 (κρίσην δ' ἐκ πεδίου ἀνέμοι φέρον οὐρανὸν εἶσω); etc.; *Pind.* *Isthm.* III. (or IV) 110, 111 (φλόξ αἰθέρα κινεῖσάντε λακτίσεια καπνῷ); *Lucian*, *Sacrif.* c. 9; *Prometh.* 5; *Cauc.* c. 19; see also pp. 6, 7. Tholuck (*Das A. T. im N. T.* p. 79) observes, "the rising smoke

secures a complete and perfect removal, free from all impurity,<sup>13</sup> on which subject more will be said in another place.<sup>14</sup>

#### 14. SACRIFICIAL MEALS.

Lest any act connected with pious offerings should have been meaningless, a symbolical significance was attached even to those parts that were not burnt on the altar, but eaten either by priests or Israelites. Indeed sacrificial meals formed, in one of the chief classes of offering, the most prominent and characteristic feature. They could of course not take place in holocausts which were burnt on the altar entirely, with the exception of the skin;<sup>15</sup> nor in the most important sin-offerings — those slain for the whole people or for the High-priest —, which were partly burnt on the altar and partly without the camp;<sup>16</sup> nor in the bloodless oblations of the High-priest and the common priests, which were also delivered to the flames entirely,<sup>17</sup> since they could appropriately be eaten neither by the offering Aaronites nor the inferior Israelites. But the meals were ordained in reference to all other offerings, though they differed in meaning and in the degrees of importance. The bloodless oblations presented by Israelites fell to the share of the priests, with the exception of the "memorial" (זִכְרֹה), and were to be consumed by the *males* among them alone, in the holy place, that is, in the Court of the Sanctuary, near the altar,<sup>18</sup> where the solemn act had been performed, and later in special cells at the side of the Court of the Temple;<sup>19</sup> for those oblations were "most holy":<sup>20</sup>

of sacrifices is not less an unconscious symbolism than the uplifting of the hands at prayers." The Greek verbs *θύειν* to sacrifice, and *θύειν* to rush along or to rage, seem to belong to different roots; for in the former the first syllable is predominantly short, in the latter long; *θύειν* can, therefore, hardly be explained to refer to the flame or smoke rising up from the altar (so *Curtius*, Gr. Etym. I. 224; *Benfey*, Gr. Wurzellexic. II. 271; *Pott*, Etymol. Forschungen, I. 1—211); since *θύειν* in the second meaning occurs only in connection with the rushing of wind or waves or blood (*Hom. Od.* XI. 420; XII. 400; II. XXI. 234).

<sup>13</sup> Comp. Lev. VII. 19; Zech. XIII. 9; Sir. II. 5; 1 Cor. III. 15.

<sup>14</sup> See Comm. on VI. 1—11.

<sup>15</sup> Lev. I. 6; VII. 8. <sup>16</sup> See p. 205.

<sup>17</sup> Lev. VI. 15 (חֵק עֹלֹם לִיהוָה כָּלִיל) (חֵקֶטֶר), 16 (כָּלִיל חֲדִידָה לֹא תֹאכַל); comp. *Joseph. Ant.* III. ix. 4, *ἱερεὺς δὲ νομίσαντος καὶ ὁμοσπονδοῦν, ὁλοκαυτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον*.

<sup>18</sup> מִצֵּל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, Lev. X. 12.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. Ezek. XLII. 13, הִנֵּה לְשֹׁכֹחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר יֹאכְלוּ שָׁם הַכֹּהֲנִים קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדֶשִׁים.

<sup>20</sup> קֹדֶשׁ קֹדֶשִׁים, see p. 76; comp. Lev. II. 3, 10; VI. 9, 11; X. 12, 13. — The Mishnah (Zevach. XIV. 4—8; comp. Megill. I. 11) makes the following historical remark. After the Tabernacle had been erected, the "most holy" sacrifices were invariably eaten "within the curtains" of the sacred structure (לְפָנִים מִן הַקִּלְעִים); but as regards the sacrifices of less holiness (קֹדֶשִׁים קְלִיִּם), the practice changed: while the Hebrews wandered in the

in which respect the provident arrangement was made that some of the oblations — namely those prepared in an oven, a pan, or a cauldron — were allotted to the officiating priest individually, while others — especially those consisting of flour only whether mixed with oil or not — were assigned to all the Aaronites collectively, to serve as their common sustenance.<sup>1</sup> In praise-offerings, four kinds of cake accompanied the animal sacrifice; one cake of each sort was delivered up to the priest who performed the sprinkling,<sup>2</sup> and who had to eat his portion also on the consecrated spot, near the Divine abode. Though in these cases the ordinances served chiefly the material subsistence of the elected tribe, they aimed also at hallowing the remains of the gifts that had been dedicated to God and which He graciously allowed to His servants. Analogous to these bloodless oblations were the trespass-offerings, the flesh of which belonged, in the first instance, to the acting priest, but might be shared by him with all the males of his order, and was to be consumed in the Court of the sacred edifice.<sup>3</sup>

But the case was different with respect to those less important sin-offerings of which no blood had been brought into the interior of the Sanctuary; the priests received as their portion all the flesh that had not been burnt on the altar, and they, the male Aaronites exclusively, were bound to eat it in the holy place,<sup>4</sup> to indicate by that meal, that they were the appointed mediators of propitiation between God and the Israelites; for God gave them the sin-offering "to remove the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord":<sup>5</sup> the repast was a part of their official functions; its omission was a grave offence and a criminal dereliction of duty certain to

---

desert, those offerings were consumed within the circumference of the camp; while the Tabernacle was in Gilgal, at any place; while in Shilo, anywhere in its vicinity from where the town was visible; while in Nob and Gibeon, in all cities of Israel; but when the ark was transferred to Jerusalem, within the walls of this town: in the last cases, the regulations included the second tithes also. It needs hardly to be remarked that these statements of the Mishnah are not based upon any, much less upon reliable tradition, but are purely speculative and obviously fanciful (comp. p. 29 note 24).

<sup>1</sup> Lev. VII. 9, 10; see Sect. XI.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. VII. 12—14.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Lev. VII. 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Mishnah*, Zevach. V. 3, וטאכלים לפני מן הקלעים לזכר הכרונה, adding ככל מכל in whatever preparation (comp. X. 7, וככל הכרונה רשאים לשנות באכילתן לאכלן צלויים שלוקים ומבושלים וכי; see also 1 Sam. II. 13; 2 Chr. XXXV. 13), limiting, though without Scriptural authority, the time to the day of the sacrifices to midnight (ליום ולילה עד חצות), like the praise-offerings (see *infra*), and extending the same restriction to the trespass- and public thank-offerings and to cereal oblations (V. 5; VI. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Lev. X. 17; see *Philo*, Vict. 11.

provoke the dire anger of God.<sup>6</sup> — The nature of the sacrificial meal was still more marked in reference to eucharistic sacrifices (שְׁלֵמִים); for it constituted their distinctive trait. It appears indeed that the public thank-offerings were entirely handed over to the priests, with the exception of the fat and fat parts which were burnt on the altar; this is at least certain with respect to the two lambs which, on Pentecost, were presented with the first-fruit loaves as שְׁלֵמִים,<sup>7</sup> and is fully in accordance with the character of the class, though a general and distinct precept is not given in the Pentateuch:<sup>8</sup> thus the public thank-offerings would, with regard to the meals, fall into the same category as the trespass-offerings. But the flesh of private thank-offerings was so divided that the fat and fat parts were burnt on the altar,<sup>9</sup> the right shoulder was surrendered to the officiating priest, and the breast to all the Aaronites as common provision,<sup>10</sup> while the remainder was left to the offering Israelite. Now the portions reserved to the priests could be eaten by them together with their families and servants, both males and females, at any place, provided it was levitically clean:<sup>11</sup> the meal had therefore not, like that connected with sin-offerings, an official or symbolical character, but it was merely designed for the external support of the priests and the maintenance of their households, or as a compensation and return for their services at the Sanctuary. But very different was the repast of the offering Israelite on such occasions. He had to eat his portions of the eucharistic sacrifice, within a fixed and limited time,<sup>12</sup> not only with his family, his wife, his sons, and his daughters, nor only with his man-servants and his maid-servants, but he was enjoined to invite also as his guests poor people, especially Levites who had no certain or regular income; the meal was to be held, not at any place the offerer might chose, but within the town of the common Sanctuary alone;<sup>13</sup> and all those who partook of it were rigidly ordered to be free from uncleanness, a contravention of which command was threatened with excision.<sup>14</sup> Similar regulations

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Lev. X. 16—18; see also Sect. XV.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. XXIII. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. XXVII. 7 does not harmonize with it; but 1 Ki. VIII. 63, being obviously an historical exaggeration, deserves no notice; see p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. III. 3—5, 9—11, 14—16; VII. 31.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. VII. 31—34; X. 14, 15.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. X. 14; comp. *Mishn.* Zevach. V. 6, 7, המזבח נאכל לכהנים ולשירים, ולבניהם ולעבדיהם.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. VII. 15—18; XIX. 5—8; XXII. 29, 30; comp. Exod. XII. 10; XXIX. 34; Lev. VIII. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Kelim, I. 8, לפניו מן המזבח... שאוכלים שם קדשים קלים; or more fully Zevach. V. 6, 7, נאכלים בכל העיר לכל אדם בכל מאכל.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Lev. VII. 19—21; Deut. XII. 6, 7, 11, 12; comp. XVI. 11, 14; 1 Sam. IX. 12, 13, 19, 22—24; XVI. 3, 5 (התקדש ובאתם אחי בזבח ויקדש אחד) (יש ואחד-בני); 2 Sam. VI. 18, 19.

obtained with regard to the tithes of corn, wine, and oil, the firstlings of the herds and flocks,<sup>1</sup> to vows and free-will gifts of any kind.<sup>2</sup> The character of these feasts cannot be mistaken; it was that of joyfulness tempered by solemnity, of solemnity relieved by joyfulness: the worshipper had submitted to God an offering from his property; he received back from Him a part of the dedicated gift, and thus experienced anew the same gracious beneficence which had enabled him to appear with his wealth before the altar; he therefore consumed that portion with feelings of humility and thankfulness; but he was bidden at once practically to manifest those blissful sentiments by sharing the meat not only with his household, which thereby was reminded of the Divine protection and mercy, but also with his needy fellow-beings, whether laymen or servants of the Temple. Thus these beautiful repasts were stamped both with religious emotion and human virtue. The relation of friendship between God and the offerer which the sacrifice exhibited, was expressed and sealed by the feast which intensified that relation into one of an actual *covenant*;<sup>3</sup> the momentary harmony was extended to a permanent union;<sup>4</sup> and these notions could not be expressed more intelligibly, at least to an eastern people, than by a common meal, which to them is the familiar image of friendship and communion, of cheerfulness and joy: thus when Isaac and Abimelech made a league, the former "gave a feast, and they ate and drank";<sup>5</sup> and when Jacob concluded a treaty with Laban, they made a pile of stones, "and they ate there upon the pile."<sup>6</sup> Thus the eucharistic repasts were the emblems of that community into which the sacrificer entered with the Deity; a conception found among other nations also.<sup>7</sup> Some critics have expressed an opposite view, contending that the offerer was not considered as the guest of God, but, on

<sup>1</sup> According to the Deuteronomist; see *Treatise on Priesthood*, section III.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. XII. 6, 7, 11, 12, 17, 18; comp. *Mishnah*, Zevach. V. 8.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 2, 10. The Lord's Supper has by Christian writers been conceived as a sacrificial meal of a similar nature and import (comp. *Delitzsch*, *Comm. zum Brief an die Hebr.* pp. 747, 748), a view which is indeed not without foundation in the N. T., comp. 1 Cor. X. 16—21; see also John VI. 45—58.

<sup>4</sup> But it is inadmissible to speak of a "unio mystica" with God (so Kurtz),

or of the "blessedness of the kingdom of heaven which it prefigures, since the earthly food, by having partially been given up to God, had become a symbol of the true celestial food" (Keil); in which exaggerations the truth which they imply is veiled, if not lost.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. XXVI. 28, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. XXXI. 46; comp. Josh. IX. 14, 15; Ps. XXIII. 5; Matth. XXII. 4; Luke XIV. 15; *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 373.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, among the Greeks; the Scholiast to Hom. II. III. 310 observes, ἡγοῦντο γὰρ ὡς περ συσσεύεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς.



the contrary, God as the guest of the offerer:<sup>8</sup> but this is against the clear expressions of the Law; the sacrificer surrendered the whole victim to the Deity,<sup>9</sup> and confirmed his intention by burning on the altar the fat parts, which represented the entire victim; he could not well invite as his guests at once God and his household together with strangers; and the apostle Paul says distinctly, "are not they who eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar" or "of the Lord's table?"<sup>10</sup> Philo observes, therefore, aptly: "the sacrifice, when once placed on the altar, is no longer the property of the person who offered it, but belongs to Him to whom the victim is sacrificed, who, being a beneficent and bounteous God, makes the whole company of those who offer the sacrifice, partakers at the altar and messmates, only admonishing them not to look upon it as their own feast, for they are but stewards of the feast, and not the entertainers."<sup>11</sup>

The matter being so understood by the Hebrews, a participation in the meals of idolatrous sacrifices was deemed a fatal offence;<sup>12</sup> for it was almost tantamount to the acknowledgment and worship of heathen gods; the Israelites who shared the feasts of Baal-Peor in the time of Moses, were represented as having been directly devoted to the service of that idol; the Moabites "called the people to the sacrifices of their gods; and the people ate and bowed down to their gods; and Israel joined himself to Baal-peor";<sup>13</sup> for which aberration they had to atone by a fearful pestilence.<sup>14</sup> The pious, therefore, scrupulously avoided the repasts of heathen sacrificers;<sup>15</sup> nay, as a matter of precaution, they shunned all convivial intercourse with idolaters, from fear that any of the viands or of the wine had been dedicated to some heathen deity,<sup>16</sup> since meat of sacrificial animals was frequently offered for public sale. But the early pagan converts to Christianity could not so easily disengage themselves from a habit so deeply ingrained in their lives and minds; they often joined their heathen friends at the meals held in the temples of their idols;<sup>17</sup> and they more commonly attended their sacrificial feasts in their own houses.<sup>18</sup> The apostles struggled perseveringly

<sup>8</sup> So *Hofmann*, *Schriftbew.* II. i. 229; *Hengstenb.* *Opfer*, p. 40; *Neumann*, *Sacra V. T. Salut.* p. 37; *Tholuck*, l. c. p. 88; *Öhler*, l. c. p. 642; *Keil*, *Archäol.* I. 250, 251; comp., on the other hand, *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 373, 374; *Kurtz*, *Opferc.* pp. 134—139; see 1 Cor. X. 16—21.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Lev. III. 1, 6, 7, 12; VIII. 12, 29; see also XXI. 22.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Cor. X. 18, 21; comp. Mal. I. 12.

<sup>11</sup> *Philo*, *De Victim.* c. 8, *ἐπιτρέποντες γὰρ εὐωχίας εἶναι, οὐχ ἑταίρους.*

<sup>12</sup> Exod. XXXIV. 14, 15.

<sup>13</sup> Num. XXV. 1—3; comp. Ps. CVL 28, 29.

<sup>14</sup> Num. XXV. 9; Ps. CVL 29, 30.

<sup>15</sup> Tob. I. 10—12. <sup>16</sup> Dan. I. 12; etc.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Cor. VIII. 10; *Plaut.* *Rud. Prolog.* 60—62, II. iii. 13; *Poenul.* II. i. 44.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Cor. X. 21, 27, 28.



to eradicate the dangerous propensity; they emphatically enjoined all their followers "to abstain from meats offered to idols,"<sup>1</sup> which they also called "pollutions of idols."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, more distant congregations remained in uncertainty or disagreement on the matter; and the Corinthians, agitated by serious disputes, invoked the advice and decision of St. Paul; for some maintained that as the idols are "nonentities" or "nothings"<sup>3</sup> and imaginary phantoms, with which a covenant or communion is an impossibility, the sacrifices offered to them can have no reality or force, and they might, therefore, without danger be shared by believers; while others were not disposed to take this view of the nature of the heathen deities. Now St. Paul indeed permitted the Christians to buy and to eat all meat that was offered to them even by heathens, "without asking questions for conscience sake";<sup>4</sup> but if they were informed or convinced that it was meat of victims presented to idols, they were rigidly to abstain from it, for, he said, "You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils, you cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils";<sup>5</sup> it is true that "an idol is nothing in the world",<sup>6</sup> since "there is no other God but one";<sup>7</sup> but there are many persons weak enough to consider the idols as real beings, and who, therefore, by eating meat sacrificed in their honour "defile their conscience";<sup>8</sup> therefore the intelligent also should eschew such meals, because their presence at them might mislead the feeble and become to them a stumbling-block;<sup>9</sup> moreover, though the idols are nothing, yet "the gentiles offer the things which they sacrifice to devils", with whom the Christians ought to have no fellowship whatever.<sup>10</sup> Yet in spite of this thoughtful and decided opinion of the apostle, the objectionable habit lingered for centuries in many congregations.

From these remarks alone it will be sufficiently obvious how common and far-spread sacrificial repasts were among heathen nations.<sup>11</sup> They formed indeed an essential element in pagan religions. In Greece and Rome, it was customary, whether the offerer held the feast within the precincts of the temple, or, as was more frequently the case, at his own house,<sup>12</sup> to send a portion of the meal to friends as a pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Εἰδωλόθυστα*, Acts XV. 29; XXI. 25.

<sup>7</sup> VIII. 4; X. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀλισθήματα τῶν εἰδώλων*, Acts XV. 20.

<sup>8</sup> VIII. 7, *ἡ συνείδησις αὐτῶν ... μολύνεται*.

<sup>3</sup> *עִלְלִיּוֹת*, see Comm. on Exod. p. 103; comp. Lev. XIX. 4 (*עִלְלִיּוֹת*); Deut. XXXII. 21 (*לֹא-עִלְלִיּוֹת* or *עִלְלִיּוֹת*).

<sup>9</sup> VIII. 9—13; X. 23, 24.

<sup>10</sup> X. 20.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. X. 25, 27.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Exod. XXXIV. 15; Num. XXV. 2; 1 Cor. VIII. 10.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. X. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Aristoph.* Plut. 227, 228; *Plaut.* Poen. II. i. 44; III. iii. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Οὐδὲν εἶδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ*.

sent;<sup>13</sup> and it was considered an act of mean and niggardly shamelessness to forget the acquaintances on such occasions.<sup>14</sup> The old Teutons, eager to feast in honour of the gods and to offer food for their statues to whom they not only attributed human reason and speech, but also human wants and desires, peculiarly extended and developed the sacrificial repasts,<sup>15</sup> at which they indulged in wild and noisy mirthfulness,<sup>16</sup> in music, dance, and varied games; which they frequently employed for conciliating the feuds of enemies; and which were commonly held on the fresh graves of the departed, as the notorious funeral solemnities of the Suedes and Danes repeated every nine years and disgraced by human sacrifices. The German converts to Christianity clung long and tenaciously to their ancestral habits; they rendered necessary rigorous edicts of the popes, and the imposition of heavy penalties by Christian princes; yet the former found it expedient to permit believers, if compelled by force, to eat of heathen offerings provided that in doing so they made the sign of the cross; or they judiciously transformed the public feasts of sacrifice, which were principally celebrated to mark the chief phases in the course of the sun, or the seasons with their produce,<sup>17</sup> into Christian festivals or days of penitence,<sup>18</sup> as for instance the splendid repasts in the middle of the winter<sup>19</sup> into Christmas, the vernal banquet of the Norwegians into Easter, and that of midsummer<sup>20</sup> into Pentecost. Thus sacrificial festivities were, far into the middle ages, celebrated in honour of Christ, of the virgin Mary, and especially of the saints, whose birthdays and anniversaries were commonly transferred to such days on which heathen feasts had previously been held; and a remnant of the grand sacrificial revelries kept by the old Norwegians in mid-summer, has been preserved to this day on the island of Bornholm, where it is annually solemnised, on the 24th day of June, in a grove and enclosure in the parish of Rutha.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Theocr.* V. 139—141; *Plut. Arat.* 15; *Agesil.* 17 (*ἐθυσεν... καὶ δέπρηνε μερίδας τοῖς φίλοις ἀπὸ τῶν τεθυμένων*); *Plaut. Mil. glor.* 711 (sacrificant, dant inde partem mihi majorem quam sibi). Aristotle supposed that *μεθύειν* was derived from *μετὰ τὸ θύειν*, because men used wine "after sacrificing" (*Athen. Deipnos.* II. 11).

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Theophr.* Char. 9. An exception was permitted at the sacrifices in honour of Hestia; comp. *Hesych.* sub *Ἑστία*; *Zenob. Prov.* IV. 44.

<sup>15</sup> Or *Gildi*, that is, common meals,

<sup>16</sup> Hence called *Blot-fagnadur*, that is, joy of sacrifice.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Wachter*, in *Ersch u. Grub. Encycl.* III. iv. 134, 135.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Beda*, *Hist. Eccles. Lib.* I. c. 30.

<sup>19</sup> Jul or Jol, or in Norway *Midsvetrar-blot* or *Therrablot*.

<sup>20</sup> The *Midsommertilde*.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. *Wachter*, l. c. pp. 130—138. — On the paschal sacrifice of the Hebrews and the repast connected with it, see *Sect. XVII*; comp. *Mishn. Zevach.* V, 8, *הַפֶּסַח אֵינוֹ נֶאֱכָל אֶלָּא בְּלֵילָהּ אֶחָד*.

# **XL. THE BLOODLESS OFFERING (קָרְבַּן מִנְחָה or מִנְחָה).<sup>1</sup>**

## **1. ITS GENERAL CHARACTER.**

VEGETABLE offerings presented to the Deity from early ages, were at least co-eval with animal sacrifices.<sup>2</sup> But in the course of time, the latter class was regarded as peculiarly acceptable, not only because of its superior value, implying a higher degree of self-abnegation, but also on account of the power of atonement specially attributed to the blood. Therefore vegetable oblations were predominantly presented by people of humbler means, and probably formed but a subordinate gift even of agriculturists. Gradually, however, the notion evidently prevailed that, as human repasts do not consist of meat alone, but require the addition of vegetable or cereal food and of wine, all sacrifices offered to the Deity ought to be composed of the same leading elements. Hence the Greeks and Romans invariably accompanied

<sup>1</sup> From מִנְחָה to *present a gift* (comp. Gen. XXXII. 14, 19; XLIII. 11; Judg. III. 15; hence Sept. *ἐτίμιον* in 2 Ki. VIII. 8; Hos. X. 6; see *J. C. Volbroth*, *De sacrificio farreo Hebraeorum cum similibus aliarum gentium ritibus comparato*, pp. 12—14; Sept. in Neh. XIII. 5 and 2 Chr. VII. 7 *παράει*, comp. in the old religious language of the Romans *porriciae*, the parts of the victim laid before the gods, from *porricere* for *proijcere*, see p. 204), not from מָנַח to *lead up* (Buxtorf), nor from מָנַח to *submit, to show submission* (Mecklenburg). Although the term מִנְחָה *gift* originally comprised all vegetable oblations of whatever kind (comp. Gen. IV. 3), nay applied to all, even to animal, sacrifices (Gen. IV. 5; perhaps also 1 Ki. XVIII. 29; 2 Ki. III. 20; Dan. IX. 21; see p. 72; comp. however, p. 36, and *infra*; hence Sept., generally, *θύσια* or *θύσπον θύσια*, or *προσφορά*, Aq. *θύσπον*, and Vulg. *oblatio* or *oblatio sacrificii* or *sacrificium*, Lev. II. 3), it is in the Levitical law restricted to *cereal* offerings, whether consisting of roasted ears of corn or plain flour, of cakes, bread, or flour prepared in various ways (therefore the Sept. *σπελ-*

*δαλεις* in Lev. IX. 4; Isai. I. 13; LXVI. 3, the Vulg. *simila* in Lev. IX. 4, the Syriac translation has *מִנְחָה* or *קֹרְבָּן מִנְחָה* *oblatio similiae*, Michael. Mehl-  
opfer, besides *unblutiges Opfer*). The rendering of Luther and the English Version — *Speisopfer*, *meat-offering* — appears in some way to qualify the general term, without however removing its indistinctness; yet the sacrificial tablets of Marseilles (line 12) and of Carthage (l. 9) have the combination *מִנְחָה וְזֶבֶח* an (animal) sacrifice with (vegetable) food (*מִנְחָה* — *זֶבֶח* or *זֶבֶח מִנְחָה*, Ps. CXXXII. 15; Neh. XIII. 15; Gen. XLV. 21; Exod. XII. 39; etc.; Arab. *ذبيحة*), besides *מִנְחָה וְזֶבֶח* a sacrifice with oil, whether the oil was mixed with it (corresponding to *חֶלֶת לֶחֶם שֶׁמֶן* in Exod. XXIX. 23; Lev. VIII. 26, or *בִּלְלוֹחַ שֶׁמֶן* in Exod. XXIX. 2), or formed an accompanying libation: the inscription of Carthage has also *מִנְחָה וְזֶבֶח* (line 10).

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Gen. IV. 3; see Sect. II: the comprehensiveness of the original meaning of the term מִנְחָה bespeaks also a period when vegetables formed the principal *gifts* or *sacrifices*; as the history of sacrifices naturally suggests.

animal sacrifices with salted grits;<sup>3</sup> and the Levitical law ordained that all usual holocausts and thank-offerings, whether presented on ordinary days or on sabbaths and festivals,<sup>4</sup> whether in consequence of vows or as voluntary gifts, whether by Israelites or strangers, should be supplemented by vegetable and drink-offerings;<sup>5</sup> it never omitted to repeat that injunction with respect to the regular and public burnt-offerings, those killed every morning and evening,<sup>6</sup> on every sabbath<sup>7</sup> and day of the new-moon,<sup>8</sup> on the three great agricultural festivals,<sup>9</sup> on the "Day of Memorial", the first of the seventh month,<sup>10</sup> and the Day of Atonement;<sup>11</sup> and it extended the regulation to a variety of special sacrifices, as those presented after recovery from leprosy, or at the end of the Nazirites time of seclusion.<sup>12</sup> The cereal oblation was, with regard to the quantity of the materials, nicely varied according to the species of animals which composed the bloody sacrifice, and increased in proportion to their numbers, that it might strikingly retain its character as a subordinate accessory. For the Law prescribed that each lamb or goat was to be accompanied by a *minchah* of one tenth of an ephah of flour, mingled with one fourth of a hin of oil; each ram by two omers of flour, mingled with one third of a hin of oil; and each bullock by three omers of flour, mingled with half a hin of oil: if more than one animal was sacrificed, the *minchah* was to be multiplied accordingly.<sup>13</sup> It is evident that these arrangements were based on customs dating from very remote epochs, when the idea of sacrifice was still associated with the rude and gross conception of food offered to the deity;<sup>14</sup> though this view is neither sanctioned in the Pentateuch, nor attributable to the Levitical legislators.<sup>15</sup> Bloodless offerings were, however, ordered only with quadrupeds; they do not seem to have been ordinarily coupled with birds, probably because the latter

<sup>3</sup> The *evlal* or *evloxutas*, mola salsa; see p. 112, note 9.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Num. XV. 3, כִּמְעוּרֵיכֶם; the contrary views (*Maimon. Praef. in Zevach., Maas. Hakkorb. c. 3*) are therefore unscriptural.

<sup>5</sup> Num. XV. 3—9, 14—16; comp. Lev. VII. 12, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. XXIX. 40, 41; and hence called מִנְחַח הַמִּזְבֵּחַ.

<sup>7</sup> Num. XXVIII. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Num. XXVIII. 12—14.

<sup>9</sup> Num. XXVIII. 20, 21, 28, 29; Lev. XXIII. 13, 18.

<sup>10</sup> Num. XXIX. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Num. XXIX. 9, 10: all which were מִנְחַחֵי זֶבֶחַ; comp. in general Sect. XIII.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Lev. XIV. 10, 20, 21, 31; Num. VI. 15, 17; comp. Exod. XXIX. 2, 23; Lev. VIII. 26; see also *Mishn. Menach. VII. 2*.

<sup>13</sup> See Num. XV. 4—12; comp. XXVIII. 5, 9, 12, 14, 20, 21, 28, 29; XXIX. 3, 4, 9, 10, 14, 15; Lev. XIV. 21. The *Mishnah* (*Menach. IX. 1*) believes that every omer was to be meted out separately in a measure holding that quantity.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 7; comp. *Judg. VI. 19, 20*.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 6.

were, as a rule, presented by poorer persons, to whom an additional oblation would have been burdensome; although in exceptional cases the rule was departed from.<sup>1</sup> Nor is it difficult to account for their omission with the paschal lamb, or with the firstlings and tithes of animals; for the former, peculiar in various points and almost *sui generis*, was in itself and exclusively characteristic of the occasion, and the latter were gifts rather than sacrifices, and therefore required no complements. But it is certainly remarkable that they were also suppressed in connection with sin-offerings, the latest class of sacrifice, which may be said to have been properly regulated in the Pentateuch only;<sup>2</sup> this exception may indeed have been partially suggested by the circumstance that the sin-offerings were pre-eminently the *expiating*, that is, symbolically, the *bloody* sacrifices,<sup>3</sup> but partially also by the legislator's desire of divesting those most solemn offerings from all accessories that have no bearing upon their innermost nature and import, and of absolutely depriving them of the character of social cheerfulness.<sup>4</sup> However, he preserved the custom of the *minchah* in conjunction with holocausts and thank-offerings; he could apprehend no abuse of it, because its meaning was unmistakably disclosed by the whole spirit of his code; he might reasonably expect that its earliest origin would gradually be effaced and forgotten, and that it would be understood in harmony with the Levitical system, which commanded the Hebrews to offer to the Deity the chief objects of their wealth and their food, of their cattle and cereal productions.<sup>5</sup> And he himself made an important step towards maintaining the spiritual character of the *minchah* by rigidly excluding, except in a few significant instances,<sup>6</sup> leavened bread, and by thus marking the oblations as holy.<sup>7</sup>

This being the manifest historical development of the practice and the ordinance, it will not be difficult to estimate the various symbolical views that have been proposed on the subject. "As in the bloody sacrifices", observes Bähr,<sup>8</sup> "the נֶפֶשׁ, the principle of life, was given over with the blood, so in the bloodless offering, which formed its accessory, those substances were surrendered which preserve and support the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Lev. XIV. 21, 31 (עֹלָה עֲלֵהּ הַמִּנְחָה).

<sup>2</sup> In Lev. XIV. 10, 20, the מִנְחָה belonged to the holocaust, not to the sin-offering.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Bähr, Symb. II. 398.

<sup>4</sup> See Sect. XV.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. pp. 78, 81, 85. Ewald observes justly with regard to the shew-

bread, that they "stand in the Jahveh-religion like an isolated instance entirely apart from the other offerings" or as "a hallowed remnant from a very different age" (Alterth. p. 28; comp. p. 121).

<sup>6</sup> Lev. VII. 13; XXIII. 17.

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 133—135.

<sup>8</sup> Symb. II. 216.

blood and thereby the נֶפֶשׁ." However, this opinion, proceeding as it does from the author's erroneous estimate of the nature of the *minchah* (see *infra*), is untenable: for in most cases, a small portion or a handful only of the bloodless offering was burnt on the altar; animals were appointed for sacrifices, not less than cereals and vegetables, on account of their nutritious and life-sustaining power; and these cereals and vegetables are the food of man, and not of the animals whose blood was poured out, a circumstance the more fatal to that view, as its framer rejects the idea of a real substitution.<sup>9</sup> Others, on the contrary, insisting that the sacrifices are in all cases an exchange of life for life, have laboured to vindicate this meaning for the bloodless offerings likewise, declaring that the plants also have a soul or נֶפֶשׁ, which can be given up for the life of man, and that their soul manifests itself in the *odour* or fragrance: but there is not the remotest proof of this conception having obtained among the ancient Hebrews,<sup>10</sup> although later Jewish writers attributed to the plants a "germinating soul",<sup>11</sup> and Greek and Roman authors currently entertained the same idea.<sup>12</sup> Nay it is impossible not to recognise a certain opposition in which the animal and vegetable offerings are placed in the Pentateuch: the domestic beasts, comparatively requiring but little care, possess a certain physical affinity with man,<sup>13</sup> which renders them fit to serve as substitutes in his stead, while the cereal productions are the inert results of his exertion toilsomely forced from a reluctant soil; the former represented therefore predominantly the person and wealth, the latter, offered as they were not in their raw and natural state but skilfully prepared and combined, pointed to the labour and avocation of the worshipper; so that both united aptly reflected his entire life and existence.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Sect. XVIII.

<sup>10</sup> The terms יָחַי רִגְלֵךְ וַיִּפְרֹחוּ כְנָפָיִךְ (Hos. XIV. 8), or אִם יִזְקֶן בְּאֶרֶץ שָׂרָשׁ (Job. XIV. 8), and the like, are poetical metaphors, and so *Horat. Epist. l. xii. 21* (verum seu pisces seu porrum et caepe trucidat); *Stat. Theb. V. 527, 528* (percussae calidis afflatibus herbae, Qua tulit ora cadunt).

<sup>11</sup> נֶפֶשׁ הַצֹּמַח, *Kimchi* on Ps. LXXVIII. 47.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Porphyr. De Abst. l. 18*, εἰ δὲ, ὥς φασί, καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ψυχὴν ἔχει; *Maxim. Tyr. Diss. XXVII*, φυτὸν κατὰ τὸ ἐμψυχον καὶ ἀπαθείς, or νοσεύει θερίον φυτὸν κατὰ τὸ ἐμψυχον; *Seneca, Epist. VI. 6* (58), placet enim satis et ar-

bustis animam inesse, itaque et vivere illa et mori dicimus.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Theophr. in Porph. Abst. II. 22*, τῆς γὰρ φιλίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ συγγενὲς αἰσθήσεως πάντα κατεχούσης...οὐκ εἶναι νομίζων τὰ λείπῃ τῶν ζώων.

<sup>14</sup> Yet it cannot be asserted that the bloody and the bloodless sacrifices were entirely different in their ends and objects, that "the former aimed at atonement (לְכַפֵּר), the latter at thanksgiving" (לְהַזְכִּיר; so *Kliesoth, l. c. p. 87*): the vegetable sin-offering was presented for atonement, and eucharistic offerings were frequently of the bloody kind. The tendency of both classes is

Again, the *minchah* has been explained as the earthly foundation of the heavenly worship represented by animal sacrifices;<sup>1</sup> or as the spiritual food, which mirrored forth the Israelites' mission and work in the vineyard of the Lord, or the duty imposed upon them by their covenant with God;<sup>2</sup> or, strange to say, as a fine of property which the offerer inflicted upon himself, in the same manner as the animal sacrifices involved both such a fine and the idea of capital punishment,<sup>3</sup> notions utterly foreign to the system of Hebrew sacrifices; or as "zeal in good works",<sup>4</sup> so that, in connection with the holocaust and the thank-offering, it was meant to impress the uselessness of sanctification and confession without the practical exercise of virtue: of which interpretations we can discover no trace whatever in the Old Testament; it is indeed difficult to understand why vegetables and cereals should recall the notions of good works and of "purity"<sup>5</sup> more decidedly than animal sacrifices, several classes of which symbolise the perfect and unconditional devotion to a pious life. But curious as these views are, they are surpassed by the almost incredible conceit that the *minchah* points to "the missionary zeal" of Christianity among the Jews.<sup>6</sup>

However, a *minchah* was, under various circumstances, also presented as an independent sacrifice,<sup>7</sup> by the nation every sabbath when the twelve cakes of shew-bread were placed on the golden Table in the Holy, on the second day of Passover when the first sheaf of ripe barley,<sup>8</sup> and on Pentecost when the first loaves from the new wheat were presented;<sup>9</sup> by the High-priest on the day of his initiation, when the offering, like every bloodless oblation of priests, was burnt entirely;<sup>10</sup> by the very poor as a sin-offering<sup>11</sup> for certain offences,

identical, though the blood was deemed chiefly instrumental for propitiation, and the cereal oblations were predominantly eucharistic in their nature.

<sup>1</sup> *Neumann*, *Sacra* V. T. salutar. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Kurtz*, *Opfer*. pp. 242, 243, inappropriately referring to John IV. 32, 33; VI. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Thalhofer*, l. c. p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Hengstenberg*, *Opfer*, p. 44, and others.

<sup>5</sup> So *Lewysohn*, *Opfer*, § 10; see Lev. XI. 37; comp. Mal. I. 11; Isai. LXVI. 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Hengstenberg*, *Opfer*, p. 45, fancifully leaning on Isai. LXVI. 20; Rom. XV. 16. The view that the Hebrew *minchah* is a type of the Lord's Supper, maintained especially by the Ca-

tholic Church, is inappropriate, because no part of it was allowed to the people — independently of the objectionable nature of all typical expositions, see p. 166; comp. also *Hoefting*, *Origenis doctrin. de sacrif. Christian.* II. 26—32.

<sup>7</sup> Termed in Jewish writings *הבאוא* בפני עצמן, in contradistinction to those accompanying an animal sacrifice, *הבאוא עם הוזה*.

<sup>8</sup> *מנחת העמר*, Lev. XXIII. 10, 11; comp. p. 121.

<sup>9</sup> *מנחת חרשה* (Lev. XXIII. 16; Num. XXVIII. 26) or *בכורים* (Lev. XXIII. 17, 20).

<sup>10</sup> *מנחת חתוק*, Lev. VI. 12—16; see notes in loc.

<sup>11</sup> *מנחת חוטא*.



instead of an animal sacrifice, when oil and frank-incense, the emblems of holiness and devotion, were excluded;<sup>12</sup> and by the wife suspected and accused of infidelity,<sup>13</sup> when not only oil and incense were avoided, but ordinary barley-meal was employed instead of fine wheaten flour required for every other *minchah*.<sup>14</sup> In nearly all these cases the *minchah* was prescribed to consist of not less than one tenth of an ephah, or an omer,<sup>15</sup> of flour,<sup>16</sup> from the reason above alluded to, that so much was supposed to be required for the daily food of one man.<sup>17</sup> The only exception admitted in the Law was the bloodless oblation presented by the High-priest on the day of his consecration, which was limited to one half of an omer, from considerations pointed out in another place.<sup>18</sup> Jewish tradition fixed the rule that no single private and voluntary *minchah* should exceed 60 omers, since the amplest public *minchah* — that offered on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, if happening on a Sabbath — consisted of 61 omers,<sup>19</sup> and it was deemed appropriate that the former should be inferior in dignity to the latter.<sup>20</sup>

The instances above enumerated prove sufficiently that it is idle to deny, as has frequently been done, the independent character of the bloodless offerings;<sup>21</sup> the facts that they accompanied the greater number of animal sacrifices, and that for such cases the quantity of the materials to be used was fixed by the Law,<sup>22</sup> afford no conclusive proofs; for holocausts and burnt-offerings were very frequently killed together;<sup>23</sup> can it thence be inferred that they were never presented separately? The *minchah* is, no less than the animal sacrifices, called "an offering made by fire to the Lord" or "food of the Lord."<sup>24</sup> The sheaf on Passover and the loaves on Pentecost were manifestly the principal offerings

<sup>12</sup> Lev. V. 11—13; comp. vers. 1—5; see Sect. XV.

<sup>13</sup> קנאות or מנחת סוטה.

<sup>14</sup> Num. V. 15, 16, 25, 26; comp. Lev. II. 1, 4, 5, 7; see pp. 103, 120. On the exaggerated scrupulousness of the later Jews with respect to the excellence and purity of the flour see *Mishnah*, Menach. VI. 5—10 (the wheat was to be rubbed in the hands 300 times and beaten 500 times; the flour had to pass through 11 to 13 sieves; etc.); comp. VIII. 1 (וכלן אינן באים) (אלא מן המוכר), 2.

<sup>15</sup> עמר or עשרון or עשירית האפה. See notes on Exod. XVI. 16, 36.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. V. 11; comp. XXIII. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Exod. XVI. 16—18; see p. 104.

Each of the twelve shew-bread contained two omers of flour (Lev. XXIV. 5).

<sup>18</sup> Lev. VI. 13; see Comm. in loc.

<sup>19</sup> Viz. 39 omers with the 13 bulls, 14 with the 14 lambs, 4 with the 2 rams, 2 with the ordinary or daily 2 lambs, and 2 with the 2 lambs of the sabbath sacrifice; comp. Num. XXIX. 12—16; see Sect. XX.

<sup>20</sup> *Mishn.* Menach. XII. 4; comp. IX. 3; XIII. 1; *Talm.* Menach. 103b.

<sup>21</sup> So *Bähr*, Symb. II. 199, 265; *Hengstenb.* Opfer, p. 95; *Kliefoth*, l. c. p. 116; a. o.

<sup>22</sup> Num. XV. 1—18; see *supra*.

<sup>23</sup> See Sect. XIII. <sup>24</sup> לחם (Lev. II. 16) or מנחה ליהוה (XXIII. 7; comp. XXI. 6, 8, 17, 21, 22; XXII. 25; etc.).

of those festivals, to which the animal sacrifices were joined as collateral, if not subordinate, as is manifest from the wording of the commands, "On the day when you wave the sheaf, you shall offer a lamb without blemish" etc.;<sup>1</sup> and, "You shall bring out of your habitations two wave loaves...and you shall offer with the bread seven lambs without blemish of the first year" etc.<sup>2</sup> Nay on the second day of Passover, the holocaust of one lamb was, contrary to the general rule, accompanied by a *minchah* of two tenths of an ephah of flour instead of one, evidently because the firstfruit-sheaf presented on the same day was regarded as equivalent to a sacrificial animal.<sup>3</sup> It is even not improbable that for long periods, reaching to the later times of the monarchy, a bloodless offering alone was publicly presented in the evening, and not an animal holocaust with its accompanying *minchah*, as ordained in the Pentateuch. If some passages are indistinct,<sup>4</sup> one at least is conclusive: the king Ahaz commanded the priest Uriah to burn on the great altar which he had erected after the admired pattern of one of Damascus "the burnt-offering of the morning and the *minchah* of the evening";<sup>5</sup> so that the latter was evidently a chief offering exactly like the former; and if it be contended that the term *minchah* is there, as in some other instances, synonymous with sacrifice in general and therefore means animal holocaust, this supposition is overthrown by the words which follow, "and the burnt-offering of the king and his *minchah*, and the burnt-offering of all the people of the land and their *minchah* and their drink-offering." Moreover, the very laws which enjoin merely flour with oil as an accompanying מנחה, prove that the varied and very different forms of bloodless offerings mentioned in the introductory sections of Leviticus were meant as independent oblations. For as the first chapter treats of holocausts and the third of thank-offerings, so the second details the commands regarding the *minchah*, which, according to the whole tenour of that code of laws, is no less a distinct class of sacrifice than the two kinds between which it is introduced, and than the expiatory offerings by which it is followed.<sup>6</sup> It may be that the bread and flour (or corn)

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Lev. XXIII. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XXIII. 17, 18; comp. *Mishn.* Menach. IV. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. XXIII. 13.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Ki. XVIII. 29; 2 Ki. III. 20; Dan. IX. 21. The reasons suggested by Lightfoot (Opp. I. 715) in explanation of the usage in Daniel, are not to the purpose.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Ki. XVI. 15, הקטר את-עלוד, רבקר ואחד-מנחת הערב וכו'.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. אדם כריקריב (Lev. I. 2) and ונפש כריקריב (Lev. II. 1); comp. also *Maimon.* Pref. to Menach.; *Thalhofer*, l. c. pp. 51 sqq., 112 sqq.; *Stöckl*, Das Opfer nach seinem Wesen und seiner Geschichte, pp. 287 sqq.; *Keil*, Luther. Zeitschr. 1860, p. 610; *Archäol.* II. 215; *Kurtz*, Opfere. pp. 260—270 (modifying his opinion expressed in his earlier work on the subject); *Öhler* in Herzog's Real-Encycl. l. c. p. 621.

of the bloodless offerings corresponded with the body or flesh of the bloody sacrifices, the oil of the one with the burnt fat of the other, and the (red) wine of the former with the blood of the latter;<sup>7</sup> but these very analogies tend to corroborate the independent nature of the *minchah*, which in every essential point consisted of its own components and rites, and did not require the support of the more imposing class of offerings.

## 2. MODE OF OBLATION.

The *minchah* which formed the accompaniment of burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, was always fine wheaten flour, merely mingled with oil.<sup>8</sup>

Now, if it belonged to a holocaust, it is most natural to suppose that it was, like the animal, burnt entirely on the altar, in accordance with the nature of the class; and thus the Law ordains it in one particular case;<sup>9</sup> though it appears that the practice was not settled in this respect, and that, in some instances, a small part only was burnt, so that the *minchah* strikingly maintained its distinct character, as is clearly stated in one passage at least.<sup>10</sup> If it belonged to a thank-offering, it sufficed in all cases to devote to the altar a part only, as was the case with the victim which constituted the principal sacrifice.

But if the *minchah* was presented alone as a voluntary gift or in consequence of a vow, it could be offered in various forms and with different ceremonies.

If it simply consisted of fine flour, unprepared, the offerer mixed it with salt, poured oil, and put frank-incense upon it. In this state he handed it over to the priests, one of whom then took off a portion, designated as "a handful" (חֲלֵלָה קֶזַיִץ),<sup>11</sup> of the flour together with the oil that was upon it and all the frank-incense, and burnt it to God on the brazen altar in the Court, as "a memorial" (זִכָּרוֹן) or a tribute of

<sup>7</sup> See *Bähr*, Symb. II. 215; though the parallels are but vague, and cannot be pressed closely; comp. *Kurtz*, Opfere. pp. 244, 245.

<sup>8</sup> On the various kinds of oil used in the later Temple-service see *Mishn. Menach. VIII. 4* ("there are three kinds of olives and each yields three kinds of oil"); see *supra* pp. 104, 105.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. XIV. 20, "and the priest shall burn the burnt-offering and the bloodless offering upon the altar"; and the same view is taken by many writers (comp. *Winer*, l. c. II. 494; *Keil*, Ar-

chäol. II. 256; *Öhler*, l. c. p. 634; *Thalhofer*, l. c. p. 113 *sqq.* a. o.; on the other hand *Ewald*, Alterth. p. 51; but Lev. VII. 10 וְכָל מִנְחָה בְּלֹלָה בַשֶּׁמֶן) does not prove his opinion.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. IX. 16, 17, "and he brought the burnt-offering, and offered it according to the law; and he brought the bloodless offering, and took a handful thereof and burnt it upon the altar"; comp. *Kurtz* l. c. p. 269.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. II. 2; V. 12; VI. 8; and in IX. 17 the act is described וְיָחֹלֵל כֶּסֶף וְזָבַח.

homage; the rest<sup>1</sup> belonged to "Aaron and his sons", that is, to the priests generally, as common property.<sup>2</sup> Jewish tradition maintains that the act of taking off (קמיצה) was performed with the right hand in a peculiar manner,<sup>3</sup> at the south-western corner of the altar, and that a handful was taken off from every omer of which the *minchah* consisted:<sup>4</sup> which arrangements have no foundation in the Law; the last is even contrary to it; but it is certainly correct that no one except a priest in a state of perfect purity and fully robed in his official vestments, was permitted to perform the rite;<sup>5</sup> for it belonged to those essential acts which stamped the gift as a sacrifice.<sup>6</sup>

If the oblation was composed of unleavened cakes or wafers<sup>7</sup> *baked in the oven*,<sup>8</sup> the offerer carefully mingled the former and "anointed" or brushed over the latter with oil,<sup>9</sup> not forgetting the indispensable salt, and brought them to the officiating priest; the latter took off a part, probably a handful,<sup>10</sup> and burnt it on the altar of holocausts as "a memorial" to God;<sup>11</sup> the remainder belonged to himself,<sup>12</sup> or was, according to a later regulation, left to his whole order, like the offerings of the preceding class.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Termed שירי מנחות ישראל; comp. *Mishn. Zevach. IX. 5*; *Menach. VI. 1*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lev. II. 1—3*, and *Comm. in loc.*; *VII. 10*; p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> The priest spread his three middle fingers over the palm of his hand (פושט) אח אצבעותיו על פס ידו, *Mishn. Menach. I. 2*), and took care that nothing of the מנחה reached over the thumb or the little finger, which was considered one of the most difficult priestly operations, like מליקה — a puerility rejected by Maimonides and others. On the contrary, מלא קמץ seems to be a full and ample portion (comp. לקמצים, *Gen. XLI. 47*).

<sup>4</sup> קמץ אחר לעשרון אחר; comp. *Siphra VI. 3*.

<sup>5</sup> *Mishn. Menach. I. 2*; excluded were מוחסר בגדים, טבול יום, אונן, etc., in fact the same who were disqualified from "receiving the blood" of victims (see p. 190; comp. *Mishn. Zevach. II. 1*).

<sup>6</sup> Hence the canon מקמיצה ואילך מצות כהונה.

<sup>7</sup> ריקי מצות or חלות מצות (see

p. 104; חלה is hardly to be derived from חול to go in a circle, so that it would be a round cake, like כֶּכֶר, *Exod. XXIX. 23*), according to tradition, 10 in number, as in all similar *minchahs* (*Mishn. Menach. VI. 5*, כל (המנחות באות עשר עשר).

<sup>8</sup> מאפה חמור.

<sup>9</sup> משוחים and בלילות, see p. 105. The *Mishnah* observes (*Menach. VI. 3*), that all *minchahs* prepared in a pan or cauldron require a threefold application of oil — first some of it is put into the vessel, and then the flour, after which oil is again mixed with the meal; and when the dough has been baked and divided into pieces, oil is a third time put over it.

<sup>10</sup> According to tradition, again at the south-western corner of the brazen altar.

<sup>11</sup> For מִנְחָה (in *Lev. II. 6*) refers to the three kinds of bloodless offerings last named in the text, those prepared in the oven, the pan, and the cauldron; see *Comm. in loc.*; comp. *Mishn. Menach. VI. 1*.

<sup>12</sup> *Lev. VII. 9*.

<sup>13</sup> *Lev. II. 4*; 8—10; *VII. 9*. It is im-

If the *minchah* was to be *baked in the pan*,<sup>14</sup> the offerer mingled it with oil and salt, and after having baked the dough, divided it into small pieces,<sup>15</sup> over which he again poured oil; the priest then acted precisely as in the former case.<sup>16</sup>

If it was *cooked in a pot or cauldron*,<sup>17</sup> it was mixed with salt and oil, and when ready, taken by the offerer to the priest, who proceeded in precisely the same manner as has just been stated.<sup>18</sup>

The *minchah* which formed a part of the praise-offering (זֶבַח תְּרוּמָה) consisted of unleavened cakes mingled with oil, unleavened wafers anointed, and cakes poured over with oil and prepared of fine flour that had been soaked (מְרִיֶּכֶת) in that fluid;<sup>19</sup> to these three kinds of cake were added loaves of leavened bread to be eaten at the repast which followed the offering: the acting priest received one piece of each of the four cereal oblations.<sup>20</sup> — The High-priest, on the day of his inauguration, presented both in the morning and in the evening half an omer of fine flour, thoroughly saturated with oil, prepared in a pan, and divided into small pieces, after which it was burnt entirely.<sup>21</sup> — As a firstfruit-offering from the harvest it was ordained to present roasted ears of corn from the choicest fields, upon which oil and frankincense were put; then the priest took off and burnt "the memorial" with all the incense upon the altar, and kept the rest for his own use.<sup>22</sup>

These were the principal private *minchahs*.<sup>23</sup> Besides them some were to be presented in the name of the nation.<sup>24</sup>

A regular and permanent oblation of this kind were the twelve

possible to reconcile the obvious contradiction between Lev. VII. 9 and II. 10.

<sup>14</sup> מִנְחָה עַל־הַפֶּתַח.

<sup>15</sup> פִּתּוֹת פָּחִים; see p. 198; comp. the curious Rabbinical precepts in *Mishn. Menach. VI. 4*, where the general principle is set forth, כָּל הַמִּנְחוֹת הַגְּעֻשׁוֹת בְּכָל־מַעֲוֹת פִּתּוֹת.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. II. 5, 6, 6—10.

<sup>17</sup> מִנְחָה קִרְחָצֶה.

<sup>18</sup> Lev. I. 7—10.

<sup>19</sup> See Comm. on VII. 11—21.

<sup>20</sup> Lev. VII. 12—14; see Comm. in loc. According to the *Mishnah* (*Menach. VII. 1*) this *minchah* was made of 5 seahs of Jerusalem, which were equivalent to 6 such as the Hebrews knew in the desert, or to 2 ephahs; half of that quantity was applied for the unleavened cakes. The שְׁתֵּי הַזֵּרוֹת in Neh. XII. 31,

presented by Nehemiah as a thank-offering at the consecration of the wall of Jerusalem, are not two loaves (*Re-land, Antiqq. Sacr. III. vii. 2*), but probably two bodies or chorusses of men offering up thanks-givings for the people.

<sup>21</sup> Lev. VI. 12—16; see Comm. in loc.; comp. *Mishn. Menach. VI. 2*.

<sup>22</sup> Lev. II. 14—16, and Comm. in loc.

<sup>23</sup> מִנְחַת יָחִיד. The cereal sin-offering and the "offering of jealousy" have above been alluded to (p. 220; comp. Sect. XV. XVI.); on the Nazirites offering at the end of his term of seclusion see Num. VI. 14—20; and on the presentation of the earliest vegetable productions see Deut. XXVI. 1—11; *Sax-berf, De Sacrif. pp. 92, 93*.

<sup>24</sup> מִנְחַת צִבּוֹר.

unleavened *shew-bread*<sup>1</sup> which, each consisting of two omers of fine flour,<sup>2</sup> and arranged in two equal rows on the Table of the Holy,<sup>3</sup> were renewed every Sabbath, and then eaten by the priests in the holy place;<sup>4</sup> on each row frank-incense was put in a golden cup<sup>5</sup> to be burnt "as a memorial", and to typify that the cakes were consecrated to God,<sup>6</sup> to whom the people of Israel submitted their supplication for their daily sustenance and who bountifully grants their prayer.<sup>7</sup> We cannot see that the shew-bread were intended to "intimate that most useful of all virtues, temperance, since to a lover of wisdom a loaf is sufficient nourishment, keeping the bodies free from mixing of the

<sup>1</sup> לֶחֶם פָּנִים (Exod. XXV. 30; XXXV. 13; XXXIX. 36; 1 Sam. XXI. 7; 1 Ki. VII. 48; 2 Chr. IV. 19), so called because they were placed "before the Lord" (לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, Ex. XL. 23; Lev. XXIV. 8), in the Holy, towards the Holy of Holies (other explanations are artificial), or לֶחֶם הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת (Neh. X. 34; 1 Chr. IX. 32; XXIII. 29), because the loaves were "arranged" on the Table (comp. Exod. XL. 23, וַיַּעַרְךָ עָלָיו; 2 Chr. II. 3; XXIX. 18; see Lev. XXIV. 6), or לֶחֶם הַקָּמִיר (Num. IV. 7, Sept. οἱ ἄρτοι οἱ διαπαντός, comp. Lev. XXIV. 8), the *permanent* bread. — The loaves were undoubtedly unleavened, though the Hebrew text does not expressly state it; how should leaven which was excluded even from the altar of the Court, be brought into the interior of the Sanctuary? The Mishnah states the rule, "all bloodless oblations were unleavened, except the loaves of the praise-offering and the two loaves of Pentecost" (Menach. V. 1); and Josephus (Ant. III. vi. 6) describes the shew-bread ἀζύμους . . . μαθαρῶν πάντων τοῦ ἀλυσίου.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Mishnah (Menach. XI. 4), each was 10 inches long, 5 wide, and one inch thick, with horns (קַרְנוֹת) 7 inches high. The preparation of the cakes was later entrusted, perhaps hereditarily, to the family Garmo (כִּית גַּרְמוֹ), which knew how to prevent their ever breaking or get-

ting mouldy (Mishn. Shekal. V. 1); as the holy incense was skilfully prepared by the family Aftinas (כִּית אֶפְתִּינָס).

<sup>3</sup> On the mode in which it was done see *Mishnah*, Menach. XI. 5—8.

<sup>4</sup> Not earlier than the ninth, and not later than the eleventh day after they had been baked, according to *Mishn.* Menach. XI. 9.

<sup>5</sup> And later also salt; see p. 110; comp. *Philo*, Vit. Mos. III. 10 (ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τίθεται πρὸς βορεῖος, ἐφ' ἧς ἄρτοι καὶ ἄλς). According to Jewish writers, the frank-incense was placed between (עַל) the two rows, in a space which was left, two inches wide; which is both against the meaning of the Hebrew words (וַיַּעַרְךָ עָלָיו, Lev. XXIV. 7) and against the spirit of the command, which closely joins the incense with the shew-bread, not with the Table.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. XXV. 30; Lev. XXIV. 5—9; comp., however, 1 Sam. XXI. 7; Mark II. 26. See Comm. on Exod. p. 451; comp. also *Joseph.* Antiq. III. vi. 6; x. 7; *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. I. 202—210.

<sup>7</sup> On the analogy and difference between the shew-bread and the *lectisternia*, or holy cakes, of heathen nations, see p. 7; comp. *Bähr*, Symb. I. 435—438. It is absurd to call the former "Tafelbrod" or "Naturallieferung für den Nationalkönig"; comp. *supra* p. 217.

disease, and the intellect sound, and healthy and sober";<sup>8</sup> or "incessantly to keep alive the conviction that the zeal in good works is a holy duty of the people, while their renewal on every Sabbath was designed to point out that such zeal ought to gather fresh strength on the days of rest and devotion consecrated to the Lord";<sup>9</sup> or that they pointed to "the bread through which God manifests Himself, or by the eating of which the soul beholds God";<sup>10</sup> while the incense burnt on the cakes shows that "the good works ought to be commenced and carried out with prayers."<sup>11</sup> Who recognises the simplicity of the Scriptures in speculations at once mystical and playful?

The firstfruit-sheaf of barley prescribed for Passover was presented with the rite of waving; a part of it was burnt as "a memorial" on the altar; the rest was left for the benefit of the priests. The ceremony, but slightly touched upon in the Pentateuch,<sup>12</sup> is thus described in the Mishnah. After the corn that was to compose the omer had been cut, in the night of the fifteenth of Nisan, with much ceremonial by three persons with three scythes, and put into three baskets,<sup>13</sup> it was taken to the Court of the Temple; the grains were gently beaten out with canes or stalks of plants<sup>14</sup> to prevent their being crushed,<sup>15</sup> thrown into an iron pan (כַּיִן) perforated at the bottom to allow the fire to pass through everywhere, and then spread on the ground of the Court, so that the wind blew through them; they were next put into a coarse grits'-mill, and ground till one tenth of an ephah of flour, that had passed through 13 sieves, was obtained. Oil, then the flour, and oil again were put into a vessel, mixed, and waved together with frank-

<sup>8</sup> *Philo*, De victim. c. 3, where the twelve cakes are taken to correspond to the twelve months, and the two rows in which they were arranged, to the equinoxes (so also *Joseph. Ant.* III. vii. 7, ἀποσημαίνει τὸν θναυτὸν εἰς τοσοῦτους μῆνας διηρημένον); whereas they manifestly referred to the twelve tribes of Israel, like the twelve precious stones in the High-priest's breastplate; comp. also De Vita Mos. III. 10 (Opp. II. 151 Mang. ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τίθεται πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτάς ... ἐπειδὴ τῶν πνευματικῶν τὰ βέβαια τροφίματα κεῖται.)

<sup>9</sup> *Hengstenberg*, Opfer, p. 45; comp. also *Michael. Typ. Gottesgel.* § 28, "the shew-bread are a figure of obedience towards God as manifested in the fruits

of good works, whether that obedience dwells in our own heart or in the breast of our Mediator!"

<sup>10</sup> *Bähr*, Symb. I. 428; comp. pp. 425—432; *Salamon. Tempel*, p. 180; *Stöckl*, I. c. pp. 299, 300.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Hengstenb.* I. c. p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. XXIII. 10, 11.

<sup>13</sup> *Mishnah*, Menach. X. 1—3; comp. 9, "the omer ought to be brought from standing not from cut corn, from fresh not dry ears, by night not by day", though the reverse did not make the act unlawful.

<sup>14</sup> בקנים ובקליחת חובטים אור.

<sup>15</sup> Or according to other authorities, the ears were roasted by the fire, comp. Lev. II. 14, מנחת בכורים ... אכילת קלוי באש.



incense; a handful was taken off by the priest and burnt, and the rest reserved to the sacerdotal order.<sup>1</sup> Such minute and pedantic observances were derived from a few general statements of Scripture, which do not even warrant the grinding of the grains; and indeed Josephus mentions a much simpler mode of procedure.<sup>2</sup>

The two leavened loaves from the new wheat presented on the Feast of Weeks, and consisting of one omer of fine flour each,<sup>3</sup> were also submitted to the rite of waving,<sup>4</sup> like the two lambs at the same time killed as thank-offerings,<sup>5</sup> and then entirely given over to the priests for food;<sup>6</sup> for being leavened, nothing of them could be burnt on the altar.<sup>7</sup> The Mishnah<sup>8</sup> describes the manner as follows: the priest places the two loaves on the two lambs, puts both his hands underneath, and lifts them to and fro, upwards and downwards.<sup>9</sup>

## XII. THE DRINK-OFFERING (קִדְּוּי).<sup>10</sup>

In harmony with the anthropomorphic notions which guided early generations in their religious customs, a complete sacrifice, like a complete meal, was composed of meat, bread, and wine. This practice obtained among the Hebrews also,<sup>11</sup> and it was in the Levitical code consolidated by the law that every animal holocaust and thank-offering, whether private or public, if consisting of a quadruped, was to be accompanied not only by a cereal gift but also by a libation of wine,<sup>12</sup> the quantity of which was, like the flour and the oil of the bloodless oblations, carefully graduated according to the animal which consti-

<sup>1</sup> *Mishn.* l. c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Jos. Ant.* III. x. 5; see Comm. on *Exod.* p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish tradition fixed the length of the loaves at 7 inches and the width at 4 inches, with horns at each side of 4 inches (*Mishn.* Menach. XI. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Wherefore the loaves (שתי הלחם) were also called לחם תנופה, *Lev.* XXIII. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ver.* 20.

<sup>6</sup> They were to be eaten, according to subsequent ordinances, not earlier than two, and not later than three days after they had been baked (*Mishn.* Menach. XI. 9).

<sup>7</sup> *Lev.* II. 12; see Comm. on *Exod.* p. 456.

<sup>8</sup> *Menach.* V. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. also *ibid.* XI. 1, 2. — On the burning of incense, see pp. 118—

120; and on the bloodless offerings of other nations, pp. 90—92; comp. also *Schömann*, *Griech. Alterth.* II. 217—220.

<sup>10</sup> Or קִדְּוּי (*Deut.* XXXII. 38); Sept. *σπονδαίον* or *σπονδή*; Vulg. libamentum or libamen; Luther, Trankopfer.

<sup>11</sup> See 2 *Ki.* XVI. 13; *Hos.* IX. 4; *Joel* I. 9, 13; II. 14; comp. *Gen.* XXXV. 14; 1 *Chr.* XXIX. 21; 2 *Chr.* XXIX. 35.

<sup>12</sup> It is unwarranted to suppose (with *Kurtz*, *Opfere.* p. 257), that the Pentateuch commanded libations not during the wanderings in the desert but only after the settlement in Canaan; לְדֹרוֹתֵיכֶם (*Ex.* XXIX. 42) is not "by your descendants" but "throughout your generations", that is, for ever (comp. עַל־דָּוָם); and any argument based upon *Num.* XV, would apply to the מִנְחָה no less than to the קִדְּוּי.

tuted the chief sacrifice; for the measure was in every case identical with that of the oil, the fourth part of a hin being prescribed with each lamb, the third part of a hin with each ram, and half a hin with each bull.<sup>13</sup> Whether a libation was to be added to the independent cereal offerings also, is not distinctly stated, but it is not improbable, and accords well with the nature of the *minchah*;<sup>14</sup> and the circumstance that the vessels used for libations were ordinarily placed on the golden Table,<sup>15</sup> seems to justify the conclusion that the shew-bread also was coupled with a drink-offering. In later times, wine and oil were kept, in casks, in the inner Court of the Temple,<sup>16</sup> and the overseer of the drink-offerings was one of the fifteen chief officers (כֹּהֲנִים) of the Sanctuary.<sup>17</sup>

We need hardly remark, that the libation as ordained in the Pentateuch reveals no trace of its pagan origin; it was evidently understood as an additional means of marking the victim as consecrated to God and of hallowing the ceremony; it was retained as essential because wine formed, like cattle and corn, a chief part of Palestine's wealth; and it was, therefore, like the meat and the flour, also termed "a sweet odour to the Lord."<sup>18</sup> But it is significant that the expiatory sacrifices were, according to the enactments of the Pentateuch, not coupled with drink-offerings,<sup>19</sup> for reasons probably kindred to those which recommended the omission of cereal accompaniments in the same solemn classes of sacrifice.<sup>20</sup> A libation of wine was also suppressed in burnt-offerings of birds which were generally confined to the poor, and the purification-offering of the leper which involved peculiar and exceptional rites.<sup>21</sup> Hence the Mishnah states the law not quite correctly thus, "All the sacrifices of the community and of individuals require drink-offerings, except the firstlings, the tithe animals, the paschal lamb, the sin-and trespass-offerings, though the expiatory sacrifices of a leper demand a drink-offering".<sup>22</sup> In later times, libations of wine could even be offered alone as free-will gifts.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Num. XV. 3—11; comp. XXVIII. 7 (where כֶּסֶף is used instead of מֶנָּה, see p. 106), 9, 14; XXIX. 6, 16, 24; VI. 15, 17, etc.; Exod. XXIX. 40, 41; XXX. 9; Lev. XXIII. 13, 18; Num. VI. 15; *Mishn.* Shekal. V. 3, 4; also Menach. IX. 3; see p. 217.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 221. That such was not the case can at least not be concluded from the silence in the second chapter of Leviticus, which merely details the various forms of the *minchah*, and has

therefore no occasion to mention the כֶּסֶף which was uniform in all instances.

<sup>15</sup> Exod. XXV. 29; Num. IV. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Jos. Bell. Jud.* V. xiii. 6.

<sup>17</sup> *Mishn.* Shekal. V. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Num. XV. 7, רִיחַ נִדְחָה לִדְבַח.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. Num. XV. 5; VI. 17.

<sup>20</sup> See p. 218.

<sup>21</sup> Lev. XIV. 10 *sqq.*; comp. p. 117.

<sup>22</sup> *Mishn.* Menach. IX. 6, כָּל קֶרְבַּנִּים הַצִּיּוּר וְהַיָּחִיד טְעוּנִין נִסְכִּים וְכִי.

<sup>23</sup> Called רִבְוִיָּה בְּפִי עֶצֶם.

disposed of, and the priests who were forbidden to drink an beverage when they entered the holy precincts,<sup>4</sup> received no

Libations of wine very commonly accompanied ancient sa even if these consisted of human victims.<sup>6</sup> They were, at all offered by the Israelites to the worshipped idols of surrounding They formed in some instances the chief religious act connect offerings, as among the Syrians in Hierapolis, who in certai simply led the victim before the altar, and there poured the upon it, after which it was conducted home, and killed by the with suitable prayers.<sup>8</sup> They were indispensable at the sacri the Greeks and Romana, who put a part of the wine on the hea victim which was thereby consecrated,<sup>9</sup> or into the flame by wh flesh dedicated to the gods was burnt.<sup>10</sup> But they were also off

in contradistinction to נסכים הבאים עם הבדחה (Mishn. Zevach. IV. 3, and Bartenur. in loc.; Talm. Temur. 114b); comp. Mishn. Menach. XII. 4 (סחטרים ששן יין ואין סחטרים ששן).

<sup>1</sup> Exod. XXV. 29, "dishes, and bowls, and cans, and cups with which the libations are made (אשר יסך בהן), of pure gold"; XXXVII. 16; Num. IV. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Num. XV. 10 (this clear statement cannot be understood, as by Rashi in loc. הין אינו אשה שאינו נירץ על (האש); comp. Exod. XXX. 9 (לא חסכו) (עליו): Num. XXVIII. 7 (עליו).

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Herod. II. 40; Suppl. 981, 982 (Θύειν τε λαίβαν σπονδάς); Aristoph. Nub. 421, 1102; Strab. XV. iii. 14; Curt. (the Scythians); Euseb. Praep. 20; Arnob. Adv. Nat. VII. 2 Athen. XI. 71, p. 486; XIV. 78; Plin. Nat. Hist. V. 5, where the excessive vagance of Heliogabalus in his drinkings is described, so that "streams of wine and blood ran along", the wine being of "the most precious"; etc. etc.

themselves, before the cup was tasted, as a tribute and homage due to the gods;<sup>11</sup> at the commencement of meals,<sup>12</sup> or after their conclusion when the "pledge-cup" was presented to the good Deity,<sup>13</sup> or if the party remained for drinking, in which case three libations were usually poured out, one to the Olympian Zeus and the other celestials, one to the heroes, and the third to Zeus the Saviour and Accomplisher,<sup>14</sup> although the custom varied according to time and place;<sup>15</sup> or as "sleep-libations" (*κοιταῖα*) before retiring to rest to ask the gods of night, especially Hermes, for propitious dreams;<sup>16</sup> or merely to add solemnity to prayers,<sup>17</sup> and sometimes to impart strength and sanctity to treaties and alliances,<sup>18</sup> whence they occasionally were compounded of wine and blood.<sup>19</sup> They consisted not only of wine, whether pure<sup>20</sup> or mixed with water — the former especially at offerings, the latter at or after meals<sup>21</sup> — but also of honey, oil, or milk, whether pure and individually, or diluted with water, or mixed together.<sup>22</sup> Some deities, solemn and severe, required "sober libations"<sup>23</sup> not comprising wine;<sup>24</sup> others, as the gods of Hades, were honoured with libations of honey currently considered as an

*σιν*); *Od.* III. 459, 460; *Virg. Aen.* VI. 254 (*Pingue super oleum infundens ardentibus extis*); etc. Cases of sacrifices without libations were exceptional (comp. *Paus.* I. xxvi. 6; VI. xx. 2; *Schol. Soph. Oed. Col.* 100).

<sup>11</sup> *Hom.* II. VII. 480, οἶνον δ' ἐκ δεπαίων χαράδεις χέον, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη Ἥρην πίνειν πρὶν λείψαι ὑπερμενέει Κρονίῳσι; *Plat.* *Phaed.* c. 66, p. 117 B (*ἀποσπείσαι*).

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Hom.* II. X. 578, 579; *Porphyr.* *De Abst.* II. 20; *Athen.* IV. 22, p. 143.

<sup>13</sup> *Athen.* XV. 47, 48, p. 693, (ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος πρόποισις).

<sup>14</sup> Zeus σωτήρ and τέλειος; *Pollux*, *Onom.* VI. 15; comp. *Becker*, *Charicl.* II. 262.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Athen.* I. 28; II. 3, 7; XV. 17, 47; *Diod. Sic.* IV. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Heliod.* III. 45; comp. *Hom.* *Od.* VII. 136—138; see, however, *Heliod.* III. 18 init.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Hom.* II. XVI. 225—232.

<sup>18</sup> Which hence, like the libations, were called *σπονδαί* (comp. *Philipp.* II. 17), but also *λοιβίδες*, and the vessels used *σπονδαῖα* and *λοιβάσια*, the

former for wine, the latter for oil; *Athen.* XI. 71.

<sup>19</sup> See p. 128. The Carmani, when at their banquets they wished to testify their friendship for each other, cut the veins on their faces, and mingled the blood which flowed down with the liquor, and then drank it, "thinking it the very greatest proof of friendship to taste one another's blood" (*Athen.* II. 24, τέλος φιλίας νομίζοντες, τὸ γεύεσθαι τοῦ ἀλλήλων αἵματος).

<sup>20</sup> *Ἐνσπονδός, μεγύμ*; comp. *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.* 1132 (*ἀκρατος σπονδή*).

<sup>21</sup> Comp. *Athen.* X. 30; XV. 46; *Pausan.* II. xi. 4; V. xv. 6.

<sup>22</sup> *Aeschyl.* *Pers.* 611—613; *Soph.* *Oed. Col.* 159 (*καίθινδρος οὐ κρατὴρ μελιχίων ποτῶν ῥεύματι συντρέχει*). 481; *Electr.* 595; *Eurip.* *Orest.* 115 (*Μελίκρατ' ἄφες γάλακτος οἶνον πόντ' ἄχνην*; comp. *Eustath.* ad *Od.* X. 519); *Strab.* XV. iii. 14 (p. 732); *Ovid.* *Metam.* VIII. 274, 275; *Sil. Ital.* XIII. 434 (*Fundunt mella super Bacchique et lactis honorem*); *Athen.* XI. 71; *Pollux*, X. 75.

<sup>23</sup> *Νηφαλία*, comp. p. 139.

<sup>24</sup> Comp. *Porph.* *De Antr. Nymph.* 19 (the bee is ζῶον μάλιστα δίκαιον καὶ

men to depart, taking care not to turn back<sup>4</sup> — an instructive ceremony combining many characteristic features of ancient worship.

For water also was deemed acceptable as a libation. The Greeks used water with their victims, in times of urgency and in place of wine,<sup>5</sup> and sometimes water and milk together with wine.<sup>6</sup> For water were by the Egyptian priests frequently presented to the gods of the gods, because they were considered both by the Egyptian and Persians as the two purest elements; and every day when the temple of Serapis in Alexandria was opened, a singer standing on the steps of the portico, sprinkled water over the marble-floor, while he held a torch of fire to the people.<sup>7</sup> For it was an axiom extensively held, "the sun is the best of all things",<sup>8</sup> or "the water sanctifies";<sup>9</sup> it was de-

νηφαιτικόν, ὅθεν καὶ νηφάλοι οἰονοῦνται αἱ διὰ μέλιτος); *Aesch.* *Eumen.* 107 (χοάς τ' αἰνοῦντες, νηφάλια μελίγματα); *Poll.* *Onom.* VI. 3 (τὸ νηφάλια θύειν... ὅπερ ἴστέ τὸ χρῆσθαι θυνοῖς αἰνοῖς κτλ.); *Paus.* V. xv. 6. Theophrastus, however, it is uncertain on what authority, explains the "sober" libations to be exclusively those of water (*Porph.* *Abst.* II. 20, νηφάλια δ' ἴστέ τὰ ὑδρόσπονδα); comp. *Hermann*, *Gottesd. Alterth.* § 25, note 20; *Schömann*, l. c.; *Bernays*, *Theophr. Schrift über Frömmigkeit*, pp. 94, 95.

Οὐδ' εἶχον μέθυ λείψαι ἐπ' αἰθέρι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, Ἀλλ' ὕδατι σπένδοντες τὸν ἔγκρατα πάντα: but μέθυ do seem to be wine but meth, which the earlier Greeks took the place of the former; comp. *Schömann*, *Gr. Al.* II. 220.

<sup>5</sup> *Euseb.* *Praep. Ev.* IV. 20, καὶ γάλα βάλλει, καὶ ὕδατος αἵματος εἶδος; perhaps also *Athen.* XI. 93 (πληροχόας on the last day of the Eleusinian Mysteries) comp. *Schömann* p. 382. Theophrastus believes the earliest libations were water for

sacred, because "free from putrefaction", and conducive to generation<sup>10</sup> and calm reflection,<sup>11</sup> in fact "to add vigour to the mind and body";<sup>12</sup> it was believed to possess nutritious and remedial powers,<sup>13</sup> and was therefore chiefly used for libations in cases of danger and illness,<sup>14</sup> or at offerings for the dead, as was the case among the Hindoos,<sup>15</sup> and is still usual among the Dahomans;<sup>16</sup> especially the water of certain rivers, as the Nile and Ganges, was regarded as hallowed and divine, and pre-eminently desirable for all solemn lustrations, for which purposes it was sent in vessels sealed by priests to all parts of the country and even into foreign lands.<sup>17</sup> Now the Hebrews also seem primitively to have employed water for libations. Thus it is related that in the time of Samuel, at a period of distress and misfortune, they assembled in Mizpah, "and drew water and poured it out before the Lord,"<sup>18</sup> and fasted on that day,<sup>19</sup> when wine, the great exhilarator, which rejoices God and men, would not have been in harmony with the mournful occasion; and David is stated to have "offered as a libation to the Lord"<sup>20</sup> the water which three of his heroes had procured for him at the peril of their lives.<sup>21</sup> A later Jewish custom, alleged to be founded on a tradition from Moses, but not acknowledged by the Sadducees, was the

<sup>10</sup> Συμμεγεῖ γὰρ γενέσκει τὸ ὕδωρ; *Porph. Antr. Nymph. c. 17*; comp. *Diog. Laert. VIII. 35*; *Athen. Deipnos. II. 14*, quoting Theophrastus, ἐνιαχοῦ ὕδωρ γενέσκει παιδεύονον, and τὸ Νεῖλου ὕδωρ πολυγονώτατον καὶ γλυκύτερον.

<sup>11</sup> *Athen. II. 19* (Εὐβουλος εὐρετικὸν φησι τὸ ὕδωρ ποιεῖν τοὺς πίνοντας αὐτὸ μένον); comp. 21, 22 (*Δημοσθένους ὕδροποτῶν καὶ μεριμνῶν τὰς νύκτας*); for "water is more digestible (*πεπτικώτερον*) than wine", *ibid. c. 23*; comp. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Κωνσταντὸν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, *Diocles and Praxagoras in Athen. I. c. 25*.

<sup>13</sup> *Athen. I. c. 14, 25*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ovid, Fast. VI. 157*, Spargit (sc. *Cranae*) aquis aditus (viz. of the house in which in the infant Procas had been attacked by the wild birds *Stryges*) et aquae medicamen habebant.

<sup>15</sup> *Mans, III. 70, 74*.

<sup>16</sup> At the Sin-Kwain or Water-sprinkling custom; *Burton, Mission to Gelele, II. 167—176*.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Hom. Od. IV. 477, 581* (*Αἰγύπτῳ, διπτεῖος ποταμοῖο*); *Juvén. VI. 527—529* (*lbitad Aegypti finem, calidaeque petitas A Meroe portabit aquas ut spargat in aedem Isidis*); *Athen. II. 23*; see *Böhlen, Alt. Ind. I. 250—252*; *Comm. on Gen. pp. 640, 641*; on *Exod. pp. 122, 123*.

<sup>18</sup> וַיִּזְבֹּחַ לַיהוָה יֶזְבֶּכֶת.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 6. There is no indication to prove that the pouring out of the water was meant as "a symbolical act expressing humble submission and grief" (*Drusius, Thenius, a. o.*; comp. *Ps. XXII. 15*; *Lam. II. 19*), or as "a ceremonial of purification" (*Gerlach, a. o.*); it was what it appears *prima facie*.

<sup>20</sup> וַיִּזְבֹּחַ לַיהוָה יֶזְבֶּכֶת.

<sup>21</sup> 2 Sam. XXIII. 16; comp. 1 Ki. XVIII. 34. Whether the metaphor in *Lament. II. 19* refers to this kind of libation is uncertain; and it is equally doubtful whether the broth of the victim poured out by Gideon on the command of the angel (*Judg. VI. 19, 20*) was intended as a drink-offering.

principles and offerings must represent the life, the labour and wealth of the worshipper.

### XIII. THE BURNT-OFFERING (עֹלָה).

#### 1. ITS GENERAL CHARACTER.

HOLocausts form probably the most important kind of offerings; for they involve most strikingly the idea of *sacri* express most completely the absolute submission to the power deity.<sup>1</sup> They were certainly a principal characteristic in the worship of the Hebrews, nay its very foundation. Their intent at the common Sanctuary was regarded as a national disaster in almost the annihilation of the theocracy.<sup>2</sup> They sometimes represented the whole class of animal sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> Killed at the Sanctuary, they were designed by the Law to keep alive the feeling of humble dependence on Jehovah, and were used as a chief acknowledgment of His theocratic rule.<sup>4</sup> They marked the habitual tone

<sup>1</sup> שְׁמִתָּה בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי; comp. Isai. XII. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Mishn.* Succ. IV. 9, 10; V. 1. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. נִסְכֵּי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ in *Mishn.* I. c. IV. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 162; comp. also *Maimon.* Tamid c. 10; *Goodwin*, Mos. et Aaron, III. vi. 12, and *Hottinger's* notes in loc.; *Bauer*, *Gottesd. Verf.* I. 197—200.

<sup>5</sup> They were therefore termed *sacri*-

<sup>6</sup> Hence even the Pharisees of later times, though limited by a general permission of the Pentateuch (Lev. XVII. 8; XXII. 18, 25; Num. 29), allowed foreigners to offer holocausts at the Temple, in spite of the opposition of zealous (Mishn. VII. 6 שְׁלַח עֹלֹתָם מִמִּדְבַּר הַיָּם; *Philo*, *Legat. ad Caium* c. 11. 569, where speaking of the



religious life of the nation, for which reason the fire was to be permanently maintained on the brazen altar, both by day and night.<sup>9</sup> They were the most unselfish offerings, "sacrificed for God Himself alone, who ought to be honoured for His own sake and not for that of any other being or thing."<sup>10</sup> Therefore, they were to be presented in the name of the people, regularly and throughout the year, every morning and every evening<sup>11</sup> as "continual burnt-offerings",<sup>12</sup> on every sabbath<sup>13</sup> and day of the new-moon;<sup>14</sup> on the three great agricultural festivals,<sup>15</sup> when the people assembled "to appear (לִרְאוֹת) before the Lord";<sup>16</sup> on the Day of Memorial celebrated on the first day of the seventh month,<sup>17</sup> and on the Day of Atonement.<sup>18</sup> They were moreover prescribed to individuals on various important occasions — after recovery from leprosy<sup>19</sup> or "a running issue",<sup>20</sup> to women after childbirth,<sup>21</sup> and to the Nazirite, when he had been defiled by contact with a corpse,<sup>22</sup> and when the time of his separation terminated.<sup>23</sup> And they were ordained as a part of ceremonials of consecration — when the Tabernacle or Temple was dedicated,<sup>24</sup> when Aaron and his sons were initiated into the functions of hereditary priesthood,<sup>25</sup> and the Levites were appointed the privileged ministers of the priests;<sup>26</sup> they typified, on such occasions, the Divine authority to which the offices were subjected, and to which the functionaries owed their power as delegates and instruments. But their principal weight lay in applications unconnected with positive precepts of the Law. They were, in a great measure,

rulers, especially from the time of Alexander the Great, ordered a regular sacrifice of burnt-offerings in their name, as a sign of their sovereignty, so that a refusal on the part of the Hebrews to offer them, was equivalent to rebellion against their authority.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. VI. 2, 5, 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Philo*, De Victim. c. 4; the holocaust was hence called *θυσία ἀγνήσας*.

<sup>11</sup> Exod. XXIX. 38—42; Num. XXVIII. 3—8, 23, 31; XXIX. 11, 16; 2 Ki. XVI. 15.

<sup>12</sup> מִזְבֵּחַ עֹלֹת (Sept. *θυσία* or *ἀλοσύσασα ἀνδελύσασα*); Exod. XXIX. 38, 42; Num. XXVIII. 3, 6, 23, 31; Ezek. XLVI. 15; Ezr. III. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Num. XXVIII. 9, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Num. XXVIII. 11—14; XXIX. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Exod. XXIII. 15; XXXIV. 20; Lev. XXIII. 12, 37; Num. XXVIII. 19, 27;

XXIX. 13, 17, 20, etc.; Deut. XVI. 6, 7; 2 Chr. XXXV. 12, 14, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Exod. XXXIV. 24; Deut. XXXI. 11; comp. Isai. I. 12. Therefore called עֹלֹת רִאיוֹת.

<sup>17</sup> Num. XXIX. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Num. XXIX. 8; Lev. XVI. 24. The public burnt-offerings amounted annually to no less than 1245 animals; see the computation in Sect. XX.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. XIV. 19, 22, 31.

<sup>20</sup> Lev. XV. 14, 15.

<sup>21</sup> Lev. XII. 6—8.

<sup>22</sup> Num. VI. 9—11.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. vers. 13, 14.

<sup>24</sup> Num. VII. 15, 21, 27, etc.; Ezra VI. 17; comp. 1 Chr. XXIX. 21, 22; 2 Chr. XXIX. 31, 32.

<sup>25</sup> Exod. XXIX. 16, 25; Lev. VIII. 18; IX. 2, 7, 12, 16.

<sup>26</sup> Num. VIII. 8, 12.

many and sinfulness, they partook of the character of expiations, and in earlier periods formed their substitute,<sup>5</sup> as, on hand, even in the time of Ezra, sin-offerings were occasionally as holocausts.<sup>6</sup> If the whole congregation had unwittingly transgressed a Divine commandment, they were ordered to their expiation both a bullock as a burnt-offering and a goat offering.<sup>7</sup> Holocausts were professedly designed as an atonement for those who presented them in a proper spirit; and the imposition of hands had there nearly the same meaning as in sin-offerings, the Rabbinical maxim is justified "the burnt-offering expiates the transgressions of Israel";<sup>8</sup> there is some truth in the parable of Jonathan, who after the command, "the one lamb — for a burnt-offering — thou shalt offer in the morning", adds the explanation, "for the sins of the night", and after the words, "and the second lamb thou shalt offer towards the evening", inserts, "to atone for the sins of the day";<sup>10</sup> and Abarbanel described them not incorrectly, if we take them to aim at "uniting man's intellectual aspirations with God."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hence called זֶבֶחַ, Ezek. XLVI. 12; 2 Chr. XXIX. 31, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. XX. 26; 1 Sam. VII. 9; Ps. LXVI. 13—15; 2 Chr. XXXI. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. 2 Sam. VI. 13; 1 Ki. III. 4; VIII. 5; Ezra VI. 17; VIII. 35; 1 Chr. XXIX. 21; 2 Chr. XXIX. 32, 33; see p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Porphyr.* De Abst. II. 26; see Sect. XX. Yet it is against the proofs of

<sup>7</sup> Num. XV. 22—26.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. I. 4, זֶבֶחַ לְכַפֵּר עָלֵינוּ, comp. XIV. 20; XVI. 24; and VIII. 21.

<sup>9</sup> פֶּרֶחַ עַל עֲוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם שֶׁל יִשְׂרָאֵל.

<sup>10</sup> Num. XXVIII. 4, עַל זֶבֶחַ לַיְלָה וְעַל זֶבֶחַ הַבֹּקֶר. This character of the holocaust, long disputed, is now almost

true nature is, perhaps, most clearly discernible in the account that Job, whenever his sons had completed their cycle of feasts, "sent and sanctified them, and rose up early in the morning, and offered burnt-offerings according to the number of them all: for Job said, 'It may be that my sons have sinned, and cursed God in their hearts.'"<sup>12</sup> — It is, therefore, hardly an exaggeration if Philo, Ebn Ezra, and others termed the holocaust the "best" and "highest", the "choicest" or "most exquisite" kind of sacrifice;<sup>13</sup> it was certainly, according to the Pentateuch, to consist of an unblemished *male* animal — whether bullock, ram or goat<sup>14</sup> — which was considered the superior species;<sup>15</sup> and though the Law permitted or prescribed also holocausts of pigeons and turtle-doves of either sex, particularly in order to render them accessible to persons of limited means,<sup>16</sup> the larger quadrupeds were selected in preference, and slain in unlimited numbers, to prove the offerer's readiness and self-abnegation. In this sense their spiritual character was vindicated by Rabbinical writers, who set forth the canon, "the holocaust is offered only for the cogitations of the heart",<sup>17</sup> and explained that the victims were burnt "to atone for the thoughts that rise in the mind."<sup>18</sup> Yet it would be unwarranted to trace this meaning to the Hebrew term *עֹלָה*.<sup>19</sup> This simply refers to the external destination of the holocaust "to rise up" (*עלה*) on the altar entirely in the flames<sup>20</sup> or

of securing to the worshipper the gift of prophecy; or apprehended that, if these sacrifices were neglected, God would indignantly desert the Tabernacle, and return to His heavenly abode (*Ebn Ezra* on Lev. I. 1).

<sup>12</sup> Job. I. 5; comp. XLII. 8; Bauer (Gottesd. Verf. I. 84) even calls Job's sacrifices, though unjustly, *sin-offerings*, see *supra*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ἀρίστατον, ἀριστον*, Philo, De Vict. cc. 4, 5; *מהנבחרת*, *Ebn Ezra* on Lev. I. 3; *ראש הקרבנות*, *Abarb.* Introd. to Lev. c. IV, which designation he specially applies to the daily or regular burnt-offerings.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. I. 3, 10.

<sup>15</sup> See pp. 95, 96; comp., however, 1 Sam. VI. 14; VII. 9; see p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. I. 14; XII. 8; XIV. 22; XV. 14; Num. VI. 11.

<sup>17</sup> *אֵת הָעֹלָה בָּאָה אֵלָא עַל הַדְּמוּת הַלֵּב*.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Targ. Jonath.* Lev. VI. 2, *ראחיה למכפרה על הדמיון לבא*; *Ebn*

*Ezra* on Lev. I. 4, *הַגִּיף הַקָּרִב לְכַפֵּר, עַל הָעֹלָה עַל הַרִיחַ יִקְרָא עֹלָה*.

<sup>19</sup> As is evidently done by Ebn Ezra in the definition quoted; by Abarbanel (Introd. to Levit. c. IV), who takes the *עֹלָה* as a symbol of the soul of man, which after his death *ascends* to the throne of God to be united with Him for ever; and by Hengstenberg, who explains the *עֹלָה* as "a type of the elevation of the heart to the living God."

<sup>20</sup> It is unnecessary, in order to obtain this sense, to depart from the plain and obvious signification of the Hebrew verb *עלה* and to derive the word from

*על* or *עול* (*غل*) to *glow*, to *burn* (so *Ewald*, *Alterth.* p. 50), so that *עֹלָה*

would be not the *burnt* but the *burning* offering (*Glühopfer*, comp. Lev. VI. 2); but this has no foundation in the Hebrew usage. It is true that all sacrifices are connected with "rising" or burning on the altar (p. 73); but the *עֹלָה* is "the rising

only implies the true characteristics of holocausts, but introduces notions which necessarily lead to misconceptions in the of the ritual.

## 2. ITS HISTORY.

As burnt-offerings were probably the most ancient as they are, in the Book of Genesis, fitly attributed to some of the patriarchs — to Abel, the first breeder of cattle, anxious to in gratitude for the increase of his flocks;<sup>6</sup> to Noah who had been vered by the special intervention of the Divine power, together the germs of a new animal creation, over which his descendants thenceforth to have unlimited dominion;<sup>7</sup> and to Abraham, who had received back his son Isaac from the hand of God.<sup>8</sup> It is reported, later, in the time of Moses,<sup>9</sup> when Jethro desired to in his reverence for God's greatness shown in the redemption of from Egypt,<sup>10</sup> when the Hebrews solemnly received the "Book

offering" *par excellence*; so that even עֹלָה alone is used for ascending as a burnt-sacrifice, and עֹלָהּ alone for offering one on the altar (Ps. LI. 21; Judg. VI. 28; 2 Ki. XVI. 12).

Hence עֹלָה is not identical in sense with קָרָבָן, meaning generally "that which comes upon or reaches the altar" (comp. *Talm.* Zevach. 76, אֶמֶר רַבָּא עֹלָה דִּירֵן הוּא; see p. 72; so Knobel, Neumann, a. o., taking passages as

occurs also on the Punic table seilles (lines 3, 5, 7, 9, 11), but there the *perfect offering*; comp. *Ewald*, *Bibl. Jahrb.* I. 211.

עֹלָה וְכֶלֶל, Ps. LI. 21. The Chaldee translators read עֹלָהּ and עֹלָהּ; the Sept. ὁλοκαύτωμα (comp. Mark XII. 33; Heb. or ὁλοκαύτωμα, and sometimes ὁλοκαύτωμα and ὁλοκαύτωμα; Ph. αὐτὸν; the Vulg. holocaustum

Covenant",<sup>11</sup> when they recklessly inaugurated the worship of the golden calf,<sup>12</sup> and when Aaron and his sons were consecrated for their holy offices;<sup>13</sup> in the time of Joshua, when this general engraved the precepts of the Law on Mount Ebal;<sup>14</sup> in the epoch of the Judges, when Gideon destroyed the altar of Baal to secure the worship of God alone;<sup>15</sup> during the leadership of Samuel, when the Ark of the Covenant was conveyed from the Philistine territory to Beth-shemesh,<sup>16</sup> when a war with the Philistines was imminent,<sup>17</sup> and when Saul was anointed as king;<sup>18</sup> in all periods of the Hebrew monarchy,<sup>19</sup> and at its restoration after the exile.<sup>20</sup> Most of the events just alluded to clearly imply the characteristic ideas of holocausts — the humble and contrite acknowledgment of the Divine sovereignty: but as an occurrence may at the same time mark the successful attainment of some desired end, holocausts were not unfrequently coupled with joy-offerings;<sup>21</sup> and as the general confession of sinfulness may be qualified by an anxiety of expiating a particular trespass, holocausts were often combined with sin-offerings.<sup>22</sup>

Yet the notion of internal atonement was a growth of a later time; it formed a distinctive feature of the theology of the Pentateuch, and was developed gradually, in the course of centuries, and after many struggles and fluctuations.<sup>23</sup> We are, therefore, compelled to suppose that the expiatory character which the burnt-offerings manifestly bear in the Levitical law, was stamped upon them by the subsequent compilers of this code, and was then superadded to their original meaning as offerings of awe and propitiation, a meaning which they had long shared with the sacrifices of other religious systems of antiquity.

<sup>11</sup> Exod. XXIV. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Exod. XXXII. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Exod. XXIX. 16—18; comp. Num. XXIII. 1—3, 14, 15, 29, 30.

<sup>14</sup> Josh. VIII. 31; comp. XXII. 23.

<sup>15</sup> Judg. VI. 26; comp. XI. 31; XIII. 16.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Sam. VI. 14, 15.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 9, 10; XII. 9.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Sam. X. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. 2 Sam. VI. 17, 18; XXIV. 25; 1 Ki. III. 4; VIII. 64; IX. 25; 2 Ki. V. 17; X. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Ezr. III. 2, 3.

<sup>21</sup> שְׂלֵמִים or זֶבַח; comp. Exod. X. 25; XVIII. 12; XXIV. 5; XXXII. 6; Num. X. 10; Deut. XXVII. 7; Josh. VIII. 31; Judg. XX. 26; XXXI. 4; 1 Sam.

X. 8; XIII. 9; 2 Sam. VI. 17, 18; XXIV. 25; 1 Ki. III. 15; IX. 25; 1 Chr. XVI. 1, 2; 2 Chr. VII. 1; XXXI. 2; Ps. LI. 19, 21; LXVI. 13—15; Isai. LVI. 7; 1 Macc. IV. 56 (*προσέφεραν ὀλοκαυτῶματα μετ' εὐφροσύνης, καὶ ἰδύσαν θυσίαν σωτηρίου κτλ.*); etc.

<sup>22</sup> Lev. V. 7; VIII. 14, 18; IX. 3; Num. VI. 11, 14; XXVIII. 11, 15, 19, 22, 27, 30, etc. It cannot, however, be asserted that burnt-offerings necessarily and invariably formed an accompaniment both of thank- and sin-offerings (so *Bähr*, Symb. II. 362), as the latter classes had a meaning perfectly distinct.

<sup>23</sup> See Sect. XV.

## 3. THE MODE OF SACRIFICING.

1. If the holocaust was a bullock, a sheep, or a goat, the offerer, after the usual preparation, took the animal to the Court of the Sanctuary before the brazen altar, and there placed his right hand on its head,<sup>1</sup> after which he killed it at the northern side of the altar. A priest received the blood, and another sprinkled it round the sides of the altar,<sup>2</sup> while a third, or a Levite who assisted at the menial duties of the service, flayed the victim and reserved the hide as a perquisite of the priest "who offered up the burnt-offering", that is, who sprinkled the blood.<sup>3</sup> The same minister cut the animal "into its pieces" or its natural limbs, carefully washed the bowels and legs with water,<sup>4</sup> and salted all pieces. Priests then placed wood on the fire which was perpetually kept on the altar of burnt-offerings, laid upon the wood the head, the bowels, and the legs, together with the other parts and the fat (פֶּתִי) that had been taken out of the flesh and the entrails, so that the entire animal, except the skin,<sup>5</sup> was consumed on the altar as "a sweet odour to the Lord",<sup>6</sup> of course accompanied by the legally prescribed cereal and drink-offerings.<sup>7</sup> It is not improbable<sup>8</sup> that in general first the head, the shoulders, the fat, and the members of the body were laid on the burning wood, and that this was the עֲלֵה *par excellence*;<sup>9</sup> and that then only the bowels and legs, so apt to be covered with impurity and to communicate it to the rest, were washed and added to the pile.<sup>10</sup> It is of the nature of the *holocaust* (or לֵבָנָה) to suppose that, primitively, the hide also was delivered up to the flames, as was done with some kinds of sin-offering;<sup>11</sup> but the latter were burnt without the camp, the holocausts on the altar; and as the smell thus caused within the hallowed precincts must have been too offensive to admit even figuratively of the designation of "sweet odour", the hide was subsequently excepted from the general destruction, but was indirectly dedicated to God through His representatives, the priests.

<sup>1</sup> Although this rite is mentioned in connection with the bullock only, it was undoubtedly performed with holocausts of sheep and goats also (see p. 177); therefore the Sept. adds in the text, though without authority, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. I. 5. 11; VIII. 19; IX. 12; Ex. XXIX. 16; comp. 2 Ki. XVI. 15; see pp. 184, 185.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. I. 6; VII. 8; comp. vers. 7, 14, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Joseph. Ant.* III. ix. 1.

<sup>5</sup> And according to Jewish tradition, the "sinew of the hip" (שֵׁנֵי הָיָה, Gen. XXXII. 33).

<sup>6</sup> See Lev. I. 3—9; VIII. 18—21; IX. 12—14; Exod. XXIX. 15—18; and the explanation of the ceremonies in Sect. X.

<sup>7</sup> Sects. XI. XII.

<sup>8</sup> From Lev. IX. 13, 14, compared with *Joseph. Ant.* III. ix. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. IX. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. also p. 197; and Comm. on Lev. I. 1—9.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. IV. 11, 12, 21, etc.; see p. 205.

When the holocaust was a turtle-dove or a pigeon,<sup>12</sup> the following ceremonies, exclusively performed by the priest,<sup>13</sup> were observed: the priest brought it to the altar, wrung off (מלק) its head, and in doing so pressed out the blood on the side of the altar. He then salted the head and put it on the altar into the flames. Next removing the crop (מרא) with its excrements (נצה),<sup>14</sup> and casting it on the eastern side of the altar, to the place of the ashes, he cleft (עפע) the wings with his hand,<sup>15</sup> without, however, breaking them off, and then burnt on the altar what remained of the bird.<sup>16</sup>

#### XIV. THE THANK-OFFERING (שְׁלָמִים or זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים)<sup>17</sup>

##### 1. ITS GENERAL CHARACTER AND HISTORY.

SACRIFICES intended as an acknowledgment for some temporal boon, were naturally associated with elements of joy and homeliness excluded from the severer classes of offering; the solemnity was tempered by cheerfulness;<sup>18</sup> the diviner aspirations were mingled with human feelings and cravings. God, the Master and Judge, was merged in God, the Benefactor and Rescuer.<sup>19</sup> The holocaust and the sin-offering represented the life and person of the worshipper; the thank-offering was pre-eminently his gift or a part of his property; the former typified self-sacrifice, the latter grateful reciprocity of benefits; the former were prompted by a feeling of disturbed harmony with God, the latter was presented in a state of virtual union with Him. Hence the *shelamim* (שְׁלָמִים) may well be explained as *safety-offerings*;<sup>20</sup> for they were connected with wants deemed essential to happiness and a

<sup>12</sup> For it was lawful to offer one of these birds as a sacrifice; comp. *Talm. Kinn.* 24a, צריכה להביא עוד פרידה אחת.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 166.

<sup>14</sup> And probably the feathers; see *Comm.* on l. 16.

<sup>15</sup> אין שסוע אלא ביד, comp. *Rashi* on l. 17.

<sup>16</sup> See *Lev.* l. 14—17, and the Ceremonies in Sect. X.

<sup>17</sup> For שְׁלָמִים is used even for a single animal presented as a thank-offering (*Lev.* VII. 14; IX. 22; *Num.* VI. 14; *Ezek.* XLV. 15), though once the singular שְׁלָם occurs (*Am.* V. 22), as on the Punic inscription of Marseilles (lines 3, 5, 7, 9, 11), and sometimes זֶבַח alone denotes praise- and thank-offering (*Exod.* XVIII. 12; *Lev.* XIII.

37; *Num.* XV. 3, 8; *Deut.* XII. 6; 1 *Sam.* I. 21; II. 19; comp. l. 4; *Ps.* LI. 15; see p. 74, note 6), though occasionally זבחים ושלמים is added (*Josh.* XXII. 27, זבחים ושלמים): the combination זבחים ושלמים (1 *Sam.* XI. 15) is easily intelligible, זבחים being the generic, שְׁלָמִים the specific term; comp. p. 74, note 6.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Deut.* XXVII. 7; 1 *Sam.* XI. 15; comp. *Num.* X. 10; 2 *Chr.* XXX. 21, 22; 1 *Macc.* IV. 56.

<sup>19</sup> See pp. 1, 2.

<sup>20</sup> From שָׁלֵם to be sound, healthy, or safe (*Job* IX. 4; XXII. 21); thus the Sept. frequently σωτήριον or θυσία σωτήριον, Philo (*De Vict.* 7—9), Outram (l. c. p. 115, sacrificia salutaria), Hengstenb., Keil, Uhler, Bunsen, a. o. (Heilsopfer).



secure existence. The translation *thank-offering*<sup>1</sup> may be entertained;<sup>2</sup> the vague rendering *peace-offering*<sup>3</sup> can only be admitted if peace is understood as an equivalent for safety, or if chiefly the frame of mind is considered in which the sacrifice was offered;<sup>4</sup> while the rendering "*feast-offering*"<sup>5</sup> entirely abandons the Hebrew designation, and is derived from one particular, though important characteristic of the class:<sup>6</sup> the translations *purity-offering*,<sup>7</sup> because clean persons only were allowed to eat of it;<sup>8</sup> *restoration-offering*,<sup>9</sup> because it restored the sinful man to a proper state of innocence;<sup>10</sup> and *sacrifice of completion*, "because in partaking of it the relation between God and the worshipper appeared perfect and complete",<sup>11</sup> or because it formed the complement of other offerings,<sup>12</sup> or because "that which on the part of the offerer was deficient in his relation to God was made complete by it":<sup>13</sup> these and other translations are unsupported by Biblical statements. Nor is it plausible to explain שלמים as the *perfect offering* in the sense that at once God, the priests, and the offerer received a portion of it, and thereby concluded a mutual alliance.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus *Joseph. Ant.* III. ix. 1, 2, *χαριστήριος θυσία*; Luther, Rosenm., Gesen., Winer, De Wette, a. o.

<sup>2</sup> Though it is based upon the meaning of שלם in Piel (to requite, to recompense; comp. Ps. LVI. 73; Hos. XIV. 3; and שָׁלַם Mic. VII. 3), not in Kal, which does not occur in that sense; comp., however, שָׁלַם (Isai. I. 23) *reward, bribe*; and שָׁלַם and שָׁלַם.

<sup>3</sup> Used in the English version in accordance with *εὐχάριστη θυσία* commonly employed by the Septuagint, and *victima pacifica* or *pacificum* of the Vulgate; so also Gussetius (*sacrific. pacalia, quibus pax cum Deo savetur*), Tholuck, Kahnis, Delitzsch, a. o. (*Friedensopfer*), and according to Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 215) expressing that the offerer is שָׁלַם עִם־יְהוָה (1 Ki. VIII. 61; XI. 4; XV. 3; comp. also שָׁלַם my friend, and Gen. XXXIV. 21), which is too abstract for sacrifices so primitive and so general.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Abarban.* *Intro.* to Lev. IV. sub fin., ולכן נקראו שלמים לפי שהם בבחינת השלום שבא על המקריב; *Rashi* and *Grotius* on Lev. III. 1; *Carpzov*, *Appar. Crit.* p. 706; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Michaelis, Boothroyd, a. o.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Joseph. Antiq.* III. ix. 1, κατ' εὐχρίαν δρᾶται τῶν τεθυκότων.

<sup>7</sup> *Sacrificium telcticum, ἀπὸ τῆς τελετῆς.*

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Lev. VII. 20; *Rosenm.* Lev. p. 26. <sup>9</sup> Comp. Job VIII. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Movers*, *Opferw. der Carth.* p. 62.

<sup>11</sup> *Baumgarten*, Lev. p. 132, *Vollendungsopfer.* <sup>12</sup> See *infra.*

<sup>13</sup> *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 369.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Abarb.* *Intro.* to Lev. c. I, ולכן נקראו שלמים שנותנים שלום למזבח לכהנים ולבעלים; *Outram*, *De Sacrif.* I. xi. 1; *Dav. Kimchi* sub שלם; *Venema*, *Dissert. Sacr. L.* II. p. 349. Artificial is the long and laborious deduction of Neumann (*Sacr. V. T. Salut.* pp. 17—27), who finally arrives at the result that the שלמים "eum figunt menti statum, in quo humana religio integritatis nitore perfusa ac sensu perfecti in se divinat atque in mundo vestigia ut pacis inde natae perfruatur gaudiis" — manifestly comprising a complexity of notions utterly foreign to the simple Hebrew term; in an earlier treatise the same writer ventured the translation

It cannot be difficult to understand and account for the peculiar regulations fixed by the Law with respect to thank-offerings. The victims, whether of the herd or the flock, were not required to be males; female animals were equally acceptable.<sup>15</sup> The bloodless oblation added to the thank-offering, consisted, in some cases, not only of unleavened cakes and wafers, but also of leavened bread, to remind the Israelite of his ordinary life and subsistence.<sup>16</sup> Not the whole animal was burnt, but some special parts only were delivered to the Deity as "an offering made by fire, a sweet odour to the Lord";<sup>17</sup> two choice portions, the breast and the right shoulder, were reserved for the priests, who ate them with their wives, their children, and their servants, within the precincts of the Sanctuary, while the rest was consumed in convivial feasts, in any part of the sacred town, by the offerer himself with his family and household, together with the Levite, the poor, and the stranger, his invited guests.<sup>18</sup> This social element connected with the *שְׁלֵמִים* strengthens the conclusion derived from internal reasons that this class of sacrifice, at least in its Levitical development, is of much later origin than the holocausts; for it pre-supposes a degree of legal and political organisation considerably in advance of primitive existence. Now let it be observed that all the fat, together with the members and organs to which it is chiefly attached, as the kidneys and the fat tail (*הַלֵּל*) of certain kinds of sheep,<sup>19</sup> was burnt to God on the altar; and let it be considered that the *minchah* which belonged to the thank-offering, was in an unusual degree prepared with oil; for not only were the cakes and wafers mingled and anointed, but the flour itself of which they were made, was sometimes saturated (*מְרִיָּקָה*) with it:<sup>20</sup> therefore *fatness*, typical of abundance and prosperity, of joy and gratitude, appears to be the leading characteristic of thank-offerings.<sup>21</sup> It is hence obvious, that thank-offerings did not, as has been contended, form a mere accessory to holocausts supposed to have invariably preceded; they emanated from a frame of mind so peculiar, so important, and so beneficial for religious education that they could well be pre-

"Seligkeitsopfer" (in Schneider's Zeitschr. 1853, p. 543).

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Lev. III. 1, 6, 12; IX. 4, 18; XXII. 21; XXIII. 19; Num. VI. 14; XV. 8; 1 Ki. VIII. 63; see p. 95.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. VII. 13; comp. Am. IV. 5; Num. VI. 15; see p. 135.

<sup>17</sup> Lev. III. 5, 11, 16.

<sup>18</sup> See Sect. X. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. II. 3—5, 9—11, 14—16; comp.

IV. 26; VI. 5; 1 Ki. VIII. 64 (*חֲלֵבֵי הַשְּׁלֵמִים*). <sup>20</sup> See p. 105, note 23.

<sup>21</sup> See pp. 129, 130. Philo (De Victim. 7) speculates on the probable reason why the brain and the heart, being the dominant and therefore the most precious organs, were not offered rather than the fat and the fat parts; but his arguments apply to the heart and brain of man, and not of animals.

a holocaust to his thank-offering. The combination of the two was singularly appropriate; though according to its character each was fitly offered alone and at different seasons.

Again, it is true that the thank-offering also possessed power; its ritual with regard to the sprinkling of blood, quite described as an atonement of the soul,<sup>2</sup> was exactly identical with those ordained for holocausts.<sup>3</sup> But the sprinkling formed the centre (עקר) of the animal thank-offering only in so far as it designated the slaughtered beast as a *victim*; it characterised the ceremony in general, but was not the specific peculiarity of the individual offering which consisted in the burning of the fat parts and in the meals which followed the sacrifice. The thank-offering expiated as it was prompted as it was by gratitude for mercies and blessings naturally called forth in the pious mind not only the feeling of guilt but also of defects and shortcomings, and therefore necessarily invited to purification, moral improvement, and to earnest prayer effecting a closer approach to God's holiness. But these were the results of the thank-offering rather than its primary *object*: its original aim was a state of inward peace, or from a supposed union with God self-examination occasioned by the offering, necessarily proved that union was capable of a higher intensity and power.<sup>4</sup> As a

<sup>1</sup> See p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XVII. 11.

דָּוָם can ensue" (*Bähr*, Syn.

<sup>3</sup> See Sect. X. 7; comp. Lev. VII. 14, 33.

No proof can be derived from the meaning of the word דָּוָם

<sup>4</sup> More than this cannot be contended

that verb, though signifying

offerings were presented in gladness of heart and out of the abundance of man's property, they never consisted of vegetable oblations alone or of birds, as pigeons and turtle-doves, the less so as these would not have sufficed for the altar, the priests, and the convivial meals which formed so essential a part of the sacrifice. A legal command was not given on the subject; it was hardly required considering the strongly marked nature of the eucharistic sacrifice.

Now the thank-offerings, originally forming one great class, were by the Levitical code divided into two separate kinds<sup>5</sup>—those that were obligatory and prescribed by the Law, as the two lambs offered on the Feast of Weeks,<sup>6</sup> and the ram presented by the Nazarite at the end of his term of seclusion,<sup>7</sup> and those that were presented in consequence of a vow or as a voluntary gift.<sup>8</sup> In the former case, they received in the Levitical legislation the distinctive name of *praise-offering*.<sup>9</sup> They

correctly explains that the thank-offering was to be presented in a state of grace, but spiritualising in his wonted manner, he observes "if a man feels within himself a complete devotion to God, he brings a thank-offering of which he himself has a part, like God and the priest, and he thus helps to fulfil the injunction 'You shall be to Me a kingdom of priests'."

<sup>5</sup> Comp. p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. XXIII. 19; see Comm. on Exod. pp. 455, 456.

<sup>7</sup> Num. VI. 14.

<sup>8</sup> נָרַר אֵל נִרְבָּה; comp. Lev. VII. 12, 16; XXII. 21; XXIII. 38; Num. XV. 3, 8; XXIX. 39; Deut. XII. 6, 17.

<sup>9</sup> זֶבַח הַתְּנִיחַ הַשְּׁלָמִים (Lev. VII. 13, 15) or זֶבַח הַתְּנִיחַ or זֶבַח הַתְּנִיחָה (Lev. VII. 12; XXII. 29; Ps. CVII. 22; CXVI. 17), also simply הַתְּנִיחָה (Jer. XVII. 26; XXXIII. 11; Am. IV. 5; Ps. LVI. 13; 2 Chr. XXIX. 31); Sept. and Philo (De Victim. 9) θυσία αὐτοπροσώπου, and so 1 Macc. IV. 56 (θυσία σωτηρίου καὶ αὐτοπροσώπου). It is obvious that the term זֶבַח הַתְּנִיחָה, in accordance with its literal sense "sacrifice of praise", originally applied to all offerings of thankfulness presented on joyful occasions, whether in consequence of a vow or not (comp. Ps. LVI. 13; CVII. 22; CXVI. 17, 18; 2 Chr. XXIX. 31; XXXIII. 16), and was

thus in some measure synonymous with זֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים (comp. also *Hengstenb. Opfer*, p. 38), though in early times the זֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים was offered also in distress and before deliverance (see p. 248), the זֶבַח הַתְּנִיחָה never on such emergencies; but later, when the subdivision of the class was established, its meaning was contracted and it became the ordinary terminus technicus for one species; while the word זֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים was reserved for the general confession of gratitude, even without a particular occasion; so that it stands in the same relation to the זֶבַח הַתְּנִיחָה, as the holocaust does to the sin-offering. The definition which Philo (De Vict. 9) gives of the זֶבַח הַתְּנִיחָה, that it was offered for general prosperity and happiness in life (ἀπολλόμενον καὶ εὐφρανόμενον βίῃ χρόνου ἐν εὐπαθείαις τε καὶ εὐτυχίαις μεταζόμενον, ἀπῆμων καὶ ἀπταιστον ὡς κτλ.) is not warranted by the Biblical accounts; and the translation confessio or sacrificium confessionis (*Spencer, Legg. Ritt. III. ii. 3*, p. 765; comp. 2 Chr. XXX. 22) unnecessarily omits the chief notion, namely the confession of *benefits* received. The view of Ewald (*Alterth. p. 55*) that he who offered a זֶבַח הַתְּנִיחָה enhanced the solemnity of the act by causing professional singers

while the primitive arrangement was retained with regard to offerings presented as vows or voluntary gifts.<sup>3</sup> Again, 1 offering was accompanied by an extraordinary bloodless obla not demanded with the voluntary or vowed sacrifice.<sup>4</sup> Besides this gradation fixed between a thank-offering as a vow and will gift that, in the former case, the animal was required t lutely perfect; while, in the latter, it was accepted even if it were either abnormally long or short.<sup>5</sup>

It is untenable to understand the offerings of the vow c gift as supplications for the future, and the praise-offering as the past;<sup>6</sup> for the vow and not unfrequently also the free-wil presented after the event.<sup>7</sup> Subtle and almost cunningly d the remark of Hengstenberg that offerings of thanks are pro tical with offerings of supplication, because "it is a delicat entreaty to return thanks as if the object of the prayer h been granted."<sup>8</sup> And the difficulty is glossed over rather tha by the remark, that "in misfortune it must appear especially and salutary to be sure of peace with God."<sup>9</sup>

The motives of the Law in limiting the time for the co of the sacrificial flesh, do not seem so uncertain or so recond

---

and musicians to chant and perform hymns of praise, has found no adherent.

<sup>1</sup> Lev. XIX. 5—8.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. VII. 15; VIII. 32; XXII. 29, 30. Exod. XXIX. 34

or the like, so that a partic or gift was singled out an that the former was oblig all circumstances, while needed not to be offered if th

often been represented. The flesh of an animal piously slaughtered before God, was to be clearly distinguished from ordinary meat; the repast was, therefore, not to be separated from the act of sacrificing by an interval so long as to efface the connection between the one and the other, and what remained beyond the second day was fitly removed by fire, though of course, as it had ceased to bear any relation whatever to the sacrifice or its rites, not by the fire of the altar. The legislator insisted upon this point with almost surprising rigour, "If any of the flesh of the thank-offering be eaten at all on the third day, it shall not be accepted; nor shall it be imputed to him that offers it; it shall be an abomination (לִנְפֹשׁ), and the soul that eats of it shall bear its iniquity"—<sup>10</sup> a rigour prompted by the anxious zeal of maintaining the sacred character of everything appertaining to the sacrifice.<sup>11</sup> These conclusions are confirmed by some other precepts. If the flesh by chance came into contact with any unclean thing, it was to be burnt. Clean persons only were allowed to eat of it; but if any one partook of it who was in a state of impurity, whether this lay in his person or was occasioned by touching impure objects, the Law declared "that person shall be cut off from among his people",<sup>12</sup> because "he has profaned the holiness of the Lord."<sup>13</sup> Various are the reasons proposed by others in explanation of the law under discussion. Philo strangely believes that one day was allowed to remind the offerer of the salvation of his soul, and one to remind him of the health of his body, and as no third end was aimed at by sacrifices, they could not be eaten on the third day,<sup>14</sup> which fanciful opinion does not even attempt to account for the *one* day to which the meals of praise-offerings were confined. Again, it has been observed that as he who prays for some future boon generally prolongs his devotion more than he who offers thanks and praises for some past blessing, the flesh of the שלמים offered for vow or free-will gift, could be kept for two days, that of the תודה for one day only;<sup>15</sup> but that distinction is not correct, since the proper or Biblical זבח תודה is not a voluntary but a compulsory sacrifice; besides, the delay in eating the flesh does not mark superior sanctity, but just the reverse. There is some specious plausibility in the view that as in the warm eastern climates the meat begins on the third day to show symptoms

<sup>10</sup> Lev. VII. 18.

<sup>11</sup> The Egyptian custom of eating the whole pig offered to Bacchus and the moon on the day of the sacrifice, without leaving anything (*Herod.* II. 47), is no real analogy, since the Egyptians considered the pig utterly unclean,

except on the day of the full-moon on which it was offered. <sup>12</sup> Lev. VII.

19—21. <sup>13</sup> Comp. also Lev. XIX. 8. See in general notes on VII. 11—21.

<sup>14</sup> *Philo*, De Victim. c. 8.

<sup>15</sup> So *Abarb.* Introd. to Lev. c. IV sub fin.

of putrefaction which was deemed an abomination in connection with sacrifices,<sup>1</sup> it was not to be eaten beyond that time.<sup>2</sup> But such considerations are foreign to the subject. If the Hebrews knew from experience that the flesh becomes foul after two days, they might be expected to dispose of it before; and if they yet left anything over after that time, they would not have required a vehement and emphatic warning not to eat putrid meat which they might well be supposed to eschew spontaneously. But it is futile to conjecture that the ordinance intended to compel the rich to make the Levites partakers of the feast,<sup>3</sup> or to inspire the Israelites with confidence in God's goodness, and to remove pusillanimous anxiety for their future sustenance, or — curious to note — to prevent them from drying or preserving the meat, and thus "eating the flesh in a sparing manner, or communicating only a small portion of it to their particular friends."<sup>4</sup>

This is the character of the *עֹלֹת* as it appears in the laws of the Pentateuch; but in early times they seem to have been offered also when blessings were not thanked but prayed for;<sup>5</sup> and during long periods, they were, besides, employed for the ratification of solemn covenants, treaties, and alliances,<sup>6</sup> for which purpose, according to eastern notions and customs, the common meals which followed rendered them peculiarly appropriate.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 133, 136.

<sup>2</sup> So *Philo*, De Vict. c. 8 (ὅτι τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης πάντα καιρίως δεῖ προσφέρεισθαι, σπουδῇ ποιουμένους ὥς μὴ μεταβάλλῃ μήκει χρόνου, κρεῖων δὲ ἐσίων εὐσηπτος ἢ φύσις, καὶ ἂν ἡδύσμασι παραρτυθῇ); see *Maimon*. Mor. Nevoch. III. 46; *Bähr*, Symb. II. 375; a. o.

<sup>3</sup> Theodoret (Quaest. 6 in Lev.), Cleric., Michael., Rosenm., Scholl, a. o.; see also *Philo*, l. c. (ὅτι τὰς θυσίας ἀταμιεύτους εἶναι προσήκει καὶ πᾶσιν εἰς μέσον προκειῖσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις).

<sup>4</sup> *Harmer*, Observ. I. 394, 396; *Rosenm.* Morgenl. II. 159; comp. *Michael*. on Lev. VII. 15—18.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. XIII. 9; 2 Sam. XXIV. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Judg. XX. 26; XXI. 4; see also Exod. XXIV. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. pp. 36, 37. It is as idle to deny the occurrence of "supplication-offerings" in Hebrew history as to assert their authorisation in the *Levitical law*: the thank-offerings promised

as a vow (נדר), were also presented *after* the event (the long explanations given by Klicfloth, l. c. pp. 77, 78, and by Kurtz l. c. §§ 129, 130, obscure rather than elucidate the simple subject), and the free-will offerings were from their nature independent of personal successes; therefore the division of *עֹלֹת* into those offered as *הודאה על העבר* and those offered as *הפלה על העתיד*, in unjustified; comp. *Abarban.* on Lev. VII. 11—22, p. 20a ... שלמי נדר ונכה. Ps. CXVI. 16—19 certainly does not support this view); *Outram*, De Sacrif. I. xi. 1, p. 115 (sacrificia salutaria ... semper de rebus prosperis fieri solent, impetratis utique aut impetrandis); *Hengstenberg*, Authent. des Pentat. II. 86 (Die Schelamim werden entweder als verkörperter Dank für das ertheilte, oder als verkörperte Bitte um das zu ertheilende Heil dargebracht); *Kurtz*, Opfere. §§ 127, 130; *Öhler*, l. c. p. 637;



## 2. THE MODE OF SACRIFICING.

The first ceremonies — the imposition of the hand, the slaughtering, the receiving and sprinkling of the blood — were precisely identical with those observed at holocausts of quadrupeds:<sup>8</sup> but then the offerer presented to the officiating priest all the fat and the fat parts — namely the fat that is on and round the bowels, the two kidneys with the fat that is upon them by the flanks, together with the great lobe of the liver to be taken off by the kidneys; and if the victim was a sheep of that peculiar species termed “long-tailed”,<sup>9</sup> he added to them its fat tail (זָכַרְתָּ);<sup>10</sup> he was not permitted to send them or to order them to be fetched, but had to take them himself to the altar “with his own hands”,<sup>11</sup> that they might visibly appear as his personal and ready free-will gift offered with a grateful heart; he then handed over the breast and the right shoulder to the priest who “waved” the former and “heaved” the latter,<sup>12</sup> after which he burnt all the fat and fat parts as a fire-offering to God on the altar.<sup>13</sup> Now, if the thank-offering were presented in the name of the whole people, the priests received all that remained after the burning of the fat; but if presented by a private individual, they claimed as their portions the right shoulder and the breast, the former to be assigned to the officiating functionary, the latter to be reserved for all Aaronites in common; while the rest was allowed to the offering Israelite to be eaten by him and his guests on the same or the following day.<sup>14</sup>

## XV. THE SIN-OFFERING AND THE TRESPASS-OFFERING

(זָכַרְתָּ<sup>15</sup> and זָכַרְתָּ).

THE consciousness of moral frailty, the most unfailing source of truly religious impulses and the surest indication of an ideal yearning

*Ewald*, *Alterth.* p. 53 (Der Dank geht von selbst in ein Flehen um die Fortsetzung der göttlichen Gnade über); and on the other hand, *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 385; *Kliefoth*, l. c. p. 79. Both vague and incorrect is the remark, “every repast that was held before God in a solemn manner and with prescribed rituals was called זָכַרְתָּ” (*Saalschütz*, *Mos. R.* I. 313).

<sup>8</sup> See p. 240.

<sup>9</sup> *Ovis laticaudata*.

<sup>10</sup> *Lev.* III. 3, 4; comp. *IV.* 8, 9; see notes on *Chapt. III.* and *Comm.* on *Exod.* p. 555.

<sup>11</sup> *Lev.* VII. 30, זָכַרְתָּ זָכַרְתָּ.

<sup>12</sup> See *Sect.* X. 11, 12.

<sup>13</sup> Similarly the Phoenicians burnt upon the altar chiefly, if not exclusively, the fat of the victims (comp. the inscription of *Marzeilles*, line 14, זָכַרְתָּ זָכַרְתָּ; *Virg. Aen.* IV. 62, Aut ante ora deum pingues spatiat ad aras; *Movers*, l. c. pp. 107, 108).

<sup>14</sup> See *Sect.* X. 14; comp. in general *Lev.* III. 1—16; VII. 30—34; and on the זָכַרְתָּ which accompanied the praise-offering, *Sect.* XI. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Or זָכַרְתָּ (*Num.* XV. 24), and poetically זָכַרְתָּ (*Ps.* XL. 7).

after moral improvement, strongly pervaded the character of the Hebrews. "There is not a righteous man upon earth that does good and sins not",<sup>1</sup> is a sentiment which recurs in the most varied shades and modifications.<sup>2</sup> A sufferer overwhelmed by anguish, breaks forth in the desponding cry, "O Lord, rebuke me not in Thy wrath, nor chasten me in Thy hot displeasure... There is no rest in my bones on account of my sin; for my iniquities have passed over my head; as a heavy weight they are too burdensome for me."<sup>3</sup> One of Job's friends knows no stronger reason for patient endurance under trial and distress than the general truth, "How can man be justified with God, or how can he be clean that is born of a woman? Behold, even the moon shines not and the stars are not pure in His eyes: how much less man, the worm, and the son of man, the maggot."<sup>4</sup> The humble feeling of sinfulness cannot be felt more deeply, nor expressed more earnestly. It traces spontaneously suffering to trespass. "Innumerable evils", exclaims the Psalmist, "encompass me; my iniquities take hold of me, and I cannot survey them; they are more abundant than the hairs of my head, and my heart fails me."<sup>5</sup> It longs after deliverance from its own oppressive torments, "Have mercy upon me, o God", prays an unhappy sinner, "according to Thy loving kindness; according to the multitude of Thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions; wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin."<sup>6</sup> It is irresistibly prompted to frank and lowly confession, "I acknowledge my sin to Thee, and I hide not my iniquity; I say, I will confess my transgression to the Lord."<sup>7</sup> It finds the most soothing relief, the sole rescue from moral despair, the only safeguard against hardened recklessness, in the hope of Divine pardon and atonement, which are accorded as the result or reward of internal regeneration: "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered, and blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputes not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile."<sup>8</sup> And it finally recognises as the most acceptable offering which God never rejects, "a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart."<sup>9</sup> — Simultaneously with these noble notions, the Hebrews developed the conception of the merciful attributes of God, who, though unable to

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. VII. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. 1 Ki. VIII. 46; 2 Chr. VI. 36 (כִּי אֵין אִישׁ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹדֵם אֶת אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתָיו); *Philo*, De Vict. c. 14 (καὶ ἄν γὰρ ὁ τέλειος ἢ γεννητός, οὐκ ἐκφεύγει τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν).

<sup>3</sup> Ps. XXXVIII. 1, 3, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Job XXV. 4—6; comp. IV. 17—19;

comp. also Gen. XXXII. 11; 2 Sam. VII. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. XL. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. LI. 3, 4; comp. XIX. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. XXXII. 5; comp. XXXVIII. 19 (עֵינֵי אֲנִי אֶרְאֶה מַחְטָאִי); LI. 5 (כִּי פֶשַׁע אֲנִי אֶרְעַ וּמַחְטָאִי נִגְרִי חֹמֶד).

<sup>8</sup> Ps. XXXII. 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Ps. LI. 19.

efface the evil deed, can "pass over" it,<sup>10</sup> remember it no more, and blot it out,<sup>11</sup> or annul its direful effects upon the mind and the fate of the offender; and who is slow to wrath and willing to pardon, "The Eternal is merciful and gracious, longsuffering and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin."<sup>12</sup> They commonly accepted the doctrine, "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return to the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for He pardons abundantly":<sup>13</sup> in harmony with which view a later Jewish writer justly observed, "The most precious benefit attending the expiatory offerings is this that the sinner becomes aware and is sure in his mind, that his transgressions have been remitted; for if he were not persuaded of God's readiness to pardon him, he would despair of mercy, and add iniquity to transgression."<sup>14</sup>

But long periods of religious education are required to arrive at similar ideas and convictions.<sup>15</sup> The sense of awe, of dependence, and of gratitude in relation to an all-powerful, all-wise, and all-loving Ruler of the World, precedes by long epochs the dawning notion that purity of the heart is, in a great measure, the source of our happiness, that it is certainly the end of all religious life, and the indispensable condition of peace and serenity and every true blessing. At first, no doubt, the belief prevailed that sin demanded the death of the sinner. "David said to Nathan, I have sinned to the Lord: and Nathan said to David, Indeed the Lord has passed over thy sin, thou shalt not die."<sup>16</sup> "Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? says the Lord God: and not that he should return from his ways and live?"<sup>17</sup> Next the notion was entertained that the sinner's life might be saved if another life was surrendered in its stead, whether that of a human being<sup>18</sup> or of an animal.<sup>19</sup> Thus the doctrine of substitution or vicarious suffering gained

<sup>10</sup> העביר חטאת or ען (2 Sam. XII. 13; XXIV. 10); עבר על פשע (Mic. VII. 15); comp. Ps. LI. 11 (הסחיר פנים) (סחטא).

<sup>11</sup> Jer. XVIII. 23; XXXI. 34; Isai. XLIII. 25; XLIV. 22; Ezek. XVIII. 22; XXXIII. 16; comp. Isai. XXXVIII. 17; Jer. L. 20; Mic. VII. 19; Ps. LXXXV. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Exod. XXXIV. 6, 7; comp. XXXIII. 19; Num. XIV. 18—20; Deut. XXX. 1—3; 1 Sam. XII. 19; Isai. LVII. 15, 16; Joel II. 13; Jonah IV. 2; Ps. LXXXVI. 15, 16; CIII. 8; CXI. 4; CXLV. 8; 2 Chr. XXX. 9; Neh. IX. 17, 31.

<sup>13</sup> יִרְצֶה לְסִלְחָם, Isai. LV. 7; comp. Mic. VII. 19; 2 Chr. XXX. 8. On the Jewish notions of repentance or "return" (חשוכה), see *Hamburger, Real-Encycl. für Bib. und Talm.* I. 201—204.

<sup>14</sup> *Abarb.* Introd. to Levit. sub fin.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Falke, Theologie des A. T.* I. 355.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Sam. XII. 13; comp. 1 Sam. XII. 19.

<sup>17</sup> Ezek. XVIII. 23; comp. 30, 31; XXXIII. 10 *sqq.*

<sup>18</sup> Mic. VI. 7; 2 Sam. XII. 14; comp. XXI. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Gen. XXII. 12, 13; see, in general, Sect. XVIII.

ground; and after the lapse of new and long intervals, the death of the victim came to be regarded as a symbol of atonement wrought by repentance and inward reform. Therefore the Book of Genesis thoughtfully refrains from introducing sin-offerings; it seems justly to regard them as bespeaking a stage decidedly in advance of patriarchal simplicity; and it employs, in their place, the burnt-offerings, which indeed involve the general notions of unworthiness and expiation, but more distinctly convey the homage due to the Divine sovereignty, and hence express not so much an internal as an external relation between God and man. Thus a grand sin-offering would have been most appropriate when Noah had been saved from the universal destruction caused by the wickedness of the human race; but he is described as having presented a magnificent holocaust.<sup>1</sup> The compilers and revisors of the Pentateuch were evidently guided by the principle that an intimate and direct communion between the Israelites and Jehovah was justified or even possible only after the nation had been elected and appointed as "a kingdom of priests and a holy people";<sup>2</sup> when the demand had been proclaimed, "You shall be holy, for I am holy";<sup>3</sup> when a mutual covenant had been concluded on the basis of a special revelation; when, therefore, the trespasses of the individual, though they could not destroy, were considered to defile the sacredness of the community. After these remarks we need not point out the perversity of the opinion that sin-offerings were the earliest or fundamental class of the bloody sacrifices, while holocausts marked the next, and thank-offerings the last and highest link in the sacrificial system; and that the worshipper was allowed to eat of the flesh of thank-offerings alone, because, in that stage only, he had reached a degree of purity entitling him to a share in the holy food; or that a part only of every sin-offering was burnt on the altar, because, in that phase of religious life, the spiritual elevation was not sufficiently advanced to warrant the burning of the entire victim.<sup>4</sup> If this view were correct, every thank-offering ought to have been preceded by a sin-offering and a holocaust as a necessary preparation; and in the same manner, every holocaust by a sin-offering, which is a paradox. The reason why the offerer was excluded from the flesh of the expiatory sacrifices, and why only a part of it was consumed on the altar, is, unconnected with considerations like those alleged and will be stated below. The fortieth Psalm is indeed acquainted with sin-offerings, which it couples with holocausts;<sup>5</sup> but according to

<sup>1</sup> Gen. VIII. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. XIX. 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. XI. 44; XX. 26; Deut. VII. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Kurtz, Opfereult. §117, comp. §79, pp. 133, 134.

<sup>5</sup> עֹלָה וְחֵטֶא, ver. 7.

internal evidence, it was not, as the title intimates, composed by David,<sup>6</sup> but by a much later poet living in the time of Jeremiah, and perhaps by Jeremiah himself;<sup>7</sup> and even this late production mentions sin-offerings not as fixed by Divine command, but like the other classes of sacrifice as founded in custom, "Sacrifice and offering Thou didst not desire; my ears hast Thou opened; burnt-offering and sin-offering hast Thou not required" — a significant hint respecting the date of the sacrificial legislation of the Pentateuch.

As the Hebrew sin-offerings were based upon the consciousness of human weakness and corruption, they were, as a rule, admitted only in cases of *inadvertent* and *unintentional* transgression,<sup>8</sup> but were not accepted for reckless and wanton impiety manifesting itself in deeds of wicked defiance;<sup>9</sup> concerning any one guilty of such iniquity the Law ordained, "he shall be cut off from among his people; he has despised the word of the Lord and broken His commandment; his iniquity shall be upon him."<sup>10</sup> David was not permitted after his deliberate crime against Uriah, to present a sin-offering, but he was to expiate his guilt by Divine punishment.<sup>11</sup> The knowledge that "the cogitation of man's heart is evil from his youth"<sup>12</sup> was to afford no pretext for leniency to premeditated malice, but was, on the contrary, to stimulate to enhanced vigilance and self-control. Divine forgiveness should be granted to the imperfection, but not to the perversion of human nature.<sup>13</sup> The precepts of the Law being the emanation of Divine wisdom, they bore the stamp of holiness; they could not, without offence to their all-wise Author, be violated under any circumstances or in any manner whatever; they required, therefore, stonement even if transgressed involuntarily, unconsciously, and accidentally: their absolute sanctity marked every trespass as a deplorable guilt to be expiated by a sacrifice of self-humiliation. It may be for this reason that the term "to his" or "to your acceptance before the Lord",<sup>14</sup> which

<sup>6</sup> De Wette observes cautiously, "it may be doubted whether the Psalm is attributable to David"; and Delitzsch, more decidedly, "it disclaims, by its style and form, the authorship of David."

<sup>7</sup> So Seiler, Rengcl, Delitzsch, Hitzig, a. o.

<sup>8</sup> חֲטָאתָה, Num. XV. 22—26; see notes on Lev. IV. 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> חֲטָאתָה, Num. XV. 27—29, *ἀνευσεως* in Hebr. X. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Num. XV. 30, 31; comp. Hebr. X. 26, "for if we sin wilfully, after we

have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sins"; and the Rabbinical canon מִזֵּד לֹא בֵר קָרְבַּן הוּא (see Rashi and Bartenurah on *Mishn. Horayoth* I. 4).

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Hengstenberg*, *Opfer*, p. 18; *Kurtz*, *Opfere*. pp. 151, 152.

<sup>12</sup> Gen. VIII. 21; comp. VI. 5.

<sup>13</sup> How the law in Lev. V. 21—26 is to be reconciled with this broad principle, is pointed out below p. 272, and in the notes in loc.

<sup>14</sup> לְרָצוֹן לִפְנֵי יְהוָה or לְרָצוֹנְכֶם.

occurs so frequently with respect to other offerings,<sup>1</sup> is never employed in reference to expiatory sacrifices; these were prompted by occasions which could not be pleasing in the eyes of God; for though He delights in true repentance, He must look upon its necessity with mingled feelings of grief and pity. Hence the sin-offering, if an animal, was unaccompanied by a *מִנְחָה* and a libation of wine,<sup>2</sup> and if a cereal oblation, it was presented without oil and frank-incense;<sup>3</sup> in the former case, it was evidently to be deprived of the character of social and domestic enjoyment, since it was "no food of the Lord";<sup>4</sup> and in the latter, it was not to recall the ideas of cheerfulness and festive serenity, of abundance and ornament, of spiritual enlightenment and elevation, wherefore it is not designated as "a sweet odour to the Lord":<sup>5</sup> the flesh of those animal sin-offerings whose blood did not come into the Holy, was indeed eaten by the male Aaronites,<sup>6</sup> but the repast was serious and severe, devoid of genial conviviality, and forming a part of the ritual of expiation;<sup>7</sup> and the trespass-offering presented by the leper after his recovery, was exceptionally coupled with oil,<sup>8</sup> for though disease was regarded as a Divine retribution, it differs in its moral estimation essentially from a sin directly and palpably committed; moreover that sacrifice was presented by the convalescent in a state of purity, after having been pronounced clean by the priest,<sup>9</sup> whence it partook more properly of the character of a burnt-offering, designed to convey the admission of general sinfulness and dependence. From all this it is manifestly erroneous to contend that the commands with respect to sin-offerings apply only to transgressions of the ceremonial law or to "theocratic sins", but not "to moral offences in a stricter sense":<sup>10</sup> are not fraud, abuse of trust, theft, perjury, and the like, for which expiatory offerings were ordained,<sup>11</sup> "moral offences in a

<sup>1</sup> Lev. I. 3, 4; XIX. 5; XXII. 19, 20, 21, 29; XXIII. 11; comp. Exod. XXVIII. 38; Lev. VII. 18; XIX. 7; XXII. 27; Isai. LVI. 7; LX. 7; Ezek. XX. 41; Am. V. 22; Mal. I. 10, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Num. XV. 1—13 (where holocausts and thank-offerings, *עֹלָה* and *תְּנוּפָה*, are alone mentioned), 27—29; XXVIII. 15, 22; XXIX. 16, 19, 22, etc.; *Maimon. Maas. Hakkorb.* II. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. V. 11; Num. V. 15.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 218, 229.

<sup>5</sup> Except in Lev. IV. 31, see Comm. in loc. (comp. pp. 7, 8, 116, 119).

<sup>6</sup> Lev. VI. 19, 22, 23.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 210. Yet at the initiation of the priests, and also on the first day after its completion, all the flesh of the sin-offerings was burnt, although the blood came only upon the brazen altar in the Court (Exod. XXIX. 11—14; Lev. VIII. 14—17; IX. 8—11, 15), from reasons explained in the proper place (see notes in loc.).

<sup>8</sup> Lev. XIV. 10—12.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. vers. 7—9.

<sup>10</sup> So *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 368; comp. pp. 402, 403, 405, 409; *Bauer*, *Gottesd. Verf.* I. 151; *Kurtz*, *Opfere.* § 92.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. V. 21, 22.

stricter sense"? and do the words which almost uniformly introduce the precepts concerning sin-offerings, "if a person sin in one of all the commandments of the Lord, which ought not to be done, and he does one of them",<sup>12</sup> do these words not imply the moral injunctions which form so important a part of the Pentateuch, and constitute the second half of the Decalogue? The opinion that the word "Law"<sup>13</sup> is identical with "ritual law",<sup>14</sup> is an assertion unsupported by the usage of the language, and repudiated by the spirit of the Pentateuch, which code alone, not the life of the Hebrew people as mirrored in their history, can in this question be considered. It is true that any direct opposition to God, as the king of the holy community, or to any of the fundamental institutions of the theocracy, was regarded as a most heinous crime, as high treason and impious revolt; but such disobedience was so viewed only because it implied a contempt and rejection of the whole religious and moral edifice deemed essential for the virtue and happiness of the Israelites.<sup>15</sup> It must, on the contrary, be maintained that sin-offerings were expected to be presented for all the multifarious moral aberrations to which man is liable, and not only if these consisted in actual deeds, but if they were merely sinful thoughts and feelings: for as every unintentional sin required a sacrifice, and as evil intentions and designs were so clearly regarded as reproachful that even the Decalogue prohibited them, they demanded undoubtedly the atonement of expiatory offerings.<sup>16</sup> It is equally manifest that the sacrifices did not aim at an external purification only,<sup>17</sup> much less at "a conciliation with the offended Deity by means of a present":<sup>18</sup> opinions which betray nothing less than an utter misconception of the spirit of the sacrificial laws; for what, for instance, did the symbolical act, performed at the rite of initiation, of sprinkling with the blood of the sin-offering an ear, a hand, and a foot of the High-priest and the priests, signify, if it was not intended as an allegorical exhortation to piety of heart and conduct?<sup>19</sup> Those objectionable views seem to be advanced and defended chiefly in order to establish a more striking contrast between the theo-

<sup>12</sup> Lev. IV. 2, 13, 22, 27; V. 17; etc.

<sup>13</sup> מִצְוָה or מִצְוָה.

<sup>14</sup> *Bähr*, l. c. p. 389.

<sup>15</sup> It cannot be surprising to find that the unfounded view alluded to misleads to the strangest errors of interpretation (comp. *Bähr*, l. c. p. 405).

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Ps. LXXIII.

<sup>17</sup> Ἀγιάζει πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα (Hebr. IX. 13), in opposition to the blood of Christ ὅς ... καθαρίσει

τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ (Hebr. X. 13, 14); comp. *Bähr*, Symb. II. 213.

<sup>18</sup> *Hengstenberg*, Christologie, I. p. 264; *Welker*, Letzte Gründe, p. 288; comp. *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. I. 171—173.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. Lev. VIII. 15, 23, 24, 30, and notes in locc.; see also XIV. 13—19, 25—29.



Talmudical maxim was propounded, "Sin-offerings and have no efficacy unless they are prompted by penitence. Expiatory offerings were frequently, if they were not remedied by a confession of the sins for which they were demanded;<sup>5</sup> they were therefore meant to release the heart of guilt by which it felt itself oppressed, and which is not by concealment but by ingenuous and humble confession were hence aptly termed "a reminder" of trespasses, oblivion or annihilation.<sup>6</sup> Sin was not to be pardoned without effort and an active co-operation on the part of the sinner; it was not to be rendered innocuous without an inward change of repentance.<sup>7</sup> This is clearly the doctrine of the

<sup>1</sup> Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρα.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Hebr. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. pp. 59, 60, 165; Sect. XIX.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Siphra* p. 252a; *Maimon.* Yad Chazakah Hilch. Teshuvah I. 1. Comp. *Philo*, Vit. Mos. III. 10, εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνώμων καὶ ἄδικος, ἄθνητοι θυσιᾶς καὶ ἀνέροισι ἱερουργίαι καὶ εὐχαὶ καλλίμνημοι, παντελεῖ φθορὰν ἐνδεχόμεναι ... Εἰ δὲ ὅσιος καὶ δίκαιος, μένει βέβαιος ἡ θυσία κτλ.; comp. p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. V. 5; XII. 21; Num. V. 7; Ps. XXXII. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Hebr. X. 3, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς — ταῖς θυσίαις — ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρ-

λήθην ἁμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν κατασκευά-

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Mishna*

אין יום הכפורים

שירצה אחת חבירה

Hilch. Teshuv. c.

אין קרבנותיהן...

עד שיעשו השוכה

דודו דברים וכ'

<sup>8</sup> We can have

meaning of Rosen-

sin-offerings were

secure forgiveness

p. 196, per sacri-

rum vel sperari v-

...

But, on the other hand, the atonement was a gracious gift of God granted by His love and paternal compassion; while therefore holocausts and thank-offerings, if spontaneously presented, might consist of several animals, one victim only was prescribed for any expiatory sacrifice; in the former case, the offering of man or his self-abnegation, in the latter, the mercy of God and the atonement wrought by the blood, predominated; there the oblation itself, here its symbolical effect was chiefly considered.<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, any one who had fraudulently or unlawfully appropriated foreign property, whether it belonged to the Sanctuary and its ministers or to private individuals, was obliged, upon confessing his misdeed, to restore his unrighteous gain increased by one fifth of its value; and then only, after having "shown the sincerity of his repentance not by declarations but by works, taking with him no contemptible intercessor, namely, that conviction of the soul which has delivered him from his incurable misfortune, healed him of the deadly disease, and entirely changed it into good health",<sup>10</sup> then only was he permitted to present a ram as a trespass-offering: he had thus to obtain the pardon both of his wronged fellow-man and of God; and so invariably was this law enforced, that if the defrauded person was no longer alive at the time of the offender's confession, and left no legal heir, the amount itself together with the addition was to be made over to the priests, the representatives of God.<sup>11</sup> Thus the spirit of the ordinance disclaims the supposition that the increase of one fifth was a kind of interest due to the owner for the temporary loss of his property;<sup>12</sup> but much more objectionable is the view that the sin-offerings in general, as enjoined in the Pentateuch, were devised as a civil or criminal punishment, or as a pecuniary fine calculated to deter the sinner from future neglect,<sup>13</sup> since even inadvertent contamination, illness, and similar

<sup>9</sup> Ewald (*Alterth.* p. 63) explains curiously, though in harmony with his entire conception of the sin-offerings, "das einzelne Thier muss der Opfernde zwar bringen, aber auch dasselbe ganz einzeln, wie in trauriger Einsamkeit und Öde" etc.; comp. *Hengstenb.* l. c. p. 24; *Kurtz* l. c. p. 156.

<sup>10</sup> *Philo*, De Victim. 11.

<sup>11</sup> See Lev. V. 15—26; Num. V. 6—8; comp. Lev. XXII. 14—16; see notes on Lev. V. 14—16.

<sup>12</sup> *Kurtz*, *Opferc.* § 121.

<sup>13</sup> As a *multa*, *abolitio criminis*, or

quasi poena, as Michaelis (*Mosaisches Recht*, §§ 189, 244) describes it; wherefore De Wette (*De Morte J. Christi expiat.* p. 14) justly censures Michaelis because "ad politica omnia torquentem neque sacra sacramenta tractantem"; yet Rosenmüller, following his predecessor, characterises sin-offerings as "*multae quibus solutis poena peccati aut plane remittebatur, aut... mutabatur in poenam minus severam*", for which unhappy opinion he most inappropriately adduces Lev. XIX. 20—22 (see *infra*); and similarly Abarbanel (*Introd.* to

mischances never happen to the pious, but to the wicked only who deserve to be taxed with the penalty<sup>1</sup> — an application of the principle which alone suffices to disclose the absurdity of the principle itself. The end of the sin-offering could not be a remission of *punishment* involving the satisfaction of God's justice as avenging Judge: for, from a religious point of view, such punishment was utterly out of the question in connection with unintentional offences, for which alone expiatory sacrifices were prescribed. The term "he or they shall be forgiven"<sup>2</sup> sometimes employed with reference to them,<sup>3</sup> implies properly that the intimate relation between God and the Israelite which had been temporarily disturbed by an involuntary sin, was restored by the sacrifice. The expiatory offerings had no political or social but a purely personal and religious character; they were not presented to Jehovah as the Ruler of Israel, but as the Searcher of hearts; they were indeed the oblations of theocratic citizens bound to give an account to their invisible King of their most secret thoughts; but this resulted necessarily from the theocratic organisation of the commonwealth. Hence even crimes which could not be traced to their perpetrators, were to be expiated by confession, sacrifice, and prayer.<sup>4</sup> — The solemnity in the mode of expiation was varied in accordance with the position occupied by the offender in the theocratic community; for it was more significant in transgressions of the High-priest or the whole people of Israel than in those of a chief, and it was more significant in transgressions of a chief than of a common Israelite. And on one day in every year, on the Day of Atonement, Israel was purified as a united body, as the holy nation and the kingdom of priests; and the expiation did not concern special offences, but the human weakness in general which cannot be admitted into a communion of God except by an act of grace and mercy.<sup>5</sup>

Hence the sin-offerings were naturally placed in the class of "most holy" sacrifices;<sup>6</sup> they were to be scrupulously shielded from every, even the slightest profanation; if any of their blood had fallen upon a garment, the latter was to be washed in the holy place,<sup>7</sup> in the

Lev. c. IV, רצה יתברך להענישם בדרך  
ממנום כרי שיהפועל רחם ונפשו בו  
(וישאר נזירים ולא ישנו עוד  
Saalschütz (Mos. R. p. 320) calls ex-  
piatory offerings at least "an element  
of criminal justice." Kitto (on Lev. IV.  
3) speaks vaguely of a "process of  
commuted punishment" which "ope-  
rated only when a man's conscience

prompted him to a voluntary acknow-  
ledgment of his offence."

<sup>1</sup> *Abarban*. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> להם or תסלח לו.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. IV. 20, 26, 31, 35; V. 10, 13,  
16, 18, 26; XIX. 22; Num. XV. 25—28.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. XXI. 1—9; see *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. XVI. 16, 30; see *infra* and  
Comm. in loc. <sup>6</sup> קדש קדשים, p. 76.

Court of the Sanctuary;<sup>7</sup> their flesh could be touched by holy persons or priests only;<sup>8</sup> it was burnt entirely whenever the blood had been sprinkled on the vail and put upon the horns of the altar of incense in the Holy;<sup>9</sup> it was eaten, with the exception of the fat and the fat parts, by the male Aaronites in the holy place, whenever the blood had been put upon the horns, and poured out at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offering in the Court,<sup>10</sup> and then symbolised that the priests were appointed "to remove the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord",<sup>11</sup> and that the expiation, which had been prepared and commenced by the sprinkling of the blood, was now accomplished by a last and crowning act of God's holy ministers;<sup>12</sup> if the flesh was boiled in an earthen vessel, the latter was to be broken, if in a brazen vessel, it was to be carefully scoured and rinsed with water.<sup>13</sup> For the blood of sin-offerings was brought into the Holy or Holy of Holies only in cases of atonement of the High-priest himself or of the whole people which was represented by him; therefore the officiating High-priest, who was as much the offender as the mediator, could not eat the flesh, which could neither be permitted to a priest of a lower grade. But the blood came upon the altar in the Court in cases where priests acted as intercessors for chiefs or private Israelites, when therefore the priests were not concerned in the sins to be expiated,

<sup>7</sup> The Mishnah (Zevach. XI. 1) justly extends these commands to *all* kinds of sin-offering, although it works them out with futile playfulness (ibid. 2—5).

<sup>8</sup> The opinion that the flesh and the blood of sin-offerings were *impure*, requires no refutation (comp. *De Wette*, Opusc. p. 24; *v. Cölln*, Bibl. Theol. I. 270; *Scholl* in *Klaiber's Stud.* V. 2, pp. 154 *sqq.*; VIII. 2, pp. 29 *sqq.*; *Bähr*, Symb. II. 396 *sqq.*; *Knobel*, Levit. p. 405; *Ewald*, Alterth. pp. 72 *sqq.*). The washing of hands or garments sometimes prescribed in connection with offerings (Lev. XVI. 24, 26, 28; Num. XIX. 7, 8, 10; comp. also *Mishn. Zevach.* XII. 5) affords no proof or support; for it refers to the scape-goat and the red cow, which were no sin-offerings in the proper sense, and exceptionally bore the *sins* of the Israelites (comp. Lev. XVI. 21, 22), in a manner different from ordinary sacrifices.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. IV. 5—12, 16—21; XVI. 27; comp. Hebr. XIII. 10—13; such victims were called by Talmudical writers *הז' הנשרפות* or *החטאות הפנימיות* (comp. *Mishn. Zevach.* V. 2; XII. 5, *שעירים הנשרפים* and *פרים הנשרפים*).

<sup>10</sup> Lev. VI. 19, 22, 23; VII. 6; which victims were termed *החטאות החיצוניות* or *הז' רגאכלות*; see *infra*.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. X. 17; comp. Exod. XXVIII. 39.

<sup>12</sup> On the erroneous meaning attributed to the meals by those who advocate the *poena vicaria* in sin-offerings, see *Öhler*, l. c. p. 649; comp. the fanciful exposition of *Ewald* (Alterth. pp. 65—71), and of *Deyling* (Observ. Sacr. I. lxxv. 2, *nam hoc pacto quum ederent incorporabant quasi peccatum populi que reatum in se recipiebant, ut indicaretur, aliquando sacerdotem et victimam unam fore personam*).

<sup>13</sup> Comp. Lev. VI. 18, 20—22; see *Comm in locc.*; comp. *Mishn. Zevach.* XI. 4—8.

of the flesh of thank-offerings, but to the sacerdotal *functions*, demanded them to consume a part of the sacrifice as the inter between God and the worshipper.<sup>1</sup> But in no case was the sin-offerings, like that of holocausts, burnt entirely *on the altar*; no "food of the Lord", but served merely to implore His forgiveness and to avert His anger; it was designed to *remove* the offerer's sin as the victim bore his punishment;<sup>2</sup> the fat only and the fat were there consumed; the rest of the animal was burnt with camp, which represented the holy community of Israel, "in a clean

The importance of the blood, properly typifying the life of the animal, and especially possessing the power of atonement, is self-evident in connection with these rites: more directly than any other, those killed as sin-offerings were considered to die as substitutes for the offerers; and therefore the ceremony of sprinkling the blood in sin-offerings pre-eminently significant; it was varied according to the peculiar character of the occasions; it was even in the least sin-offerings more significant than in the noblest burnt-offering, though the blood of a sin-offering presented for a chief or a common Israelite was put on the brazen altar in the Court, it was not, in the case with all holocausts, sprinkled on the altar "round about" but put on the horns of it;<sup>4</sup> but if the sin-offering was slain in the name of the people of Israel or of the High-priest, the blood was put, not on the brazen, but on the golden altar of frank-incense in the Holy Place, and more properly on its horns while a part was sprinkled save

on the vail at the western side of the Holy,<sup>5</sup> evidently pointing, though indirectly and distantly, to the mercy-seat in the Holy of Holies, which was the proper source of expiation; and on that most sacred implement the blood was indeed sprinkled, likewise in sevenfold repetition, at the most awful ritual of the whole year, on the Day of Atonement, when the High-priest entered the Holy of Holies to seek forgiveness for his own sins and those of the people.<sup>6</sup> These ceremonies intelligibly and pointedly indicate the various degrees of sanctity existing in the relation between God and the whole people or its different elements and sections. The burnt-offerings also, as indeed all sacrifices, possessed in a certain sense expiatory power, and they were during many generations so employed;<sup>7</sup> but they bore that character neither in the same directness nor with the same depth as the sin-offerings;<sup>8</sup> the sense of sinfulness was still merged in the feelings of awe and submission; the mind of the worshipper was directed to the grandeur of God, rather than his own littleness; he was more anxious to conciliate his Master than to be justified before his conscience; atonement was a collateral consequence rather than the exclusive end of the sacrifice; hence the principal characteristic of the holocaust was its entire consumption by the flames, that of the sin-offering the sprinkling of the blood in the most striking manner that could be devised, so decidedly so that the mode of proceeding with the blood was different even with pigeons and turtle-doves when burnt-offerings and when sin-offerings; in the former case, the blood was merely pressed out on the side of the altar,<sup>9</sup> in the latter, a part of it was sprinkled on the side of the altar, and the rest pressed out at the base; thus the act was purposely divided, and the sprinkling, bearing the character of distinctness and individuality, was significantly added.<sup>10</sup> In many and not the least momentous cases, especially of purification, an expiatory offering was joined to a holocaust,<sup>11</sup> and this combination aptly expressed that the mind must first be tuned to a religious disposition generally, before it can effectually expiate an individual transgression — only after the ground has been

<sup>5</sup> Lev. IV. 6, 7, 16, 17.

<sup>6</sup> See *infra*; comp. pp. 191—194; see also *Mishn. Zevach. IV. 1.*

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Lev. XVII. 11 (where the blood sprinkled on the altar is generally endowed with the attribute *לכפר* (על-נפשתיכם), and Ezek. XLV. 15, 17 (למנחה ולעולה ולשלמים לכפר עליהם).

<sup>8</sup> The latter, referring to a special error, could therefore not be *voluntary*

sacrifices, like the *עולה* (comp. *Mishn. Kerith. VI. 3.*)

<sup>9</sup> Lev. I. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. also *Mishn. Zevach. VII. 1; X. 2* (דם חטאת קדם לדם עולה מפני), 4 (חטאת העוף קדמה), 4 (שדוא מרצה לעולה העוף).

<sup>11</sup> Lev. XII. 6—8; XIV. 10, 12, 19; Num. XV. 24; XXVIII. 15, 22, 30; XXIX. 5, 16, 19, 22, *seq.*; comp. Lev. VIII. 14,

prepared by humility, the seed of regeneration can be safely entrusted to it. However, the Law was so anxiously intent upon securing the expiation of sin under all circumstances that it was induced to deviate from the fundamental principle of the atoning force of blood; for, lest the poorest be excluded from the priceless benefit of a restored peace of mind, they were permitted to present, as a sin-offering, a cereal oblation consisting of a tenth part of an ephah of fine flour,<sup>1</sup> unadorned by oil and incense,<sup>2</sup> of which the priest took off a handful as a memorial (זִכָּרֹה) and burnt it on the brazen altar, while the rest belonged to the priest, and then the poor man's "sin was atoned for, and he was forgiven."<sup>3</sup> Again, not the whole sin-offering was burnt on the altar, but precisely those parts which in thank-offerings were delivered to the holy flames, because an expiatory sacrifice also might not inappropriately be called an "offering of safety", and perhaps with greater justice even than the thank-offering; for the victim having taken upon itself the punishment of the offerer, thereby rescued him from misfortune or death, and his deliverance from the miseries of a guilt-laden mind was a cause of even greater rejoicing than the possession of external boons and blessings.<sup>4</sup>

The Pentateuch distinguishes two kinds of expiatory sacrifices, the *Sin-offering* (חטאת) and the *Trespass-offering* (עוֹלָה). It is impossible to doubt that they were indeed two distinct classes, not subordinate but co-ordinated to each other.<sup>5</sup> For the precepts concerning the one are followed by separate regulations concerning the other.<sup>6</sup> In several cases, a trespass-offering is prescribed in addition to a sin-offering.<sup>7</sup>

18; IX. 3, 12, 15, 16; Ps. XL. 7; Ezra VI. 17; 2 Chron. XXIX. 21, 31—33.

<sup>1</sup> That the ancient Hebrews were strangers to the idea of *life* or *soul* in plants, has been observed above (p. 219). <sup>2</sup> See *supra* p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> See Lev. V. 11—13. The sin-offering identical for rich and poor was termed by Talmudists חטאת קבועה (or *fixed* sin-offering); that which was graduated in accordance with the means and position of the offerer 'עולה ויורד (or *ascending and descending* sin-offering); comp. *Mishn. Kerith.* II. 3; *Horayoth* II. 7; *Maimon. De Noxiis*, c. X; see also *Sect. XXI.*

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Philo, De Victim.* c. 11, Τρόπον γὰρ τινα καὶ ὁ μετανοῶν σώζεται, τὴν χαλεπωτέραν τῶν ἐν τῇ σά-

ματι πάθων τόσον ψυχῆς ἐκτρέπόμενος. That the thank-offering also was calculated to rouse feelings of humility and repentance, has been observed above (see p. 244).

<sup>5</sup> *Clericus* believes that both, often confounded "pro linguæ Hebraicæ ambiguitate" (on Lev. V. 6), are in reality not distinct from each other, "divisionem hanc esse nominis, non rei" (on V. 16).

<sup>6</sup> Compare *Levit.* IV. 1—V. 13 and V. 14—26; or *Lev.* VI. 18—23 and VII. 1—7; see especially VII. 7 ("As the sin-offering is, so is the trespass-offering; there is one law for them"); and also XIV. 13; *Num.* XVIII. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Lev.* XIV. 12 and 19, 21 and 31; *Num.* VI. 11 and 12.



They are in various parts of the Old Testament mentioned together as two kinds of sacrifice.<sup>8</sup> The rituals of the sin-offering were, in no case, identical with those of the trespass-offering.<sup>9</sup> The flesh of the one was, in some instances at least, burnt entirely, while that of the other belonged, in all cases, to the priests. The animals ordained for the former were much more varied than those permitted for the latter, which were limited to rams and male lambs, neither of which were accepted as sin-offerings. The one differed, as regards the victim and the ceremonies, in accordance with the particular position or dignity of the offerer, while the other was precisely identical for all classes of the people. The one could, in cases of poverty, be reduced to two pigeons or turtle-doves, and even to one tenth of an ephah of flour, while the other was required to be of a certain and defined legal value. And, lastly, the one could be offered for the whole nation or a larger portion of the community, the latter only by private persons. Accordingly, the ancient versions render both by two different terms.<sup>10</sup> Yet it is not easy to indicate the exact nature of the difference. Both Hebrew words (חטאת and עולה) are properly synonymous.<sup>11</sup> The terms employed

<sup>8</sup> See 2 Ki. XII. 17; Ezek. XL. 39; XLII. 13; XLIV. 29; XLVI. 20.

<sup>9</sup> See *infra*.

<sup>10</sup> So translates the Septuagint חטאת usually by τὰ (τὸ) περὶ or ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίας (Lev. VI. 23; VII. 7; XIV. 13, 19; Ezek. XLV. 17; XLVI. 20), or simply περὶ ἁμαρτίας (Lev. XIV. 31; i. e. θυσία περὶ ἁμαρτίας, as in 2 Macc. XII. 43; comp. Hebr. X. 6, 8; Josephus ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιάδων), or τὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας (Lev. VI. 18), rarely by ἁμαρτία (Lev. IV. 21, 24; VI. 18; Num. VI. 14; comp. Hos. IV. 8), and once by ἁμαρτήμα (Lev. IV. 29); while it renders עולה, where it occurs in the sense of trespass-offering, by τὸ περὶ τῆς πλημμελείας (Lev. VII. 1, 5), or τὸ τῆς πλημμελείας (Lev. VII. 7; XIV. 13, 14, 17), or πλημμελεία (Lev. V. 16, 18; VII. 2; XIV. 12, 24, 25; XIX. 21; Num. VI. 12), or by πλημμελεῖν, using a paraphrase as περὶ οὗ or περὶ ὧν ἐπλημμέλησεν (Lev. V. 6, 15, 19), or by τὸ ὑπὲρ ἁγνότητος (Ezek. XI. 39; XLII. 33; XLIV. 29; XLVI. 20), and once only by περὶ ἁμαρτίας (Isai. LIII. 10). Suidas explains πλημμελεῖν by ἀτακτεῖν καὶ

ὑβρίζειν καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν, and quotes passages where πλημμέλημα, interpreted by him as πταῖσμα, has the meaning of trespass or mistake (e. g. ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον πλημμέλημα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παυθήσεται τῆς ἀρχῆς; Hecychius defines πλημμελής by ἐκμελής, οὐ συναδὰ λέγων, ἁμαρτάνων; and πλημμέλημα is by Isocrates and later writers, as Lucian, used in the sense of unlawful advantage or gain (Lucian, Hermotim. 81; comp. Aeschin. Contr. Ctesiph. 106, Orator. Att. ed. Becker). The Vulgate translates חטאת by *sacrificium pro peccatis*, and עולה by *sacrificium pro delictis*, and later writers by *sacrificium pro reatu* or *pro noxa*. In the Mishnah both classes are strictly separated (comp. f. i. Zevach. VIII. 2, הכול יכולין עולה וזבח חטאת; לכהן עולה וזבח חטאת); whereas Onkelos does not always distinguish them (comp., for instance, Lev. V. 6 and 19, etc.).

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Gen. XX. 9 with XXVI. 10; XLII. 21 with 22; Lev. V. 17, 23; and as עולה is both *guilt* or *debt* and *guilt-offering*, so is חטאת both *sin* and *sin-offering*: it is unwarranted to lay the

in reference to either are frequently identical. There seems scarcely one characteristic clearly traceable to either of them exclusively. The statements of the Pentateuch are, in fact, so singularly vague and perplexing, that the matter has been hopelessly abandoned by earnest critics and antiquarians;<sup>1</sup> while others have groundlessly asserted that the distinction, originally clear and decided, has been greatly obliterated in our present Hebrew text dating from a much later time; or that "the account in Leviticus is full of confusion";<sup>2</sup> or that the legislator prescribed the one class or the other capriciously and without design;<sup>3</sup> or that the writer failed from "unskilfulness" to make the difference clear;<sup>4</sup> or that both, originally adopted in different parts of the land and by different tribes, as two distinct forms of sin-offering, were co-ordinated by the compilers of the Pentateuch.<sup>5</sup> But all these conjectures are repudiated by the thoughtful character of the laws of Leviticus, which neither justify the reproach of "confusion", nor of "capriciousness", nor of unmeaning conglomeration of heterogeneous materials. Nor are the numerous opinions proposed to explain the distinction generally more fortunate; and few

principal stress in the notion of  $\text{DWN}$  upon *debt*, which man has contracted towards God, and which he pays by the  $\text{DWN}$  or *debt-offering*; for the  $\text{DWN}$  is not simply a debt, but generally an unjust, iniquitous debt, and the chief idea is therefore not *debt*, but *sin*, so that, finally,  $\text{DWN}$  would, like  $\text{DNDN}$ , be sin-offering. The Arabic usage according to which  $\text{DWN}$  in Conj. IV. means *to sin by error*, as  $\text{NDN}$  *to incite to evil deeds*, is not decisive, as no analogous distinction can be established and proved in Hebrew. The verb  $\text{DWN}$  denotes, in the O. T., *to become* or *to be guilty* (Jer. II. 3; Hab. I. 11; etc.) or *to bear the guilt*, that is, *to be punished* for it (Isai. XXIV. 6; Hos. V. 15; Zech. XI. 5; Ps. V. 11; etc.). Hengstenberg's distinction (see *infra*) is artificial (Auth. des Pent. II. 217).

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Gusselius, Com. L. H. ad vocem  $\text{DWN}$ , p. 100; Outram, De Sacrif. I. xiii. 8; De Wette, De Morte Jes. Ch. expiatoria, p. 14 ("Mihi quidem de discrimine hoc constituendo plane desperandum videtur"); Dereser in Brentano's Comm. p. 21; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Scholl; comp. De Wette l. c. ("Cogitari potest, discriminis quod inter illa sacrificia ab initio intercesserat veram rationem seriore tempore in oblivionem venisse et neglectam fuisse, discrimine tamen ipso non prorsus abolito"); Einleit. § 149 ("the indistinctness in defining the sin- and trespass-offerings must be attributed to a compiler who knew the sacrificial legislation from usage only"); Winer, Real-Wörterb. II. 433 ("it would not be surprising if, in the later parts of the Law, the Mosaic principle were occasionally neglected or inaccurately applied.")

<sup>3</sup> Carpzov (Apparat. Hist. Crit. pp. 707, 708), Gesenius ("omnis ista differentia ex mero legislatoris arbitrio perpendisse videtur"), a. o.

<sup>4</sup> Gramberg, Relig. Id. I. 124; though he charitably adds, "we shall not be so unfair as to suppose that he designedly expressed himself with such vagueness, in order to render the services of the priests the more indispensable."

<sup>5</sup> De Wette, Stud. und Krit. 1837, p. 974.

of them are supported by the Biblical text. A survey of the most plausible or most widely adopted of these views will justify this remark. The **חטאת** has been referred to offences of commission, the **עולה** to sins of omission, while their meaning has sometimes been reversed:<sup>6</sup> but both **חטאת** and **עולה** are used not only with regard to positive trespasses, such as theft, violence, abuse of trust, or perjury,<sup>7</sup> but also with regard to negative sins, such as suppression of evidence or withholding of holy property.<sup>8</sup> On the one hand, **חטאת** has been assigned to sins committed against men, **עולה** to transgressions in reference to dedicated and sacred things;<sup>9</sup> on the other hand, **חטאת** has been restricted to offences against God, if thereby no injury is caused to men, and **עולה** to injustice done to our fellow-men,<sup>10</sup> or to violation of the rights of treaties and compacts.<sup>11</sup> Or it has been maintained that trespass-offerings were presented for such contraventions of "the precepts of the covenant" as were at the same time contraventions of "the rights of the covenant",<sup>12</sup> and sin-offerings for simple contraventions of "the precepts of the covenant"<sup>13</sup> — a very unsafe distinction which necessitates a most strained explanation of several leading ordinances of the Law.<sup>14</sup> Or "the **חטאת** was destined to purify and expiate the Sanctuary itself, the **עולה** to purify the individual who had disgraced himself by perjury, fraud, or the like, quite irrespective of the Sanctuary",<sup>15</sup> which definition is overthrown by this fact alone that an **עולה** was prescribed for "committing a misdeed and sinning unawares by taking from the holy things of the

<sup>6</sup> *Maimon.* (De Noxiis l. 2), *Abarban.* (Intro. to Lev. c. III), *Grotius, Michaelis* (comp. Comm. on V. 17), *Warnekros, Jahn, a.o.*; comp. *Bauer, Gottesd. Verf.* l. 146—148.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. IV. 2, 13, 22, 27; V. 21—26; comp. ver. 17, and notes on V. 14—26.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. V. 1—9, 15.

<sup>9</sup> *Εἰς ἑρπὴ καὶ ἄγισα*, *Philo, De Victim.* 11; and similarly *Hengstenberg* (Auth. des Pent. II. 214) who defines **חטאת** as destruction of man's harmony of mind or desertion of his better nature and internal dissolution, **עולה** as revolt against the holiness of God and His Law: a distinction utterly untenable if applied to the actual precepts of the Law (Lev. V. 1—3, etc.), and very precarious in a code which makes even the inward emotions of heart and soul objects of moral legislation.

<sup>10</sup> *Comp. Outram, De Sacrif.* l. xiii. 8; *Brentano* (Lev. p. 22).

<sup>11</sup> *Violatio foederis*; *Cremer, Antiqq. Sacr. Poec.* II. pp. 75 sqq.

<sup>12</sup> "Bundesgebote" or "Bundesatzungen", and "Bundesrechte".

<sup>13</sup> *Richm.* über das Schuldopfer, *Stud. und Krit.* 1854, p. 110; comp. *Rinck*, *Ibid.* 1855, pp. 370 sqq. (the **עולה**, he observes without force, bears the same relation to the **חטאת** as *satisfactio* to *expiatio*); *Keil, Arch.* l. 221, 266; *Delitzsch*, *Comm. zum Hebräerbr.* p. 743 ("the fundamental idea of the **חטאת** is *expiation*, of **עולה** *multa*"); comp. *Kurtz* l. c. §§ 94, 95.

<sup>14</sup> For instance concerning the **עולה** of the leper and of the Nazarite (see *infra*).

<sup>15</sup> *Philippson, Commentar zum Pentateuch*, p. 558.

Lord",<sup>1</sup> and a חטאת for withholding judicial evidence, for personal impurities and for heedless oaths.<sup>2</sup> — Some again contended that a חטאת was required if the offence, unconsciously committed, proved afterwards indisputably certain, an עשה, if it remained doubtful;<sup>3</sup> others averred that a חטאת was forfeited by ignorance, an עשה by forgetfulness, of the Law;<sup>4</sup> or the former by an inadvertent fault, and the latter by acts of violence and premeditated malice.<sup>5</sup> And both in ancient and modern times it has been frequently supposed, that a חטאת was commanded if the offence was seen by an eye-witness, an עשה if it was known only by the sinner's confession, to which he was prompted by the warnings and dictates of his conscience,<sup>6</sup> or<sup>7</sup> "a חטאת if an offence against the Divine Law had actually been committed by oversight or might with certainty be supposed, and an עשה if a person became conscious of having done, or had really done, some wrong of which he could not be convicted; trespass-offerings seem to have referred to subjective, sin-offerings to objective offences; he who presented a trespass-offering, accused himself in his conscience, he who presented a sin-offering, had been convicted of a distinct, yet unconscious sin, and was, according to general principles, regarded as guilt-laden." But what is here attributed to the עשה exclusively, applies to the various kinds of חטאת also,<sup>8</sup> which was commanded for sins not only committed unawares, but known later to the sinner only;<sup>9</sup> while violence against a betrothed bond-woman to be expiated by an עשה,<sup>10</sup> can scarcely be said to have been perpetrated without a witness.

<sup>1</sup> Lev. V. 15, סקרי ידו.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. V. 1—4.

<sup>3</sup> Ebn Ezra, Abarbanel, Venema, Carpzov, Lightfoot (Op. I. 708—710, who calls both "oblaciones consimiles ut gemellae vidcantur", and "tantum gradu distinctae"): hence the Talmudical distinction between חטאת (certain) and עשה (doubtful); comp. *Mishn.* Kerithuth I. 2; III. 1; IV. 1, 2; V. 1—8; VI. 1—4; Horayoth II. 4, 7; *Maimon.* Shegig. c. VIII; comp. c. II.

<sup>4</sup> Ebn Ezra (on Lev. V. 17). St. Augustin (Quaest. super Levit. XX) deduces this view from the word πλημμελεια, by which the Septuagint renders עשה, and which he explains *quod sit praeter curam* (πλήν μελειαν) or *ex negligentia*.

<sup>5</sup> Saubert, De Sacrif. c. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Philo (De Victim. 11, εἰς τις ψεύσεται ... δόξας ἐκπορευόμεναι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κατηγορῶν ἐλεγχον, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ γίνηται κατηγορῶς, ἐνδον ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχθείς), Josephus (Antiqq. III. ix. 3, ὁ δὲ ἁμαρτῶν μὲν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ συνειδώς καὶ μηδένα ἔχων τὸν ἐλέγχοντα, πρὶν θύει), Reland, Venema, Buddaeus, Iken (Antiqq. Sacr. I. xiii. 24, the object of the חטאת was to avert punishment, that of the עשה to restore the tranquillity of conscience); Bauer, Ewald (pp. 61, 62, "the חטאת was more a public matter, the עשה a private affair of the individual"), a. o.

<sup>7</sup> As Winer (Real-Wörterb. II. 432) states it. <sup>8</sup> Comp. Lev. V. 1—13.

<sup>9</sup> V. 3, 4, עֲשֵׂה נֶפֶשׁ וְיָדוּ עַל מַעֲשֵׂהוֹ; comp. V. 17—19 and IV. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. XIX. 21.

However, by faithfully following the Biblical statements, we may hope to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion. Trespass-offerings were enjoined in the following cases: if a person inadvertently (*בְּשִׁגְגָה*)<sup>11</sup> appropriated to himself any portion of the sacred property,<sup>12</sup> for instance, if he failed to bring the firstlings and tithes, or to give up to the priests any of their appointed emoluments, or if he ate holy food which belonged to them;<sup>13</sup> if he abused a trust or deposit committed to his charge, or robbed or defrauded his fellow-men; if he had found lost property, and denied it; if he tried to obtain advantages by false oaths;<sup>14</sup> if a free-man cohabited with an unredeemed bond-woman betrothed<sup>15</sup> to another man;<sup>16</sup> if unconsciously any of the Divine precepts had been contravened;<sup>17</sup> if a leper was restored to health;<sup>18</sup> and lastly if a Nazarite had unawares defiled himself by contact with a corpse.<sup>19</sup>

It is obvious, at the first glance, that with a few exceptions, all these cases are connected with the *rights of property*,<sup>20</sup> and that the *אִשָּׁמ* was commanded for their unintentional violation. In most instances this is so manifest that it requires no proof or illustration. As regards illicit intercourse with a betrothed bond-woman, it must be remembered that the slave was the *property* of the master; the same offence, if

<sup>11</sup> See notes on IV. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. V. 15, 16; comp. Josh. VII. 1 *seq.*

<sup>13</sup> Lev. XXII. 14—16; comp. also 1 Sam. VI. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. V. 21—26; comp. Num. V. 6—10.

<sup>15</sup> We adhere to this meaning of the word *נִחְרַפָּה* (Lev. XIX. 20), which is supported by the usage of the Talmud (see *Talm. Kiddush. 6a*, קורין... שכן; לארסיה חרפה; comp. Ex. XXII. 15; Deut. XX. 7; XXII. 23, 25; Targ. Jonath. *מְחַרְפָּא לְגַבְרָא*; Targ. Onkel. *מְחַרְפָּא לְגַבְרָא*; and Ebn Ezra observes, על דעת, (רבים יעודה), and we prefer it to the more general sense *surrendered* (Hofmann, Ewald, Bunsen, Kurtz l. c. p. 166, a. o.), and certainly to that of *despised* (Ebn Ezra, *דמלה מנורח חרפה*, a. o.).

<sup>16</sup> Lev. XIX. 20—22; see Comm. on Exod. XXII. 15, 16.

<sup>17</sup> Lev. V. 17—19.

<sup>18</sup> Lev. XIV. 12, 21.

<sup>19</sup> Num. VI. 12. The Mishnah (Ze-

vach. V. 5) enumerates the following kinds of *אִשָּׁמ* — *א' גוילות*, *א' מעילות*, *א' שפחה חרופה*, *א' נזיר*, *א' מצורע*, *א' חלוי*. The Talmudical regulations see in *Maimon. De Noxiis*, c. IX.

<sup>20</sup> The text employs, with regard to the *אִשָּׁמ*, the word *קָעַל* (Lev. V. 15, 21), which implies faithless or reckless appropriation (comp. Josh. VII. 1; XXII. 20; 1 Chr. II. 7; X. 13) and disregard to pledge or promise, and is therefore figuratively used of conjugal infidelity (Num. V. 12, 27) and heedless trespass of the Law, whether consisting of idolatry or acts of illegality (Lev. XXVI. 40; Num. XXXI. 16; Josh. XXII. 16, 22, 31; Ezek. XVII. 20; 1 Chr. V. 25; X. 13; 2 Chr. XII. 2; XXVIII. 19, 22; XXIX. 6, 19; Ezra X. 10; Neh. I. 6; XIII. 27). More characteristic still in connection with *אִשָּׁמ* is the term *בְּעֵרְכָּךְ* according to thy estimation or valuation (Lev. V. 15, 16; comp. Num. V. 5—8), evidently relating to property and its restitution.

committed with a free woman was, according to circumstances, visited with death of one or of both parties.<sup>1</sup> Respecting the general law of contravention "of any of the Divine precepts",<sup>2</sup> it is obvious that, preceded as well as followed by regulations connected with property, it was meant to refer to the same category; though the comprehensive wording, "If a soul sin, and commit any of the things that are forbidden to be done by the commandments of the Lord",<sup>3</sup> leads to important historical inferences tending to prove that the law had originally a very different meaning.<sup>4</sup> There remain, therefore, only the two instances of the leper and the Nazarite; but it is remarkable, that, in both of them, a חטאת was coupled with the עֲשֵׂה,<sup>5</sup> and it is, therefore, impossible to deduce therefrom the true character of the one or the other class.<sup>6</sup>

Now, offences against property were naturally considered lighter than those committed against the principles of monotheism or the foundations of the theocratic commonwealth; they were indeed by the code of the Pentateuch punished with a leniency the more striking if compared with the corresponding legal enactments of other ancient

<sup>1</sup> Deut. XXII. 23—27; see Comm. on Exod. XXII. 15 16.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. V. 17—19.      <sup>3</sup> Ver. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Comm. on V. 14—26.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Lev. XIV. 12 and 19, 21 and 31; Num. VI. 11 and 12. To declare that a sacrifice may at the same time deserve the name of חטאת and of עֲשֵׂה, and even of עֹלָה, on the one hand on account of the occasion on which it was offered, and on the other hand with respect to the ritual observed at its performance (*Saalschütz*, Mos. Recht, 315, 325), would bring the utmost confusion into enactments in themselves sufficiently complicated; and the definitions derived from such premises (l. c. p. 326) are as unsatisfactory as might be expected (comp. l. c. pp. 329, 330, 334, and *Archäol.* I. 208—216).

<sup>6</sup> Attempts have been made to reduce these two cases also to the principle of violation of property or of Divine claims; but they are necessarily strained and artificial in the extreme; for instance, it has been maintained, that the Nazarite who had dedicated and legally vowed his time to God, by

his impurity caused a damage or נזק to Him; and the leper, excluded from the theocratic community, did not devote to God that worship which the latter could lawfully demand, and thus also was guilty of נזק (*Riehm*, l. c. pp. 101, 102) — casuistic subtleties forced upon their author by the desire of defending his preconceived opinion on the nature of the עֲשֵׂה and its distinction from חטאת (see *supra*); yet those subtleties occur, in various shades, in subsequent works; comp. *Kurtz*, l. c. pp. 171, 172 (those cases imply "a privation and injury done to Jehovah", in as much as they render the *service of God* impossible, and are therefore analogous to the מעל מקדש יְהוָה, Lev. V. 14—16), pp. 163, 164 (where he endeavours to establish a fictitious distinction between מעל and בגד); *Öhler*, l. c. p. 644; *Knobel*, Levit. p. 394 (the leper as well as the Nazarite was prevented from doing his duty towards his relatives and the community, and thus injured their rights and interests); the latter goes so far as to explain the עֲשֵׂה of the priests who had married foreign wives (*Ezra* X. 19) by



nations.<sup>7</sup> However frequent, varied, or daring, they could not endanger the purity of faith in the same degree as a contempt for Divine authority, or for religious worship, or even for the purely ceremonial obligations. Nay an encroachment upon the property of a priest was not deemed a graver offence than injustice done to the property of a common Israelite;<sup>8</sup> and a theocratic gradation was out of the question. We could, therefore, not be surprised, were we to find that unconscious offences against property were expiated by a kind of sacrifice regarded as less solemn and less severe.<sup>9</sup> And this character of the  $\square\aleph\aleph$  in relation to the  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ , which we are *a priori* prepared to expect, is indeed manifest from the nature of the rites which attended its performance.

The blood of the  $\square\aleph\aleph$  was, in all cases, merely sprinkled *round about* the altar,<sup>10</sup> while that of the  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ , even of the least important description, was put *on the horns* of the altar — a difference in itself significant enough to suggest a distinct conclusion.<sup>11</sup> Let it besides be remembered that the  $\square\aleph\aleph$  was identical for all offenders, while the  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  was carefully modified according to their rank and theocratic position; that the  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  consisted frequently of bullocks, the  $\square\aleph\aleph$ , at the utmost, of rams (see *infra*); and that the  $\square\aleph\aleph$  could only be offered by individuals, but the  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  for larger communities or the whole nation both on week-days and festivals, — and the inference above stated will appear irresistible;<sup>12</sup> while the opposite opinion assigning a higher degree of holiness to the  $\square\aleph\aleph$  than to the  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ <sup>13</sup> is utterly untenable.<sup>14</sup> We may, therefore, not be justified in adopting the Tal-

arguing that thereby the rights and prospects of the Hebrew maidens and women had been curtailed! comp. *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> See Comm. on Exod. pp. 414, 415.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. V. 14—16, and 20—26.

<sup>9</sup> "The offender has not forfeited his life, and his blood was not to be shed: the  $\square\aleph\aleph$  is not a substitution of the offender but rather a fine to be paid to God, after which God is appeased, and the guilty person becomes free from punishment" (*Knobel*, l. c. p. 395), in which view the correct and the erroneous elements will be easily discovered; see *supra* pp. 257, 258.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. VII. 2. <sup>11</sup> See *supra* p. 193.

<sup>12</sup> The Mishnah (Zevach. X. 2) proposes the rule, "the sin-offering has precedence over the trespass-offering ( $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  קודמת לאשם); comp. X. 5 (כל  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  קודמת לאשם) וכ' ( $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  קודמת לאשם) וכו'.

<sup>13</sup> So Bonfrère, Saubert, Nachmanides (on Lev. V. 19), Abarbanel (Intro. to Lev. c. IV.), Bochart (Hieroz. I. ii. 33, who remarks carelessly, "a conscio enim  $\square\aleph\aleph$  perpetratur, cum alterum fiat per errorem"), Magen Abraham (ad Orach Chayim § 607); comp. *Maimon. Mor. Nevoch.* III. 46; *Saalschütz*, Mos. R. p. 323; *Hengstenb.* Auth. d. Pent. II. 214—220, where he observes strangely (p. 219) that the  $\square\aleph\aleph$  is more serious than the  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  only *in abstracto*, not *in concreto*, a distinction equal in value to another of the same author that the transport of the Ark "belonged *principaliter* to the priests and only *materialiter* to the Levites" (l. c. p. 403).

<sup>14</sup> It cannot even be admitted that both have an *equal* degree of sanctity (*Philippson*, Pentat. p. 558, although he on the same page is inclined



mudical rule that a חטאת was offered for such unintentional offences as, if committed advisedly, would have caused the awful penalty of excision;<sup>1</sup> while an עשה was accepted for slighter offences not relating to the holiness of God, His Sanctuary, or His Law. But this distinction, though too sweeping and too vague, is not incorrect in principle. For if we consider that a more rigorous application of the Levitical views occasionally caused a חטאת to be ordained, where an עשה might have been sufficient, and that the weakness and sinful propensities of man were supposed inevitably and even without his knowledge to engender offences which required a periodical expiation,<sup>2</sup> we shall be able to account for the cases in which a חטאת was prescribed. It was to be presented, in the name of the people, on all the great festivals and days of solemn convocation, on Passover, the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Tabernacles,<sup>3</sup> on the Day of Memorial, or the first day of the seventh month,<sup>4</sup> and on the Day of Atonement;<sup>5</sup> for rejoicing no less than contrition was to remind the holy community of its unworthiness and its failings; and hence a חטאת was offered on the days of the new-moon also<sup>6</sup> which, marking a fresh period in the cosmic cycle of time, invited to pious reflection. For similar reasons, a sin-offering accompanied the inauguration of important public functionaries or their services, as the consecration of Aaron and his sons by Moses,<sup>7</sup> and seven days later, the commence-

place the חטאת above the עשה "because the sanctuary is infinitely above the individual"); see *supra* p. 265.

<sup>1</sup> כרת; see Num. XV. 22—31; comp. Lev. VII. 20, 21; Num. XV. 31; XIX. 20; *Mishn. Kerith.* I. 1, 2 (על אלו חייבים); (על זרעם כרת ועל שגגתם חטאת VI. 3 אין מביאים אשם הלוי אלא על); (רכב שודרו כרת ושגגתו חטאת); *Horayoth.* II. 3. Talmudical authorities (comp. *Mishn. Kerith.* II. 1) enumerate 36 (or 43) sins which are threatened with the punishment of excision, for instance, 26 cases of incest or criminal intercourse (comp. Lev. XVIII), reviling the name of God, idol-worship, sacrificing to Moloch, indulging in magic and witchcraft, desecrating the Sabbath, entering the Sanctuary or eating sacred food in an unclean state, eating anything leavened on Passover, not fasting on the Day of Atonement, etc. Several of these sins, however, viz. reviling God, neglecting circum-

cision and the paschal sacrifice, entering the Sanctuary or eating holy food in a state of impurity, even if committed unintentionally, were supposed, for very unsatisfactory reasons, not to be expiable by a sin-offering; *Mishn. Kerith.* II. 2; comp. *Maimon. De Noxiis.* cc. I, VII; *Lightfoot.* Opp. I. 705, 706, and in general pp. 705—711, 715, 716; *Abarban.* Introd. to Levit. c. III. Ebn Ezra (Comm. on Lev. IV), however, believes, though he is singular in this view, that a חטאת was to be offered for such involuntary sins also as, if done designedly, were punished by stripes, that is, in 207 cases; comp. *Maimon.* in *Sanhedr.* c. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Job. I. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Num. XXVIII. 22, 30; XXIX. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Num. XXIX. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. XVI. 9, 15; Num. XXIX. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Num. XXVIII. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. XXIX. 14, 36; Lev. VIII. 14—17.

ment of their new duties,<sup>8</sup> on which occasion the people, for whose sake the priests had been installed, likewise presented a sin-offering;<sup>9</sup> again, at the initiation of the Levites<sup>10</sup> and the dedication of a new Sanctuary;<sup>11</sup> it hence preceded momentous religious acts, as the expiation of Israel by the High-priest on the Day of Atonement, when he began by presenting for himself a bullock as a sin-offering.<sup>12</sup> It was connected with deliverance from serious perils or diseases, as with the purification of a woman after childbirth,<sup>13</sup> of a leper after his recovery,<sup>14</sup> or of a house that had been infected with leprosy,<sup>15</sup> of a man who had suffered from a "running issue",<sup>16</sup> or of a woman who had recovered from an unusually long or irregular flow of blood,<sup>17</sup> since disease and all physical infirmities of man were regarded either as the consequence of some transgression<sup>18</sup> or as resulting from the general imperfection of his nature. It was commanded for intentionally withholding judicial evidence,<sup>19</sup> or for swearing in rash heedlessness,<sup>20</sup> or even for touching an unclean body or object unawares, whether this happened to a common Israelite or a Nazarite,<sup>21</sup> who had to offer a similar sacrifice likewise at the end of his time of seclusion.<sup>22</sup> — On the whole, therefore, חטאת was the more comprehensive or general term; for every חטאת involved an אשמה or *guilt*,<sup>23</sup> and the חטאת occasionally included the אשם also;<sup>24</sup> though this does not justify the assertion that אשמה and חטאת were often *confounded* with each other.<sup>25</sup> It may be that sometimes the choice between the one and the other was left to the option of the offerer or the decision of the priest; but a severe piety or Levitical strictness must naturally have inclined more to the חטאת than the אשם.

All these facts force upon us the conclusion that no precise and exact definition of the two kinds of expiatory offerings can be based upon the statements made in the Pentateuch in respect to them, if

<sup>8</sup> Lev. IX. 2—15.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. IX. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Num. VIII. 8, 12, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Num. VII. 16, 22, 28, etc., 67; see Ezra VI. 16, 17; comp. VIII. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. XVI. 3, 6, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. XII. 6, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. XIV. 19, 22.

<sup>15</sup> Lev. XIV. 49.

<sup>16</sup> ודא, Lev. XV. 14, 15.

<sup>17</sup> Lev. XV. 29, 30. See the Rabbinical stipulations in the last named cases in *Maimonides*, De Indigentibus Piaculi (ed. De Veil, pp. 183—201).

<sup>18</sup> Leprosy especially seems to have been viewed in this light from early times, as appears from the narrative concerning Miriam's leprosy (see Num. XII. 10; Deut. XXIV. 9); it is so stated in the laws of Manu (III. 159), and by many Jewish writers who connect leprosy with calumny.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. V. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Lev. V. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Lev. V. 3; Num. VI. 10, 11.

<sup>22</sup> Num. VI. 14.

<sup>23</sup> Lev. IV. 3, 13, 22, 27; V. 2—5.

<sup>24</sup> Lev. V. 6—9, 11, 12.

<sup>25</sup> So *Rosenmüller*, Schol. in V. 6.

these statements be all referred to the same time and to one author; for they prescribe both sin-and trespass-offerings in cases of Levitical impurity, and they command both the one and the other for moral offences; thus taken, they must appear confused, arbitrary, and unintelligible; and all devices attempting to establish palpable distinctions must inevitably fail. The only possible solution of the embarrassing question seems to lie in an historical survey of the origin and progress of expiatory offerings; and we believe that such analysis may satisfactorily account for the two separate kinds, and help to remove all essential difficulties.

We have proved that expiatory offerings were the latest and last class of sacrifice developed in ancient systems of religion, and especially in that of the Hebrews.<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable, that offences at once the most common and the most dangerous in primitive and imperfectly organised societies, offences against property, were the first to be atoned for by expiatory offerings, or by the  $\square\omega\aleph$ . It will be expected that originally *intentional* offences of that nature were particularly, though not exclusively, expiated by a trespass-offering, not only because they are the most frequent and the most fatal to the safety of the community, but because they are most apt to rouse compunction and repentance; and as they were regarded as political not less than moral transgressions, the  $\square\omega\aleph$  was naturally accompanied not only by restitution of the property unjustly acquired, but by an additional compensation to the owner, which might indeed have been regarded as a deterring fine against similar cases of misdemeanour. History has preserved to us the account of the Philistines, who had violently taken from the Hebrews the Ark of the Lord, and who, roused to the consciousness of their guilt by a terrible calamity, were instructed by their priests and sooth-sayers indeed to return the Ark, but by no means to return it "empty", but to send with it, as an  $\square\omega\aleph$ , golden presents symbolically pointing to the offenders and the deserved infliction. The Pentateuch itself contains some enactments regarding the  $\square\omega\aleph$ , which would be utterly inexplicable except on some supposition like that just stated, because they stand in absolute contradiction to the fundamental rule concerning expiatory sacrifices, the rule of *unintentional* and *inadvertent* transgression; for the Law prescribes an  $\square\omega\aleph$  in various cases of open or premeditated fraud and violence, for theft and abuse of trust, for unlawful keeping of found property, and even for daring robbery and shameless perjury<sup>2</sup> — laws which must date from a comparatively early period, when expiatory offerings, though suggested by religious impulses, were made

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. I.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. V. 21—26.

subservient to the security of the state, and when the restoration of the property together with the fifth part of its value, was prompted by principles of civil or criminal legislation.<sup>3</sup> A similar sacrifice may, in the same periods, have become usual in cases of recovery from serious illness, such as leprosy so frequent and distressing in the East, and of striking forms of impurity, such as the defilement of a God-devoted Nazarite,<sup>4</sup> since disease was looked upon as the punishment for some sin, and contamination was apprehended as provoking the anger of the Deity.<sup>5</sup> However, these latter applications of the  $\text{זָבַח}$  proved the transition to a higher and more specific form of expiatory offerings, the  $\text{זָבַח עֹלָה}$ . For when the Hebrews, or rather the nobler and more earnest minds among them, advanced in religious education and purity, it was deemed necessary to atone not only for intentional but also for involuntary offences, not only for defraudment of property but for all sins committed against God or men, not for a few cases of disease or impurity merely but for every misfortune or pollution; for not the state merely, but above all the *theocratic* state, was to be shielded; Israel was considered not simply as a political, but as a *holy* community; and every transgression of whatever kind defiled its purity and disturbed its relations towards God. In the mean time, the social organisation of the people also had greatly improved; the worldly authorities had become strong enough to enforce order and to protect the life and property of subjects; the Pentateuch could, therefore, boldly come forward with the principle that all intentional offences must be rigorously punished in accordance with the criminal code; while misdeeds involving a rejection of the Divine authority or of the promulgated Law were to be visited by "excision" ( $\text{כְּרִית}$ ), and an expiatory offering was accepted for inadvertent or unconscious sins only. The old  $\text{זָבַח}$  was certainly retained, but was deprived of its judicial or penal character; it was indeed chiefly reserved for derelictions connected with the rights of property; but the restitution and addition, likewise kept as of old, ceased to bear the character of a *fine*; for all such derelictions were viewed as frauds and iniquities perpetrated against God;<sup>6</sup> hence when the restitution was not feasible, it was symbolically replaced by the value of the victim<sup>7</sup> or by some other retribution.<sup>8</sup> Thus the  $\text{זָבַח}$  was regarded as an expiation for a

<sup>3</sup> The attempts at proving "mitigating circumstances" in the intentional misdeeds here mentioned, and of thus referring them, however indirectly, to the category of inadvertent sins (*Kurtz*, *Opferr.* § 90; *Riehm*, l. c. p. 103) are necessarily unsuccessful evasions; and

all speculations based on such questionable opinions, fall at once to the ground (*Kurtz* l. c. § 91).

<sup>4</sup> Lev. XIV. 12, 21; Num. VI. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *supra* pp. 257, 258.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. V. 19, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. V. 17—19. <sup>8</sup> Lev. XX. 20.

guilt contracted at once against man and God; it conciliated the Deity, the holy and theocratic King, and satisfied the defrauded fellow-being; it involved both a material and an ethical element.<sup>1</sup> It was, on the whole, confined to involuntary offences, in conformity with the principle then sanctioned; and one statute only resting on a different foundation was allowed to be incorporated with the sacred code,<sup>2</sup> because it had probably been so fixed at a much earlier date. It appears, however, that the principle of pecuniary fine so long connected with the *דָּוָן*, the old-established kind of expiatory offerings, was for some time preserved in connection with the new class of *חַטָּאת*; for we read in the historical Books not only of "money of *דָּוָן*" but also of "money of *חַטָּאת*", which, the offence being committed against God, was of course holy and therefore assigned to the priests. Such was the case at least in the reign of Joash, king of Judah (B. C. 877—838).<sup>3</sup> But even this slight external admixture was afterwards deemed incompatible with the deeper nature of the sin-offerings; the pecuniary addition was wholly abolished; it was, in Leviticus, never enjoined in connection with the *חַטָּאת*; it was wisely and thoughtfully abandoned by the priestly framers of the sacrificial laws, evidently anxious to facilitate, as much as possible, the sin-offerings, the very crowning stones of their ceremonial edifice;<sup>4</sup> and they could well afford to bear the material loss, because simultaneously with it their revenues had been very considerably enhanced and more firmly settled. Therefore, the new class of expiatory sacrifices, or the *חַטָּאת*, being both more comprehensive and more solemn than the older *דָּוָן*, was naturally made more exalted in its application, and surrounded by more striking and more solemn ceremonies; it was not restricted to individuals, but wrought atonement for the whole people; it was not merely a private, but a public offering regularly performed on days of festival; it was varied in accordance with the dignity of the worshipper; and hence arose all the distinctions in the ritual that have above been pointed out, and which are in no

<sup>1</sup> Thus the old Germanic law ordained, besides restitution of unlawfully acquired property, the payment of the *banne* or *fredus* to the community or the king or the temple (comp. *Wilda*, *Strafrecht der Germanen*, I. 439, 469, 470, 528; *Grimm*, *Deutsche R. A.* p. 656).

<sup>2</sup> Lev. V. 20—26.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Ki. XII. 17. It is indeed not altogether unlikely from the passage quoted, that both the *דָּוָן* and the *חַטָּאת* were,

for a long time, simply replaced by money, to be handed over, in the first case, to the injured owner, and in the second, to be paid into the sacred treasury. One law simply ordains pecuniary re-imbursement for unlawful appropriation of sacred food (Lev. XXII. 14); another adds a trespass-offering (V. 14—16). It is gratuitous to assert that the one refers to small, the other to graver embezzlements (*Knobel*, *Lev.* p. 316). <sup>4</sup> Comp. Lev. V. 11—13.

feature more significant than in the mode of disposing of the blood of the victim. It will, moreover, be understood why the legislators added a **חטאת** in a few cases, in which they had found an **עשה** as an adopted custom. As they saw fit to enjoin a **חטאת** for any ordinary defilement by contact with an unclean body or object,<sup>5</sup> they could not consider an **עשה** sufficient for the pollution of a Nazarite invested with peculiar holiness;<sup>6</sup> and as they prescribed a **חטאת** even for the purification of a house that had been infected with leprosy<sup>7</sup> and for other less serious lustrations, they were naturally induced to superadd one in the case of a convalescent leper,<sup>8</sup> especially as in the course of time the idea was more distinctly developed that illness is the result of moral guilt;<sup>9</sup> but they judiciously modified, they did not lightly or recklessly destroy, the ancient usage which had possibly taken deeper root; for not only did they, in either case, retain the **עשה**, and allowed it to remain the *principal* of the two expiatory sacrifices, but they ordered even the poorer man at any rate to bring a lamb as an **עשה**, while a turtle-dove or a pigeon was deemed sufficient for the **חטאת** and the holocaust.<sup>10</sup> In this manner we may try to harmonize history and the legislation of the Pentateuch both within themselves and with each other.<sup>11</sup>

But what protracted periods were required before the expiatory offerings could pass through the numerous and decided stages that lay between the primitive **עשה** of the Philistines consisting of "five golden emerods and five golden mice", and the highly refined **חטאת** of the Pentateuch, beyond which the Hebrews did not advance during the ages of their national existence! To contend that the sin-offerings, as prescribed

<sup>5</sup> Lev. V. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Num. VI. 11 and 12.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. XIV. 19, 22.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. XIV. 12 and 19, 21 and 31.

<sup>9</sup> But it is hardly justifiable to extend the same consideration to the accidental pollution of the Nazarite, and thus to account for the sin-offering prescribed in that case, as is done by Kurtz (l. c. p. 171) against Keil (Archäol. I. 221).

<sup>10</sup> It is therefore erroneous to assert that the **עשה** was a "eigenthümlich modificirte Nebenart or Unterart des Sündopfers", and that the former was distinguished from the latter as **עשה** is from **חטאת** (Kurtz l. c. p. 173; Ewald, Alterth. p. 61; on the parallel with **חטאת** and **עשה** see esp. Richm, l. c. pp. 107—109): the **עשה** is older

than the **חטאת**, and though it was later eclipsed in solemnity by the **חטאת**, it retained its own and independent sphere of operation.

<sup>11</sup> In Ezra X. 19, those who had married foreign wives were pledged to dismiss them, and to offer a ram as an **עשה**; for alliances with heathen tribes were regarded as a contamination; and this view was clearly taken by Ezra himself (IX. 11—14), who referred to commandments previously proclaimed through the prophets (see Comm. on Exod. pp. 422, 423); but though the sin was very grave from a theocratic point of view, it could not well be atoned for by a **חטאת** which, from the outset, had invariably been restricted to *unintentional transgressions*.



in Leviticus, were introduced in the time of Moses,<sup>1</sup> implies an utter perversion of the history of religious institutions among the Hebrews: "the money of sin-offerings" mentioned even in the time of Joash and so entirely at variance with the regulations of the Levitical code, suffices alone to prove how gradually and how late the latter received its final seal and revision.<sup>2</sup> The fact that sin-offerings are never alluded to in the earlier historical Books of the Old Testament, has been met by the assertion that they are generally included in the burnt-offerings, and that, though not named, they were in the period of the Judges well-known and extensively performed:<sup>3</sup> but this view bears too much the character of an apologetic artifice to be conducive to historic truth. Why were they never mentioned by the earlier *prophets*? Yet they might almost surely be expected in the grand picture drawn by Joel (B. C. 810) of the devastations of the locust-plague, and among the acts of penitence to which the prophet exhorts for conciliating the Divine anger.<sup>4</sup>

In cases of man-slaughter no expiatory offering of any kind was ordained;<sup>5</sup> the sad exile of the homicide in the distant cities of refuge, till the death of the High-priest restored him to his relations and his usual abode, was evidently deemed an atonement commensurate with a deplorable accident. Nor was one prescribed in lighter cases of defilement by contact, such as carrying the carcase of an unclean animal,<sup>6</sup> when bathing and washing of the garments was sufficient; while, in other instances, merely sprinkling with "the water of purification" (מֵי נִדָּח) was commanded.<sup>7</sup>

The animals appointed for *sin-offerings* comprised nearly every species of clean domestic beasts legally permitted for sacrifices, namely the bullock and the calf, the kid of the goats, whether male or female, the female lamb, the turtle-dove and pigeon, or "birds" (עֲפָרַיִם): the cow, the ram, and older goat were alone excluded.<sup>8</sup> The choice was not,

sions, while even the Pentateuch retains some cases of *intentional* offences to be expiated by an *ÖWN*.

<sup>1</sup> *Knobel*, Levit. p. 343; *Keil*, Lev. p. 32; *Ewald*, *Alterth.* p. 60 ("wir haben hier eine der schöpferischen Anordnungen vor uns, welche von dem eigenen Geiste Mose's ausgegangen sein müssen"; comp., however, p. 58); a. o.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra* p. 274. Gramberg (*Relig. Id.* I. 151) observes justly, "we are entitled to the conclusion that the histo-

rian derived that genuinely historical statement (regarding "the money of sin-offerings") from his source which was older than Leviticus and Numbers."

<sup>3</sup> So *Hengstenb.* *Auth. d. Pent.* II. 86, 87.

<sup>4</sup> Joel I. 13, 14; II. 15, 16; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Num. XXXV. 10—15; Deut. XIX. 1—10. <sup>6</sup> Lev. XI. 24, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Num. XIX. 19, 20.

<sup>8</sup> The view that *female* victims were originally taken for expiatory offerings, because they express well



as in burnt-and thank-offerings, left to the option of the worshipper, but the victims were prescribed and regulated by the Law in accordance with the nature of the occasion and the character of the suppliant; namely, 1. *a bullock* for the High-priest or the whole congregation to expiate a public offence unconsciously committed and later made manifest;<sup>9</sup> at the consecration of the priests and Levites;<sup>10</sup> and on the Day of Atonement to ensure forgiveness for the High-priest and his house;<sup>11</sup> 2. *a calf*, for Aaron at the installation into his sacred functions;<sup>12</sup> 3. *a male kid of the goats*, in the name of the whole nation, on the days of festivals and new-moons,<sup>13</sup> or on solemn occasions, as on the first day after the inauguration of Aaron and his sons;<sup>14</sup> for a chief in case of unconscious guilt;<sup>15</sup> and at the consecration of the Sanctuary;<sup>16</sup> 4. *a female kid of the goats*, for a common Israelite, when he became aware of an involuntary trespass;<sup>17</sup> for suppression of judicial evidence, for inadvertent contact with unclean bodies or objects; and for a heedless oath<sup>18</sup> — in all which cases could also be offered 5. *a female lamb*,<sup>19</sup> and the same animal was sacrificed at the end of the Nazarite's term of seclusion,<sup>20</sup> and at the recovery of a leper living in prosperous circumstances;<sup>21</sup> while 6. *turtle-doves* or *pigeons* were accepted in the last mentioned case, if the convalescent was poor;<sup>22</sup> or if a person guilty of withholding judicial evidence, of contact with unclean bodies or objects, or of a heedless oath, was unable to afford a kid of the goats;<sup>23</sup> moreover, at the purification of a woman after childbirth,<sup>24</sup> or after a protracted or an unusual issue of blood;<sup>25</sup> at the recovery of a man affected with "a running issue";<sup>26</sup> and when a Nazarite had defiled him-

"the night-side of the old sacrificial practices" (*Ewald*, *Alterth.* pp. 64, 65), is not probable, considering the singular holiness attributed to sin-offerings from the beginning; and not happier is Richm's conjecture (*l. c.* p. 117), that the *DON*, implying violation of rights, bears more the character of masculine aggression, the *ANDN*, involving sin or impurity, more that of passiveness and seduction, and that therefore the former was to be atoned for by a male, the latter as a rule by a female animal.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. IV. 3, 14. On Num. XV. 24, where a kid of the goats is prescribed as a sin-offering of the whole community, see p. 40: the explanation of Öhler (*l. c.* p. 646) *a. o.* is not satisfactory.

<sup>10</sup> Exod. XXIX. 14, 36; Lev. VIII. 14—17; Num. VIII. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. XVI. 3, 6, 11.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. IX. 1—8.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. XVI. 9, 15; XXIII. 19; Num. XXVIII. 15, 22, 30; XXIX. 5, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. IX. 3, 15.

<sup>15</sup> Lev. IV. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Num. VII. 16, 22, 34, etc.; comp. Ezra VI. 17; VIII. 35.

<sup>17</sup> Lev. IV. 28.

<sup>18</sup> Lev. V. 1—6.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. IV. 32; comp. Num. XV. 22—29.

<sup>20</sup> Num. VI. 14.

<sup>21</sup> Lev. XIV. 19.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 22.

<sup>23</sup> Lev. V. 7—10.

<sup>24</sup> Lev. XII. 6, 8.

<sup>25</sup> Lev. XV. 29, 30.

<sup>26</sup> Lev. XV. 14, 15.

self by the proximity of a corpse;<sup>1</sup> and 7. in one case, *two birds* (צפרים), when a house had been freed and purified from leprous infection.<sup>2</sup> In a few extraordinary emergencies, a red cow and a heifer (עגלה) were employed for purposes of purification.<sup>3</sup>

The animals killed for *trespass-offerings* are not so distinctly specified; they were males in all cases; most commonly a *ram* (איל) seems to have been chosen,<sup>4</sup> because, as has been supposed, sheep and especially rams constituted the primitive medium of currency, chiefly for paying fines, and were, therefore, peculiarly appropriate for trespass-offerings originally presented as penalties for defraudment of property:<sup>5</sup> but a lamb was ordained for a convalescent leper, or a Nazarite contaminated by the presence of a dead body.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, as the *דשן* related to material damage done to another, it could not consist of anything less than an animal, be it only a lamb, because the compensation was at least to have a material character; but the *חטאת*, being offered mainly for theocratic offences against God, could be lowered to fowls, and even a small quantity of flour, for a symbol sufficed.

<sup>1</sup> Num. VI. 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XIV. 4, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Num. XIX. 2—22; Deut. XXI. 1—9; see notes on ch. XI.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. V. 15, 16, 18, 25; XIX. 21; Num. V. 8; called *איל דשן* (Lev. V. 16) or *איל הכפרים* (Num. V. 8).

<sup>5</sup> Bochart (Hieroz. I. ii. 33) ventures the whimsical explanation "*contraria contrariis esse curanda*", the offences of self-willed contumacy being best atoned for by the animal distinguished for gentleness and tractable meekness, which qualities the offender should strive to imitate!

<sup>6</sup> Lev. XIV. 12; Num. VI. 12. These exceptions are by Riehm (l. c. p. 116) explained by the supposition that as here the *דשן* was offered merely for the *מעל* which necessarily resulted from the impurity, the least valuable male sheep was appointed; but, in these cases, no *מעל* was to be expiated at all (see *supra*). According to the Mishnah (Zevach. X. 5), all victims employed for trespass-offerings must be two years old and be worth two shekels of silver (comp. Lev. V. 15,

see notes in loc.; see also *Mishn. Kerith. VI. 6*), except the trespass-offering of the Nazarite and the leper, which was to be a lamb one year old and might be of smaller value (Num. VI. 12, *כבש בן שנה*; comp. Sept. XIV. 10, *ἀμνοῦς ... ἐνιαυτοῦς*, with regard to the sacrifice of a leper); though there seems to be no reason why the age of one year distinctly stated in one case (Num. l. c.) should not have applied to all. Abarbanel (Introd. to Lev. c. IV) supposes that rams were chiefly commanded for the *דשן* because the offender might be induced to consider his trespass, doubtful in itself and certainly committed unintentionally, as very slight, if not deserving entire exemption from punishment, and that therefore a heavier "fine" was imposed, in order to cure him of such dangerous self-complacency: but this opinion is based on the double misconception of the expiatory offerings in general and of the *דשן* in particular (see *supra*), and it would moreover require bulls, as being more valuable still than rams.

The following ceremonies were observed at the performance of *sin-offerings*.<sup>7</sup>

1. If the High-priest, having sinned "to the guilt of the people", that is, whether in his official capacity as spiritual chief of the nation or privately,<sup>8</sup> presented a *חטאת* for himself, he selected a faultless young bullock, brought it to the door of the Sanctuary, imposed his hand upon its head, and killed it at the place where the holocaust was killed, that is, on the northern side of the altar of burnt-offerings;<sup>9</sup> he then took a part of the blood into the Sanctuary, sprinkled with it seven times the vail which separated the Holy from the Holy of Holies, and put some of it upon the horns of the golden altar of incense;<sup>10</sup> he next poured out the rest of the blood at the bottom<sup>11</sup> of the altar of burnt-offering in the Court; laid all the fat and the fat parts of the victim upon the same altar, while the rest of the animal, namely, the skin, all the flesh, the head, the legs, the inwards, and the dung, were carried without the camp, and burnt in a clean place, on the spot where the ashes were usually poured out.<sup>12</sup>

2. When a sin-offering was presented for the whole community of Israel, the proceedings differed from those just stated only in a few particulars. The *congregation* brought the young bullock to the door of the Sanctuary; the *elders* imposed their right hands upon its head, and *one of them* killed it; then the High-priest acted in every respect as if the victim were offered for himself.<sup>13</sup>

3. When a sin-offering was presented by a single Israelite, whether a chief<sup>14</sup> or a private individual, the rituals were identical, except that in the former case the animal required was a male kid of the goats, in the latter either a female kid of the goats or a female lamb — a gradation in the choice of the victim the significance of which is self-evident.<sup>15</sup> The offerer brought it before the door of the Sanctuary, imposed his hand upon its head, and killed it at the usual place; then a priest — not as in the preceding instances, the High-priest — put some of its blood upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering, poured the rest at the bottom of it, and burnt upon it all the fat and fat parts,

<sup>7</sup> See Lev. IV. 1—V. 13. The account of Josephus (*Antiqq.* III. ix. 3) is both incomplete and inaccurate.

<sup>8</sup> See notes on IV. 3—12.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. I. 11; IV. 24; VI. 18; VII. 12; see p. 174.

<sup>10</sup> *תֵּן יָדְךָ עַל רֹאשׁוֹ* *עֲלֵה אֶרְבָּעָה*, Joseph. *Ant.* III. ix. 3.

<sup>11</sup> On the south-western side, according to Jewish tradition.

<sup>12</sup> See Levit. IV. 3—12; comp. *Mishn. Zevach.* V. 2.

<sup>13</sup> See Lev. IV. 13—21.

<sup>14</sup> *מֶלֶךְ*, denoting according to tradition (*Mishn. Horayoth* III. 3) the king also, or rather exclusively (*מֶלֶךְ מִלְּפָנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים* *וְלֹא מִלְּפָנֵי הָאָדָם*; comp. Ezek. XLVI. 16—18), which acceptance of the term is, however, too narrow.

<sup>15</sup> See pp. 83, 84.

while he was permitted, together with other male Aaronites,<sup>1</sup> to consume the flesh; but the meal was required to be held in the Court of the Sanctuary,<sup>2</sup> in the sacred place,<sup>3</sup> to guard against any possible defilement of the holy offering.<sup>4</sup>

These observances were necessarily varied in special cases whose peculiar character and tendency required the modification.

4. When Aaron and his sons were initiated into their holy offices, they placed indeed their hands upon the sin-offering then presented, but Moses performed all the other ceremonies above described;<sup>5</sup> for he officiated on that exceptional occasion as High-priest;<sup>6</sup> and though the blood of the victim was not brought into the Holy, yet the entire animal was burnt, partly on the altar and partly without the camp.<sup>7</sup> The ceremonial of the Day of Atonement which comprised several anomalous features suggested by the solemnity of the festival, will be explained in its proper place.<sup>8</sup>

5. If, in cases of poverty, two turtle-doves or two pigeons were presented as a sin-offering, instead of a female lamb or goat, the priest offered one of them as an expiatory sacrifice, wringing its head,<sup>9</sup> behind the neck (כַּסְלֵי עֵרֶשׁ)<sup>10</sup>, without, however, severing it,<sup>11</sup> sprinkled some of its blood upon the side of the altar, and pressed out the rest at the bottom;<sup>12</sup> and then, after having removed the crop with its excrements, and thrown them on the place of the ashes,<sup>13</sup> he retained the bird for himself, to eat it in the holy place:<sup>14</sup> after which he offered the other bird as a holocaust in the usual manner.<sup>15</sup>

6. The rites adopted at the presentation of *trespass-offerings* were

<sup>1</sup> Even such as were afflicted with some physical defect (Lev. XXI. 22).

<sup>2</sup> According to Josephus (Ant. III. ix. 3), on the same day (ὁ γὰρ τόμος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπολειπεῖν οὐκ ἔφη).

<sup>3</sup> Ἐν τῷ ὁρῶν ἱερῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ καθάρσις γέγονεν εἶναι, Philo, De Victim. 11.

<sup>4</sup> The reason assigned by Philo (l.c.) is futile, "lest if the sacrifice be brought out of the Temple, the offerer may not be overwhelmed by envious and malicious men lying in wait for reproach and false accusation"; comp. p. 210. See Lev. IV. 22—35.

<sup>5</sup> See Lev. VIII. 14—17.

<sup>6</sup> See Comm. in loc.

<sup>7</sup> Vers. 16, 17; see *supra*.

<sup>8</sup> See notes on ch. XVI.

<sup>9</sup> With his right hand (comp. *Mishn. Zevach*. VII. 5).

<sup>10</sup> At the south-western corner of the altar; *Mishn. Zevach*. VI. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Whereas, if the bird was a burnt-offering, the head was wrung off, and burnt separately on the altar (Lev. V. 8; see p. 241).

<sup>12</sup> According to Jewish tradition, the side of the altar was sprinkled with the blood which spontaneously flowed from the neck of the bird, while the rest of the blood was pressed out at the base of the altar; comp. *Mishn. Zevach*. VI. 4. <sup>13</sup> Comp. Lev. I. 16, 17.

<sup>14</sup> VI. 19, 22; comp. *Mishn. Zevach*. VI. 4 (אֵין לְמִזְבֵּחַ אֵלֶּה דָּמָה וְכֹלֶה), 6, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Lev. V. 7—10; see p. 241.

identical with those of sin-offerings brought by a chief or a common Israelite,<sup>16</sup> and the flesh was likewise given over to the priests for consumption: but there was this one important distinction, that the blood was not, as was done with sin-offerings, put on the *horns* of the altar, but "upon the altar round about", not, however, a portion of it only, but all the blood, as was the case with holocausts and thank-offerings, no part being, as in the sin-offerings, poured out at the bottom of the altar.<sup>17</sup>

As we survey the expiatory offerings of the Hebrews, which for purity stand unrivalled in the ancient world,<sup>18</sup> we are bound to admit that they were pre-eminently calculated to keep alive among the nation those feelings on which all religious life depends, and from which it flows as its natural source, the feelings of human sinfulness and the conviction of the Divine holiness, by the standard of which that sinfulness is to be measured; they fostered, therefore, at once humility and an ideal yearning; and they effectually counteracted that sense of self-righteousness natural indeed to the pride of man, but utterly destructive of all nobler virtues. They were well suited to secure in the directest and completest manner that singleness of life and heart, which is the true end of all sacrifices. Their division into the two classes of *חטאת* and *עולה* contributed much to maintain and to enhance the conviction of moral insufficiency; the more so as such a division was scarcely a necessity, since the *חטאת* and the *עולה* both referred to kindred offences, and indeed differed so little in their nature and tendency that the discovery of a broad and palpable distinction almost defies the antiquarian's research. Every Israelite was to feel his transgression personally and individually; hence the sin-offerings were carefully and designedly varied according to the sinner's rank and position, both with regard to the choice of the victim and the mode of the ceremonial; whereas the holocausts, symbolising as they did merely a general admission of the common frailty inherent in human nature, were uniform for all persons.

But the religious legislation was not to be brought into collision with the civil and political enactments; it was, on the contrary, meant to support and to strengthen them; so far from endangering the safety of the state by an ill-advised leniency, it helped to eradicate the natural propensity to crime and lawlessness; its operation was therefore limited to involuntary trespasses; while the secular authorities were left free to deal with pre-meditated offences; it even abstained from inter-

<sup>16</sup> The imposition of the hand, though not stated in the text, formed unquestionably a part of the ceremonial; see notes on VII. 1—6.

<sup>17</sup> See notes on VI. 17—VII. 6, and Philolog. Remarks.

<sup>18</sup> See Sect. XX, the comparison between the sin-offerings of the Hebrews and pagans.

fering in some important cases of unintentional misdeeds, such as homicide, for which it prescribed no sacrifice, but admitted a worldly punishment: satisfied to act as a silent instrument in the reformation of the hearts, it indeed effectually contracted the application, but did not injudiciously weaken the authority of the criminal code. Hence, though bearing the character of vicariousness, the sin-offerings were far from encouraging an external worship by lifeless ceremonies; in themselves the spontaneous offspring of religious repentance, and thus naturally helping to nourish the same beneficent feeling, they were the strongest guarantee for a life of honesty and active virtue.

#### XVI. THE OFFERING OF JEALOUSY.<sup>1</sup>

If a man believed that he had well-founded grounds for suspecting his wife of conjugal infidelity, without being able to prove the charge legally by witnesses or otherwise, and thus to make her amenable before the ordinary tribunals, or, as the Pentateuch expresses it, "If a man's wife go astray and commit faithlessness against him, and another man lie with her carnally, and it be hidden from the eyes of her husband and be kept secret, and she be defiled, and there was no witness against her, neither she be taken in the act, and the spirit of jealousy come upon him and he be jealous of his wife, whether she be defiled or not",<sup>2</sup> the law prescribed or sanctioned a very singular mode of ascertaining her guilt or innocence, a proceeding rooted in rude and primeval notions of a direct interference of the Deity in the operation and natural properties of matter,<sup>3</sup> and analogous to ordeals still employed in similar cases by barbarous and untutored tribes.<sup>4</sup> If an oblation so antagonistic to the general spirit of the sacrificial laws of the Pentateuch can at all be classified among them, it falls under the category of sin-offerings, though in the case of the woman's innocence no atonement

<sup>1</sup> מנחת זכרון or מנחת קנאות or מנחת סוטה, *θυσία ζηλοτυπίας*, Num. V. 11—31.

<sup>2</sup> The Mishnah (Sotah IV. 1) justly limits this ordinance to women who had lawfully been married to their husbands, and denies its application to a widow who had married a High-priest, a divorced woman who had married a common priest, etc.; and gives besides (Sot. II. 6) this rule הבלל כל שחבעל ולא היתה אמורה לו לא רזה מנחה עמה, i. e. if a woman

had intercourse with a man, but thereby did not become forbidden to her husband (as if he had sent her away without a divorce), she could not be tested by the water of jealousy; comp. also *ibid.* IV. 2—5; VI. 1—4.

<sup>3</sup> Hence Philo (De Speciall. Legg. III. 10) says, "the affair was brought before the tribunal of nature" (*εἰς τὸ εἶς φύσεως δικάστηριον*).

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Rosenmüller*, *Morgenl.* II. 226—228, where several striking parallels are quoted; and Sect. XXVI.

was required, and in the case of her guilt none was granted. For the ceremonies, manifestly devised at once to terrify the conscience and to excite the imagination, were as follows. The husband<sup>5</sup> took his wife to the place of the national Sanctuary<sup>6</sup> before "the priest",<sup>7</sup> and handed over to him<sup>8</sup> an offering on her account,<sup>9</sup> which consisted simply of an omer of the common flour of the inferior grain of barley, to signify the baseness and infamy which must attach to the accused, should the suspicion prove well-founded,<sup>10</sup> and to which he added neither oil nor frank-incense, the emblems of spiritual life and elevation;<sup>11</sup> for "it was an offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance" (מִזְבֵּחַ זֵכֶר), and the person for whom it was presented was possibly guilty of moral worthlessness and unholy conduct. An offering was necessary, because the husband forced his wife to appear before God to receive from Him, the Searcher of hearts and the Revealer of secrets, her judgment; and he could therefore not make her appear empty-handed; and a bloodless oblation was preferred to an animal sacrifice, because, as we have ob-

<sup>5</sup> After his warnings had proved fruitless, ordains a Rabbinical restriction (*Mishn. Sot. I. 2*).

<sup>6</sup> *Εἰς τὴν ἱερὸπολιν, ὅς τις τὸ ἱερὸν, Philo l. c.*

<sup>7</sup> Probably the High-priest, or the presiding priest of the day (παρόντος τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἱερουμένου), to whom, as Philo observes, he had to state his suspicions and his grounds for them; Josephus (*Ant. III. xi. 6*) simply τὴν γυναῖκα στήσας τις τῶν ἱερῶν; hardly to "the one specially entrusted with such cases" (*Selden, Uxor Ebraica, III. 15, sacerdos huic rei praestitutus*), nor "the judges" (*Philo l. c.*). According to later Jewish usage, the husband brought her in the first instance before the judges of his own place, who appointed two well-educated men (חלמדי חכמים) to accompany both parties to Jerusalem and to take care that they did not cohabit on the way. In Jerusalem, he conducted his wife to the great ecclesiastical Court (לביה דין גזול, *Mishn. Sot. I. 3, 4*), which assembled in the "stone-cell" (לשכת הגזית), where every means of deterring and friendly persuasion was adopted to induce her to confession:

the priest said to her, "My daughter, perhaps an excess of wine has done it, or of unguarded mirth, or youthfulness, or wicked neighbours bear the guilt; show honour to the great name of God which is written in holiness, that it be not blotted out by the water." If she then avowed her sin, she had to tear her marriage-contract, and went away free; but if she persisted in declaring her innocence, she was led to the eastern door of the Temple or the gate of Nicanor, to undergo the ceremonies which followed (*Mishn. l. c. I. 4, 5*).

<sup>8</sup> According to the Mishnah (*l. c. II. 1; III. 1*) in a basket of wicker-work (בתוך כפיפה מצריה), from which it was put into a vessel used in the Temple-service (כלי שרת).

<sup>9</sup> עֲמָה אֵל, ver. 15; Ebn Ezra בעבורה.

<sup>10</sup> It is futile to suppose that the barley-flour was prescribed in order to save the husband as much expense as possible, since the wife might after all be innocent, and therefore needed no offering whatever (so *Knobel, Comm. on Num. p. 22*); comp. p. 121.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Mishn. Sot. II. 1*.



served, expiation was out of the question, whatever the issue of the trial.<sup>1</sup> The priest<sup>2</sup> then placed her "before God", that is, before the altar in the Court of the Sanctuary,<sup>3</sup> poured "holy water",<sup>4</sup> namely water kept in the laver which stood in the Court,<sup>5</sup> into an *earthen* vessel<sup>6</sup> or the most common and least valuable sort of utensils,<sup>7</sup> and strewed upon the water dust (עפר),<sup>8</sup> to indicate the despicable meanness of the offence to be tested,<sup>9</sup> though he was to take that dust from the floor of the Sanctuary,<sup>10</sup> since everything appertaining to the sacred ceremonies was to be associated with the holy place, sanctified by the presence of God.<sup>11</sup> He kept the vessel in his own hand, while he gave the מנחה to

<sup>1</sup> Kurtz (l. c. p. 235) supposes that a *minchah* was prescribed because it specially represents the "berufs- und bundesmässige Leben and Wirken", and the woman insisted upon having lived and acted "berufs- und bundesmässig"—an explanation based upon a playful double-sense of the words "Beruf" and "Bund".

<sup>2</sup> Who was neither the advocate or council of the man nor of the woman (Kurtz l. c. § 236; *Kcil*, Arch. I. 362), but the impartial minister and interpreter of the Law.

<sup>3</sup> The Mishnah (Sot. I. 6) observes that all who liked were permitted to be present except the woman's servants, "because her heart might be elated and hardened by their sight" (מפני שלכה גם בהן).

<sup>4</sup> מים קדשים, ver. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Exod. XXX. 18; comp. Lev. I. 9. So distinctly Targ. Onkel. מי כיור and Targ. Jonath. מין קדשין מן כיוורא; Rashi; שקדשו בכיור; Ebn Ezra, מהכיור שכבר נקדשו; Selden, l. c.; Kurtz. l. c. § 234; a. o. Philo renders without plausibility "pure water drawn from a fountain" (καθαρόν ὕδωρ, ἐκ πηγῆς ἀρυσάμενος); according to some Jewish doctors, half a log, or three egg-shells full, according to others, only a quarter of a log; *Mishn.* Sot. II. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Not into one of metal or wood; the Mishnah (Sot. II. 2) "a new earthen phial" (פִּיילי של חרס חדשה).

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Lament. IV. 2; Sir. XIII. 3. Some believe it to correspond with the *dust* put into the water (so *Knobel*, l. c.); while according to Philo (l. c.) "the earthenware vessel was appropriate because it is easily broken, and death is the punishment appointed for adulterers"; he argues moreover, "the earth and the water are suited to the purging of the accusation, since the origin, and increase, and perfection of all things, take place by them"; and he contends that the "holy water and the dust taken from the *Temple* both point to the purity of life of a modest woman!

<sup>8</sup> So that it was visible on the surface, says the Mishnah (Sot. II. 2), and was therefore not mixed with the water. Philo explains עפר by "a lump of earth" (βαῖλον γῆς).

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Gen. III. 14; Mic. VII. 17; Isai. XLIX. 23; Ps. LXXII. 9.

<sup>10</sup> The Mishnah (Sot. II. 2) observes, "the priest entered the Temple, and turned to his right hand; there is a well-known spot, one yard long and one broad, and over it a marble slab, in which a ring is fastened; he lifted the slab and took from the dust underneath." Josephus remarks inaccurately *προσπορεύσας τε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γῆς αἱ τε προστύχου.*

<sup>11</sup> Philo (l. c.), true to his usual method of interpretation, believes this injunction to have "a symbolical reference to the search after truth."

the woman, who was properly considered to present it as a means of appealing to God's propitious intercession, because it was she who had come before Him for judgment or vindication;<sup>12</sup> he uncovered her head<sup>13</sup> as a symbol of her public accusation and open trial, and also as a mark of degradation, since the veiling of the head was a sign of chastity and female propriety and especially indicative of the married state;<sup>14</sup> and passing to the most important part of the memorable ritual, he addressed to her this solemn adjuration,<sup>15</sup> designed to rouse and, under circumstances, to torture her conscience into anguish and confession, "If no man has lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone astray to un-

<sup>12</sup> The view that it was the man's offering (*Bähr*, Symb. II. 446), is undoubtedly erroneous; the woman held the *minchah* during the most significant and most solemn part of the ceremony, the adjuration; the words אֲדֹכֶרְבָנָה עֲלֶיהָ (ver. 15) are decisive; it was the man's oblation only in so far as everything that the wife offered properly belonged to the husband. It suffices to allude to the view of the Mishnah (Sot. II. 1) that the object in giving her the מִנְחָה was to fatigue her (כְּדִי לִיגְעָה), and thus to move her to a confession!

<sup>13</sup> וּפָרַע אֶת־רֹאשׁ הָאִשָּׁה, which words we believe, in this context, to have the sense indicated (so also Philo l. c. τὸ ἐπίκρανον ἀφελών, and later, ἀναταναλύνει τῇ κεφαλῇ; Josephus l. c. τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ ἰμάτιον ἀφελών; the Talmud, Kethuv. 72a, where our passage is quoted in support of the teaching of the Mishnah, Kethuv. VII. 6, that a man may divorce his wife if she walks about in the streets with her head uncovered, וְרֹאשָׁהּ פָּרַע; Ebn Ezra יָגִלָה; Selden l. c. solemnibus capitis operculis spoliata; Kurtz l. c. §§ 234, 236); although they admit, in themselves, also the translation "he shall loosen her hair" (סֹרַר אֶת־שַׁעְרָהּ), *Mishn.* Sot. I. 5, Rashi, a. o.; see notes on X. 6), so that it falls down disorderly, to show her to be in the sad position of a defendant. Jewish interpretation finds in those words, moreover, the intimation that the priest had

to tear open her garments till he laid bare her heart (עַד שֶׁרֹא מְגִלָּה אֶת־לִבָּהּ, *Mishn.* l. c. 5), and then to fasten them above the bosom with an "Egyptian cord" (to remind her of the Egyptian miracles!) — without any reasonable supports, and adds ludicrously אֵם הָיָה לָבָה נֶאֱמָה לֹא הָיָה מְגִלָּתָהּ וְאֵם הָיָה שַׁעְרָהּ נֶאֱמָה לֹא הָיָה סֹרָרָהּ.

<sup>14</sup> Similarly Philo (l. c.) ἵνα ἐκτελεσθῇ γεγυμνωμένη τῇ κεφαλῇ, τὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς περιηρημένη σύμβολον ὃ ταῖς εἰς ἅπαν ἀναιδείαις ἔθος χρησθαι (see, however, Comm. on Gen. p. 432); perhaps also, as has been conjectured (*Michael. Mos. R.* § 263) to be able to observe any change in her face which during the ceremony might betray her emotions. According to the Mishn. (Sot. I. 6), she had also to exchange her white garments for black ones, and was divested of all golden rings, chains, and other trinkets, "in order to make her look ugly" (כְּדִי לִנְחֹלָה).

<sup>15</sup> According to Jewish tradition (*Mishn.* Sot. VII. 1—4), it might be pronounced in any language familiar to the woman, not necessarily in the holy tongue, as was permitted also with regard to the confession at the oblation of tithes, the שְׁמַע, the daily prayer, the thanks-giving after meals, the oath of witnesses, and the oath concerning property held in trust, while other formulas were to be said in Hebrew only, as that prescribed in presenting the firstfruits (Deut. XXVI. 5), in taking

cleanness from thy husband, be thou free from this bitter water<sup>1</sup> that causes the curse. But if thou hast gone astray from thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and some one has lain with thee beside thy husband...then the Lord make thee a curse and an oath among thy people,<sup>2</sup> so that the Lord shall make thy thigh to rot and thy belly to swell,<sup>3</sup> and this water that causes the curse shall enter into thy bowels, to make thy belly to swell and thy thigh to rot": — to which the woman shall say, "Amen, amen."<sup>4</sup> The priest next wrote down<sup>5</sup> on a scroll<sup>6</sup> this curse and oath,<sup>7</sup> which implied a strict retaliation or measure for

off the shoe of a brother-in-law (XXV. 9), the blessing and curse to be spoken on Mount Ebal and Gerizim (XXVII. 12—16), the benediction of the priests (Num. VI. 23—27), etc.

<sup>1</sup> מַי הַקְּרִיָּים, i. e. water of bitterness and curse (hence with the addition הַמֵּאָרְרִים, vers. 18, 28; comp. 22, 27), woeful, calamitous water, producing grievous disease, Rashi on ver. 18 לְהַיּוֹת מַיִם מְרִיָּים, on ver. 24 לְהַרְעִים וּמַרִּים; Ebn Ezra on ver. 18 less aptly הָאֵלֹהִים הַנִּקְרָאוֹת הַמֵּאָרְרִים יְשִׁימוּ מַרִּים; Vulg. aquae amarissimae (this literal sense is not required by the context, see also *Selden* l. c., commistis etiam quae amaritudinem adderent, veluti absinthio, id genus aliis); Sept. freely ὕδωρ τοῦ ἐλέγμου; and so Philo (l. c.) ποτὸς ἐλέγχου, draught of conviction.

<sup>2</sup> That is, as a proverbial example of fearful misery to be quoted, when an awful curse is to be conveyed (Isai. LXV. 15; Jer. XXIX. 22; Zech. VIII. 13; comp. Gen. XLVIII. 20; *Talm.* Sot. 18; Shevuoth 24).

<sup>3</sup> i. e. He shall destroy thy organs of conception and childbirth, the organs which have chiefly sinned (comp. *Theodoret. Quaest.* 10 in Num.), whether by *hydrops ovarii* (*Michael. Mos. R.* § 263) or by the ordinary *hydrops ascites*, or some other disease (comp. *Joseph. Ant.* III. xi. 6, τὴν κοιλίαν ὑδῖον καταλαμβάνουσαν); Philo (l. c.) describes the effect vaguely as "a great weight and bulk coming upon her, on account

of her belly swelling and becoming full, and a terribly evil condition of her womb" (γαστρός ὄγκος οἰδούσης καὶ πιμπλαμένης κτλ.); while Josephus is too detailed in declaring, that "her right thigh would be put out of joint (τοῦ δεξιῦ σκέλους ἐξαρθρον γενέσθαι), her belly swell, and thus cause her death."

<sup>4</sup> The repetition of the word אָמֵן was meant to enhance the emphasis or force of the protestation (comp. *Gramm.* § 75. 9; Ebn Ezra חוּק פְּעָמִים); whereby all conjectures of the Mishnah (Sot. II. 5, אָמֵן מֵאִישׁ זֶה אָמֵן מֵאִישׁ אֲחֵר וְכ', אָמֵן מֵאֱלֹהִים עַל הַשְּׁבוּעָה אָמֵן) become untenable.

<sup>5</sup> The Mishnah (Sot. II. 4) says, not with ink prepared with gum or vitriol (אֵלֶּיךָ בְּקִיּוֹם וְלֹא בְּקִנְיָנוֹ, nor any other corroding matter (וְלֹא בְּכָל דָּבָר שֶׁרֹשֵׁם עָלָיו כְּשֶׁיִּשְׁטֹף עִינָיו מֵעֵלָיו, but with ordinary ink (דִּי; comp. *Mishn.* Megill. II. 2).

<sup>6</sup> מִגִּילָה ver. 23; or סֵפֶר (*Mishn.* Sot. II. 3), which is thus explained, "it must neither be a wooden tablet (לֹחַ), nor paper (נִייר), nor a hide imperfectly prepared (דֶּפֶת, δειφείρα), but parchment (סֵפֶר, Barten. קֶלֶף); yet Josephus (l. c.) has δειφείρα.

<sup>7</sup> The Mishnah (Sot. II. 3) declares that the writing on the scroll included vers. 19 ("if no man has lain with thee" etc.), 20 ("but if thou hast gone astray" etc.), 21 (beginning from "the Lord make thee a curse" etc.), 22 (leaving

measure, in harmony with the penal enactments of the Pentateuch generally,<sup>9</sup> and then blotted the words out with, or rather in, the bitter water,<sup>9</sup> probably by dipping the scroll into the vessel,<sup>10</sup> to put, as it were, the curse symbolically into the water, and thereby to impart to the latter the power of destruction; he took the מנחה from the woman's hand, waved it before God, burnt a handful of it upon the altar as a memorial (מזכרה) meant to call forth a manifestation of God in her favour if she were innocent, as she contended to be,<sup>11</sup> and then gave the woman to drink from the water.<sup>12</sup> And the Hebrew text adds gravely,<sup>13</sup> that

out the words "and the woman shall say, Amen, amen": the Bible (ver. 23) mentions only that "the curses (vers. 21, 22) were to be written on the scroll (וּכְתַב אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים הַזֵּה בַסֵּפֶר); and this was indeed the view taken by some Jewish doctors (*Mishn.* l. c.), although the method by which either view was arrived at or supported involves many of the worst and strangest features of Talmudical interpretation. One lays stress on the ה in הָאֱלֹהִים, another on ה in הָאֱלֹהִים, or on the particle אֶת, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Sot. I. 7, כְּמִדָּה שֶׁאֵין לָהּ מִדָּה; *Theodoret. Quaest.* 10 in Num. (ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἀμαρτία, δὲ αὐτῶν ὃς ἐμάρτυρα). \* אֱלֹהִים הַזֵּה.

<sup>10</sup> Josephus describes the method, not quite plausibly, thus, τῆς δευτέρας ἀπολείψας τὸ ὄνομα εἰς φιάλην ἐμπέλει.

<sup>11</sup> See pp. 206, 207; comp. also *Kurtz* l. c. § 236: Ebn Ezra explains, מִנְחָה שִׁדְיָהּ לָהּ לִזְכָּרָן לְטוֹב כִּפִּי מַעֲשֵׂה; but there is no reason to deviate from the usual meaning of the term מִנְחָה in reference to the minchah. The Mishnah (*Sot.* III. 1, 2) thus describes the ceremony, "the husband takes the מִנְחָה from the basket, puts it into a holy vessel (see *supra*), and places the latter into his wife's hand, under which the priest puts his own, waves the offering, takes a handful of it to the altar and burns it there, after which the rest may be eaten by the priests."

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Ps. CIX. 18, וּלְבָשׁ קִלְלָהּ, כִּמְצוֹ וְחָבֵא כַּמִּים בִּקְרוֹת וּכְשֶׁמֶן. After having drunk the water, the woman

had at once to leave the sacred precincts, which were not to witness her possible inflictions, or as Philo observes, "awaiting the reward for her modesty or the extreme penalty of her incontinence." According to some Jewish teachers, the drinking preceded the oblation of the מִנְחָה (*Mishn.* Sot. III. 2, וְהָיָה מִשְׁקָה וְאַחֵר כִּךְ מִקְרִיב אֶת־הַמִּנְחָה) which is against the plain injunction of the Bible (ver. 26, 'וְאַחֵר יִשְׁקָה וְכִי'; comp. *Rashi* in loc.): only after the woman had pleaded her cause before God by the מִזְכָּרָה of the minchah, she was to expect her judgment in the effect of the water. If she then, after the writing had been blotted out from the scroll, refused to drink, either on her own account or by direction of her husband, confessing to be impure or convicted of her offence by witnesses, the minchah was put on the "place of the ashes" in the Court (*Lev.* I. 16), and there burnt; but if she objected to drink without proffering any avowal, she was made to drink by force (*Mishn.* Sot. III. 3, 6); in this case, and if she was the wife of a priest, she was for ever excluded from the prerogative of eating the sacred food of her husband (תְּרִיסָה; *ibid.* l. 3; comp. also III. 3, 6). On the other hand, the virtuous wife naturally claimed the ceremony as a right and a privilege (comp. *Mishn.* Sot. VI. 2 *sqq.*), since it helped to free her from unmerited slander, and to restore her to an honourable position.

<sup>13</sup> "A very impolitic measure" שֶׁ-

if she were guilty, the water would "make her belly to swell and her thigh to rot", that is, vitiate or destroy the organs of conception and thenceforth condemn her to the curse and shame of barrenness;<sup>1</sup> but if she were innocent, "she would be free and conceive seed."<sup>2</sup> In the former case, she "bore her iniquity"; the disgrace, the separation from her husband,<sup>3</sup> and the disease that befell her, were deemed sufficient punishment;<sup>4</sup> in the latter case, the mutual and conjugal confidence was fully restored, and the husband could not be blamed for having exposed his wife to so awful an ordeal;<sup>5</sup> for he did not act, as Philo observes, "like a false accuser or treacherous enemy, seeking to gain the victory by any means whatever, but as a man may do who wishes accurately to ascertain the truth without any sophistry", and had accused his wife "not out of insult, but with an honest intention", and perhaps from the ardour of his love.<sup>6</sup> The water was, therefore, not merely a *symbol* of the expected punishment of God,<sup>7</sup> but — by means of the curse which had passed into it bodily — a positive and material agent in producing the terrible effects described;<sup>8</sup> yet decidedly objectionable is the supposition that the "bitter water", specially prepared and for this reason called "holy", possessed such medicinal properties as *naturally* produced the effects described in cases of incipient pregnancy, since the regular repetition of miracles wrought for individuals

serves Michaelis (Mos. R. § 263), "for a lawgiver, unless he was absolutely certain of his Divine legation."

<sup>1</sup> The Mishnah (Sot. III. 4) thus describes and enlarges the matter, "She had hardly drunk the water when her face turned yellow, the eyes protruded from her head, and the sinews began to swell. Then the priest commanded, Lead her away, lead her away, lest she defile the Court" (in becoming a נדה). "If she has a merit of good works" — continues the same Mishnah — "her punishment might possibly be delayed; for some good works secure a respite of one year, others of two, others again of three years": and these superstitions, partly combated and partly aggravated by other Rabbis (l. c. 5), afford an occasion for the absurdest remarks on the worth and propensities of women; f. i., כל המלצר רוצה, or בתו חורה כאלו לומדה חפלות, אשה בקב ותפלות מחשעה קבין ופרישות.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus contends, she would bear a male child in the tenth month; comp. Targ. Jonath. מחער בר דכר.

<sup>3</sup> For she was thenceforth forbidden to live with her husband, and even to marry her seducer (Mishn. Sot. V. 1).

<sup>4</sup> She was not put to death as an adulteress, as this could, according to the Law, be done only, if she was discovered in the act, in which case both parties suffered the extreme penalty (Deut. XXII. 22; comp. Lev. XX. 10; Philo, l. c. *ποινάσας ἀντρεφόντας*); see Comm. on Exod. XXII. 15, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 31, ותקד האיש מעון.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Joseph. l. c. *ἐπὶ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἔργου*.

<sup>7</sup> So Bähr l. c. p. 447; Kurtz l. c. § 237.

<sup>8</sup> Keil (Arch. I. 301, 303) observes, "The curse was communicated to the woman in a real or *sacramental* manner"; though the comparison between this rite and a sacrament is unsafe.

is not in harmony with the Mosaic Law:<sup>9</sup> this view not only militates against the entire spirit of the Biblical account, but is necessarily unavailing; for granted even that water of a similar quality can be prepared and was known to the Hebrews, it would act alike whether the woman was pregnant by her husband or her seducer. It cannot be denied that the procedure here prescribed falls virtually into the category of *ordeals*; the fact that, after its completion, the human judges took no action in the matter, while this was usually done after ordeals, constitutes no essential difference:<sup>10</sup> the principal point is the supernatural mode of discovering the *guilt*; this was perfectly analogous in both cases, while the *punishment* was in our instance left to God, in other ordeals carried out by human tribunals. The Talmud<sup>11</sup> believes that the test was applicable only if the husband had been absolutely faithful to his wife — of which condition the Biblical text is altogether silent; and that it ceased to be effectual when adulterers increased — which may be a convenient mode of accounting for constant failures of an experiment dangerous to the authority of the Pentateuch. The rite was abolished by Jochanan ben Saccai about the beginning of the Christian era<sup>12</sup> — a commendable measure whether suggested by enlightenment or prudence. From that time, divorce alone was customary among the Jews in cases of manifest and well-proved faithlessness.<sup>13</sup>

XVII. THE PASCHAL SACRIFICE.<sup>14</sup>

It requires no proof that the paschal lamb, even that killed in Egypt, was in reality a *sacrifice*;<sup>15</sup> the designation *זֶבַח פֶּסַח* is alone

<sup>9</sup> So *Saalschütz*, *Mos. R.* pp. 573, 574.

<sup>10</sup> As is contended by Bähr (l. c. I. 447) and Kurtz (l. c. § 237); see, however, *Keil*, *Arch. I.* 298.

<sup>11</sup> *Sot. 28a* שֶׁאִישׁ מִטְקָה מֵעוֹן רַמִּים בּוֹדֵקִין אֶחָ אִשְׁתּוֹ וְכִי.

<sup>12</sup> *Mishn. Sot. IX. 9*; comp. *Talm. Jerus. 24a*; and on *Jochan. b. Sacc.* see *Sepher Yuchasin* p. 68 ed. Filipowski.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Leo Mutinensis*, *De Ceremoniis et Consuetudinibus hodie Judaeos inter receptis*, IV. vi. 1. According to Jewish doctrines derived from very futile interpretations, the conjugal fidelity of man was ascertained and judged by the same process (*Mishn. Sot. V. 1*, כֶּשֶׁם שֶׁרַמִּים בּוֹדֵקִין אֶחָ אִשְׁתּוֹ כֶּךָ הִמִּים בּוֹדֵקִין אֶחָ אִשְׁתּוֹ); comp. *Protevangel.*

*Jacob. c. 15*): but this is against the plain injunction of the Pentateuch, which allows men not only several wives, but also concubines, and no single wife could, therefore, accuse him of a breach of his pledged troth: the reason is not, because "according to the Hebrew law husband and wife were not parties with equal rights, the latter being the property of the former" (*Michael. Mos. R. § 263*) — which view is utterly unfounded (see *Comm. on Gen. pp. 90, 115*; on *Exod. p. 370*).

<sup>14</sup> *זֶבַח פֶּסַח* (*Exod. XII. 27*; comp. *XXIII. 18*) or *זֶבַח חֹם הַפֶּסַח* (*Exod. XXXIV. 25*); and the meal simply *חֹם* (*Exod. XII. 11*).

<sup>15</sup> See *Lundius*, *Jüd. Heiligth. V. xii. 60*; *Carpzov*, *Appar. pp. 396, 397*; *Hof-*



decisive; the Pesach is in the Pentateuch distinctly called "an offering of the Lord,"<sup>1</sup> and "service" or "worship";<sup>2</sup> it was prescribed to be male and faultless,<sup>3</sup> the ordinary requirements of the holiest sacrifices; it was to be eaten at once and entirely, or if anything remained it was to be burnt the same night;<sup>4</sup> in later times, it was to be killed at the common Sanctuary, and consumed in the holy town,<sup>5</sup> and the blood was to be sprinkled upon the altar.<sup>6</sup> Nor can it be doubted that the paschal sacrifice, though in some respects entirely singular and exceptional, must be classed among the *thank-offerings* (תִּשְׁבָּחִים), to which it is analogous not only in the name<sup>7</sup> and in the disposal of the portions left on the morrow of the sacrifice,<sup>8</sup> but its flesh, even including the breast and right shoulder, was eaten by the Israelites who offered it, and was thus marked as distinct both from the holocausts and the expiatory offerings. Some have indeed laboured to represent it, either fully or conditionally, as a sin-offering designed to atone for the idolatry practised by the Hebrews during their sojourn in Egypt:<sup>9</sup> but the term תִּשְׁבָּחִים never signifies *absolution* or *expiation*, whatever its meaning in Arabic; and the blood of the lamb, which in Egypt was put on the lintels and the door-posts, did not symbolise the unworthiness of the Hebrews of being exempted from the calamity that was to afflict the Egyptians, but it signified the occupation of the houses by Hebrews and the belief of the latter in God's promise of rescue.<sup>10</sup> And in the later form of the Passoversacrifice,<sup>11</sup> the blood, so eminently essential in sin-offerings, was of such subordinate importance, that its use and application were not even specified in the Law.<sup>12</sup> Jewish tradition distinctly marked the Pesach

mann, Weissag. und Erfüll. i. 123; Schriftbew. II. 1, p. 177; comp. *Reland. Antiqq.* III. vi. 14; *Kurtz*, l. c. pp. 312—316.

<sup>1</sup> תִּשְׁבָּחִים, Num. IX. 7, 13 (comp. 1 Cor. V. 7); and in later Jewish writings usually תִּשְׁבָּחִים; comp. *Mishn. Pesach*, V. 1 *agg.*; *Joseph. Ant.* XI. iv. 6, τῆς ἱλίας προσευχόμενοι θύσαντες ἐκράτουντες; Mark XIV. 12, τὸ πῶμα θύσαν.

<sup>2</sup> עֲבֹדָה, Exod. XII. 25, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. XII. 5. <sup>4</sup> Exod. XII. 10; comp. p. 247. <sup>5</sup> Deut. XVI. 5—7.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. 2 Chr. XXXV. 11; see Comm. on Exod. p. 182.

<sup>7</sup> תִּשְׁבָּחִים, see p. 74 note 6.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Exod. XII. 10 and Lev. VII. 15—17.

<sup>9</sup> So *Bechai*, notes on Lev. II. 11; *Hengstenberg*, Opfer, p. 24; *Passah*, pp. 136, 139; *Christol.* III. ii. 110; *Harnack*, *Christl. Gemeindegottesdienst*, pp. 191, 192; *Ewald*, *Alterth.* p. 359; *Keil*, *Arch.* I. 384 (who believes it to combine the meaning of the thank- and sin-offerings).

<sup>10</sup> Tholuck (l. c. p. 97) calls the lamb, on the whole correctly, an ἀπορροήμα, "not a means of expiation for past sins, but a means of averting imminent misfortune."

<sup>11</sup> On תִּשְׁבָּחִים תִּשְׁבָּחִים, in contradistinction to the תִּשְׁבָּחִים תִּשְׁבָּחִים, see Comm. on Exod. p. 183, and the references there quoted; comp. also *supra* p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. on the other hand, Lev. IV. 7, 18, 25, 30, 34.



as a thank-offering by declaring that while it was killed the Israelites chanted the great hymn (הלל) consisting of the Psalms CXIII to CXVIII.<sup>13</sup> The rites by which it was attended differed indeed from those observed in ordinary שלמים; but these very deviations serve to recall its true character more strikingly. It was by the Hebrew historian, who placed its origin in the time of the exodus from Egypt, evidently conceived as a *sacrifice of covenant* in a double sense — to typify the alliance between God and the people of Israel, and to cement the union between the members of the Hebrew households. For it was to be killed by the head of every family; its blood, to be put on the lintel and the door-posts, was to sanctify the house to God; it was to be roasted entire, without any part or member being cut off; for which reason nothing, not even the fat, was burnt on the altar;<sup>14</sup> nor did the priests receive any portion; it was to be eaten in family groups, and to be consumed completely in the night of the fourteenth day of Nisan, without anything being left to the following day.<sup>15</sup> But this character which the paschal sacrifice bore at its first institution, was naturally modified in subsequent periods of Hebrew history, and especially after the settlement in the promised land. Then the Israelites properly presented it as a *thank-offering* for the miraculous redemption of their ancestors from Egyptian bondage, and in grateful remembrance of the mercy which God had manifested in choosing and accepting them as His own people;<sup>16</sup> they considered it indeed as an annual renewal of the national convention between God and themselves;<sup>17</sup> but joy and gratitude obtained a chief, if not predominant share in its performance. Thus the history of the paschal sacrifice exhibits the same change in its nature, which the שלמים generally seem to have undergone in the course of centuries. How and for what reasons the sacrifices of the firstborn were, from holocausts, converted into thank-offerings, will be explained elsewhere.<sup>18</sup>

## XVIII. THE DOCTRINE OF VICARIOUS SACRIFICE.

It is impossible to doubt that the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice was entertained by the Hebrews, as it was held by other nations, both ancient and modern. If the principle of substitution be not at once

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Pesach. V. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. *Exod.* XIII. 14—17.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Exod.* XXIII. 18; see, however, *Talm.* Pesach. 64b, 65b.

<sup>17</sup> The פסח has, therefore, justly been described as קרבן היחיד והיוסד, לקרבן צבור, "a sacrifice of an individual that resembles a sacrifice of the community" (*Abarten.* *Introd.* to *Levit.* c. III).

<sup>15</sup> See *Comm.* on *Exod.* pp. 178, 179, 186; and generally pp. 178—187. "It was from the beginning", observes the *Mishnah* (Pesach. VII. 4), "destined for eating" (שלא בא מחרחרת אלא לאכילה).

<sup>18</sup> See the *Treatise on Priesthood*, ch. 3.

apparent in holocausts and thank-offerings presented as an acknowledgment of God's sovereignty and beneficence, it is plainly obvious in expiatory sacrifices. It is unmistakably implied in that important passage which some have even regarded as the very foundation of all sacrificial laws, "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls (עַל־נַפְשֵׁיכֶם); for it is the blood that makes an atonement by the soul (בַּנֶּפֶשׁ)",<sup>1</sup> where the soul of the offerer is clearly placed in juxtaposition with the soul of the victim employed as a means of expiation. That principle is also certain and manifest in the imposition of the hands as commanded with regard to the scape-goat, "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over it all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, and shall put them upon the head of the goat, and send it away by the hand of an appointed man into the wilderness: and the goat shall bear upon it all their iniquities into a land not inhabited";<sup>2</sup> wherefore the messenger who had driven away the goat was unclean and forbidden to come within the camp till he had bathed and washed his garments.<sup>3</sup> It is at least supported by the fact that כִּפָּר, the proper term for atonement, is occasionally used as a synonym of מָחַל *instead*.<sup>4</sup> It is embodied in the narrative of the intended sacrifice of Isaac, instead of whom a ram was offered as a holocaust,<sup>5</sup> and in the law concerning the heifer killed at or near the place of an undiscovered murder;<sup>6</sup> and it is symbolised by the dissected animals at the conclusion of covenants, foreshadowing the deserved fate of the transgressor.<sup>7</sup> It involves a deep consciousness of sin and guilt, and marks a decided progress in the path of spiritual religion.

<sup>1</sup> Lev. XVII. 11, and notes in loc.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XVI. 21, 22; see Comm. in loc.

\* Ibid. ver. 26; comp. ver. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Isai. XLIII. 3; Prov. XXI. 18; comp. *De Wette*, *De Morte Jes. Ch. expiat.* p. 18; *Hengstenb. Christol.* II. 375.

\* Gen. XXII. 13; comp. *Kurtz*, l. c. p. 81; see *infra* Sect. XXI. 3.

\* Deut. XXI. 1—9; comp. *Delitzsch*,  
Comm. zum Hebräerbr. pp. 742, 743.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 197, note 16. On Exod. XXXII. 32, 33, see Sect. XVIII. Similar in import was the Greek symbol of killing a victim and throwing it as food before animals, to indicate the punishment of faithlessness or perjury

(comp. *Hom.* II. XIX. 258—268; *Eustath.* ad *Hom.* *Iliad.* III. 273; *Liv.* I. 24, tu... Jupiter, populum Romanum sic serito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie seriam; see also *Schömann*, *Griech. Alterth.* II. 239, 240). It is still the custom of orthodox Jews, on the day preceding the Day of Atonement, to turn a fowl — the men a cock, and the women a hen — (or a fish) round their head and to say, "This is my substitute, this is my deputy, this is my atonement; this cock (or hen) shall go to death, but I shall be gathered in and go to a long and blessed life and to peace" (זה חליפותי זה חסורתי זה כפרתי זה דתתנעל

The doctrine of vicariousness<sup>9</sup> has been acknowledged and adopted by many Rabbins and Fathers of the Church, who held that the Bible sanctioned the principle of "life for life",<sup>9</sup> and supposed the killing and burning of the victim to imply that the blood of the offerer ought to have been shed, and his body burnt, on account of his sins, had not the mercy of God accepted from him, as a substitute and atonement, the life and the blood of the animal;<sup>10</sup> and it has been defended by the majority of orthodox writers and critics,<sup>11</sup> though it has by some been either

יֵלֵךְ לְמִיתָהּ וְאֵנִי אֶכְנֵס לְחַיִּים טוֹבִים  
(אֲרוֹכִים וְשָׁלוֹם).

<sup>9</sup> Or satisfactio vicaria.

<sup>9</sup> נִפְשׁ חַחֲחַ נִפְשׁ, ψυχὴ ἀντὶ ψυχῆς;  
comp. Exod. XXI. 23.

<sup>10</sup> See *Ebn Ezra* on Lev. XVII. 11; *Bechai* and *Ralbag* on Lev. I; ש"ל"ה on I. 21; *Maimon*. Mor. Nevoch. III. 47; *Nachmanides* on Lev. I. p. 84a (יְחֻשׁוֹכַ אָדָם . . . כִּי חָטָא לֵאלֹהִי בְנוּפוֹ וְכִפְשׁוֹ וְרָאוּ לוֹ שִׁשְׁפֹּךְ דָּמוֹ וְיִשְׂרָף גּוּפוֹ לֹא חֶסֶד הַבּוֹרָא שֶׁלֵּקַח מִמֶּנּוּ חֲמוּרָה (וְכַפּוֹר הַקָּרֵב הַזֶּה); *Abarbanel*, Introd. to Lev. c. IV; ראשית חכמה on Lev. III ("Justice requires the death of the sinner, but the mercy of God says, 'let him bring the life of the animal instead of his life'"); *Isaac ben Arama* on Lev. I; *Theodoret*. Quaest. 61 ad Exod.; *Eusebius*, Demonstr. Evang. I. 10; *Aristaeus* ap. Euseb. Praep. Ev. VIII. 9 (τῆς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς τοῦ πατρός τρόπου προσφορὰν ποιῆται ὁ τῆν θυσίαν προσάγων); etc.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Outram*, De Sacrif. I. xxii. pp. 248—283; comp. pp. 337 (anima victimae piacularis santis animae vice data dicitur), 349 (recte a Judaeis statutum esse, victimas illas piaculares, quas imperavit Lex Mosaica, santom in locum surrogatas fuisse, ut quae idem poenae genus, nempe vitae exitium, passae fuerint, quo santes ipsi liberati erant); *Michael*. Typ. Gottesgel. pp. 58, 59, 65, 66; *Buxtorf*, Synag. Jud. c. 25; *Lundius*, Jüd. Heiligth. III. xlv. 19—25, pp. 724—726; *Bauer*, Theol. d. N.T. IV. 124 sqq.; *De Wette*, De Morte Jes. Ch. expiat. pp. 14—20;

*Gesen.* Comm. über den Jesaia, c. LIII; *Scholl*, Stud. d. Würtemb. Geistlichkeit, V. 2, pp. 150, 153; *Hengstenb.*, Christol. I. i. 264, 265; II. 372—377; *Opfer*, p. 15 (who makes, however, the untenable distinction, "obgleich die Opfer in Bezug auf das Verhältniss zur inneren Theokratie nur bezeichnend waren, so waren sie doch in Bezug auf das Verhältniss zur äusseren Theokratie bewirkend oder eigentlich stellvertretend"; comp. p. 255, note 17); *Tholuck*, Das A.T. im N.T. pp. 85, 86, 94; *von Cölln*, Bibl. Theol. I. 270 sqq.; *Knobel*, Comm. zu Lev. pp. 380, 381; *Keil*, Archæol. I. 192, 206; Comm. zu Levit. pp. 14, 35; *Delitzsch*, Bibl. Psychol. p. 201 ("Die satisfactorische Grundidee des Opfers ist nicht allein die orthodox kirchliche, sondern auch die orthodox synagogale"); Comm. zum Hebräerbr. p. 738; *Hofmann*, Schriftbeweis I. 1, pp. 141 sqq.; *Winer*, Real-Wörterb. II. 544, 545 (who calls this meaning of expiatory offerings the "most natural, most significant, and most harmonising with the notions of the ancients", and declares all the other explanations to be "far less natural, simple, and appropriate"); *Öhler*, I. c. pp. 630—632; *Thalhofer*, I. c. pp. 33 sqq.; *Kliefoth*, I. c. 53; *Stöckl*, I. c. pp. 248 sqq.; *Keil*, Arch. I. 228, 237; *Kahn*, Lutherische Dogmatik, I. 270, 385; *Hermann Schultz*, Der Begriff des stellvertretenden Leidens (Basel, 1864), who however, greatly exaggerates the idea of vicariousness by extending it to the operations of nature (p. 5), the organi-

metaphysical view based on a figurative acceptance of the which he understands as sin, selfishness, or passion (*ἐπιθυμία*) which, wherever it is employed with reference to substitution quite literally the life or existence of the offerer, saved and by the life of the victim.<sup>2</sup>

This doctrine is, however, widely different from the so-called *sacrificial* view, which considers the sacrifice as a penalty or fine. Pentateuch cannot possibly be said to start from the principle that the offerer offers the sacrifice in order to escape from punishment, because without punishment the disturbed relation between God and man would not be "restored":<sup>4</sup> this would not be a *covering* (*כַּפֶּרֶת*)<sup>5</sup> of the sin, but an *out* of it,<sup>6</sup> no *pardon*<sup>7</sup> and no *mercy*, in which the sacrifice is centred. Moreover, in expiatory offerings not the killing of the animal, but the proceeding with the blood was the principal and effected atonement. Hence the priest, the representative of the offerer, not necessarily execute the slaying, but he invariably performs the sprinkling of the blood. And though the victim gave up his

sation of society, and the ordinary occurrences of life (pp. 6 *sqq.*), and therefore considers the vicarious suffering of the Hebrew prophets and of Christ as pre-ordained from eternity, whereas it was, historically, the result of cruel persecution and inveterate blindness; comp. Sect. XIX.

1 Genh II 210 211 262 272 279

the former, but rejects the attempts to prove that this view is the teaching of the Fathers of the Church of the first centuries. But the chief arguments of the death of Christ (stated in Sect. 11) apply nearly all to "the suffering of God" (Isai. LIII), whose vicarious suffering is undeniable. See also the arguments set forth in

the life of the offerer, it was not laden with his sins;<sup>8</sup> hence the flesh, so far from being impure, became most holy,<sup>9</sup> and was, in certain cases, eaten by the priest who had been instrumental in the offering. The scape-goat alone, on the Day of Atonement, which bore the sins of the people,<sup>10</sup> was not "most holy", but was sent into a desert land to perish far away from the abodes of men.

The subject may, therefore, briefly be thus summed up. The animal dies to symbolise the death deserved by the offerer on account of his sins; while its blood which represents its life and existence, is put on the altar and on other parts of the Sanctuary to typify the Divine atonement solicited and granted. The death of the animal is far from unessential, for it involves the indispensable preliminary or the negative side of the sacrifice, the remission of the punishment; after which the sprinkling of the blood follows as the emblem of the positive effect or end, the remission of the guilt, the restoration of peace and grace, the sanctification or the re-union with God.<sup>11</sup> Thus understood, the sacrifice is not "merely an external, a formal, and mechanical act", and still less "an act of penal execution."<sup>12</sup> It is moreover obviously erroneous to deny all significance to the killing of the animal,<sup>13</sup> and to look upon it simply as an act of transition and a means for obtaining the blood: if so, it would not have been so regularly recorded in the text, nor would the *mode* have been so characteristically varied in different sacrifices.<sup>14</sup> The ceremony was entrusted, or rather left, to the offering Israelites, and not confided to the priests, because the former were to testify, in the most signal manner possible, their submission, their ready gratitude, or their death-deserving guilt. It could not well be performed on the elevated altar itself; it was sufficiently connected with this holy structure by being necessarily performed *near* it. And the sprinkling of the blood was lawful and effectual only if the blood was obtained by *killing* the animal, not if it flowed from a wound or even a vital organ.<sup>15</sup>

Simultaneously with the principle of substitution of *animals* for men, the notion of substitution of *men* for men began to gain ground. Traces of it are met with at different periods of Hebrew history. It is indirectly implied in the narrative concerning the seven descendants of Saul "hanged up before the Lord" as an atonement for the unjust war-

<sup>8</sup> This view, very extensively entertained, has been most strongly expressed by Ewald (*Alterth.* p. 68).

<sup>9</sup> קָדֹשׁ קָדֹשׁ, Lev. VI. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. XVI. 21, 22.

<sup>11</sup> See Sect. XX.

<sup>12</sup> *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 282; comp. *De Wette*, *De Morte Jes. Ch. expiat.* p. 20, note 44.

<sup>13</sup> So *Bähr*, *l. c.* p. 280; *Öhler*, *l. c.* p. 628; a. o.

<sup>14</sup> See Sect. X. 5.

<sup>15</sup> See pp. 124—126.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Matth. I. 21; XX. 21; 28; Mark X. 45; XIV. 24: Lu

But this doctrine was not allowed to spread unopposed. The more enlightened leaders of the Israelites, perceiving the fatal dangers inseparable from such a view, began to combat it with every weapon of argument and eloquence. The Pentateuch relates that when Moses, after the sin of the golden calf, offered himself as a substitute for appeasing the Divine indignation, God replied, "Whoever has sinned against Me, him will I blot out of My book";<sup>8</sup> and that when God, after the revolt of Korah and his associates, determined to visit the Israelites with general annihilation, Moses and Aaron "fell upon their faces, and said, O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and wilt Thou be wroth with all the congregation?"<sup>9</sup> When a plague smote myriads of Israelites on account of David's supposed trespass in ordering a census of the people, the king exclaimed, "It is myself that have sinned and done evil indeed; but as for these sheep, what have they done? Let Thy hand, I pray Thee, o Lord my God, be upon me, and on my father's house, but not on Thy people that they should be visited by the plague."<sup>10</sup> The Law enjoins the general rule "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin";<sup>11</sup> and this rule is confirmed by prophetic teachers, "The soul that sins, it shall die."<sup>12</sup> The proceeding of David in delivering up Saul's descendants to the Gibeonites must be viewed as an act of unjustifiable despotism probably suggested by political expediency;<sup>13</sup> and the picture of the servant of God "who was stricken for the transgression of the people, and found his grave with the wicked, although he had done no violence and no deceit was in his mouth",<sup>14</sup> this picture implies no approval, but the strongest denouncement of the impious treatment inflicted upon God's holy minister, most probably representing a class of zealous and public-spirited men, like Jeremiah, preaching and warning, oppressed, scorned, and even massacred:<sup>15</sup> these pious men did not take upon themselves the sufferings *spontaneously*; they remonstrated incessantly and most vehemently against the criminal persecutions;<sup>16</sup> and no thoughtful Israelite could expect happiness and blessing from godless cruelty perpetrated

*Michael*. Typ. Gottesgel. pp. 210, 211; *Sünde u. Genugthuung*. pp. 638—660; *Lundius*, Jüd. Heiligth. p. 726; *Tholuck*, l. c. pp. 100, 101; *Outram*, De Sacrif. pp. 318—351; *De Wette*, Dogmat. II. 71—74. <sup>8</sup> Exod. XXXII. 33; comp. Lev. XXVI. 39, 40. <sup>9</sup> Num. XVI. 22.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Chr. XXI. 17; 2 Sam. XXIV. 17. <sup>11</sup> וְאִתּוֹ יָמוּתָהוּ, Deut. XXIV. 16; comp. 2 Ki. XIV. 6.

<sup>12</sup> הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַחַיִּיתָהּ הָיְתָה חַיִּיתָהּ, Ezek. XVIII. 4; comp. vers. 1 *sqq.*; XXXIII. 12—20.

<sup>13</sup> See ch. XXI.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. also Isai. LVII. 1.

<sup>15</sup> We adhere to this acception of the "servant of God", for which the arguments will be given in the proper place.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Jer. XX. 11, 12, etc.



against the best and noblest of their generation, but feared the direst retaliation from an incensed Deity.

Other ancient nations entertained similar views with regard to substitution, though again significantly modified.<sup>1</sup> It is true that not all their sacrifices bore the character of vicariousness; many were offered to express their gratitude for benefits enjoyed, or to implore a continuance of Divine favours, or to appease the anger of the gods in times of trial and danger. Yet we find indisputable instances of true substitution. In Egypt, at the great bull-offering in honour of Apis, the head of the animal was cut off, and then<sup>2</sup> it was laden with imprecations by praying that "if any evil was impending either over those who sacrificed, or over universal Egypt, it might be made to fall upon that head"; in fact "these practices — the imprecations on the head and the libations of wine — prevailed all over Egypt, and extended to victims of all sorts, and hence the Egyptians would never eat the head of any animal."<sup>3</sup> The seal with which the victims were marked by the Egyptian priests as duly qualified<sup>4</sup> represented a kneeling man, with his hands tied to his back, and a sword put to his throat,<sup>5</sup> which can hardly be interpreted otherwise than that the animal suffered death instead of the offerer who had deserved that penalty. At Athens, a ram was sacrificed instead of the eldest member of the Athamantid family, who had forfeited his life on account of an ancient stain of blood resting on his house, but who was allowed to escape into another country.<sup>6</sup> In fact, ancient writers supposed, that primitively men were sacrificed, but were gradually replaced by animals, "the bodies of which they presented as offerings substituted for their own bodies."<sup>7</sup> The curious custom which obtained in Syria, that the offerer kneeled on the hide of the lamb he had sacrificed, and put the victim's head and feet upon his own head,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Tholuck*, Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner, pp. 290 sqq; *Buttmann*, Ueber den Mythos des Herakles; *Hengstenberg*, Christol. I. i. p. 259 ("Durch alle heidnische Religionen zieht sich die Idee der Stellvertretung, hervorgehend aus ein und demselben wahren aber missverstandenen Bedürfniss, dessen Befriedigung von allen auf die verschiedenartigste Weisegleich vergeblich gesucht wird").

<sup>2</sup> According to Herodotus II. 39; comp. *Plut.* De Isid. c. 31.

<sup>3</sup> It is evident that this passage of Herodotus does not refer to "Typhonic animals" merely (*Bähr*, Symb. II. 282

—288), but to "victims of all sorts"; the substitution was here certainly not "real" or "juridical", but symbolical, exactly as was the case with the Hebrew sacrifices; although the imposition of hand, not mentioned by Herodotus, formed probably no necessary part of the ritual (*Bähr*, II. 339, 340).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 94. <sup>5</sup> *Plut.* De Isid. c. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Herod.* VII. 197; see Sect. XXI. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Theophrast.* in Porphyr. De Abst. II. 27, ἐντεῦθεν οὖν μεταβαίνοντες ὑπάλλαγμα πρὸς τὰς θυσίας τῶν ἰδίων ἐποιούντο σωμάτων τὰ τῶν λειπῶν ζώων σώματα.

<sup>8</sup> *Lucian*, De Syr. Dea c. 55.

evidently expressed that the man's death was averted by the victim which had died in his stead. It is related<sup>9</sup> that when the large ravenous birds called Stryges, attacked the infant Procas, they were scared away by the Nymph Cranaë who, offering to them a young sow, said,

"Noctis aves, extis puerilibus ...

"Parcite; pro parvo victima parva cadit.

"Cor pro corde, precor, pro fibris sumite fibras;

"Hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus";<sup>10</sup>

which is certainly a substitution, though implying neither punishment nor fine.<sup>11</sup> And lastly, both private and public calamities were extensively believed to be averted by the sacrifice of a human being, whether the latter died by self-immolation or by the hand of a priest, as has been explained in another place.<sup>12</sup> The Gauls especially held the belief that "unless the life of a man be surrendered for the life of another, the divine majesty of the immortal gods could not be propitiated."<sup>13</sup> Whenever the town of Massilia was visited by an epidemic, a poor man who offered himself was for a complete year fed at the public expense in the best possible manner; after which he was decked with wreaths and holy garments, conducted round the town, and at last struck down with imprecations that the misfortunes of the community might fall upon him alone.<sup>14</sup>

It is scarcely necessary to express an opinion on the philosophical or religious value of the principle of substitution — a principle which is derived from most imperfect conceptions both of sin and of the divine attributes, and which is little different in dignity and truth, whether it refers to the vicarious death of an animal for a man, or of a man for a nation, or of a God for the human race. It has indeed been assailed and rejected at all times. Cato observes with simplicity and common sense,

"Cum sis ipse nocens, moritur cur victima pro te?

"Stultitia est, morte alterius sperare salutem."<sup>15</sup>

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews declared, "it is not possible

<sup>9</sup> By *Ovid*, *Fast.* VI. 131—168.

<sup>10</sup> *Vers.* 159—162.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. also *Virg.* *Aen.* V. 483, 484 (Hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis Persolvo); *Porphyr.* *Abst.* IV. 15 (ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς αἰτοῦμεν). It is, therefore, undoubtedly incorrect to assert that the pagan nations were entirely unacquainted with the idea of substitution (*Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 282—288).

<sup>12</sup> See Sect. XXI. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Caes.* *Bell. Gall.* VI. 16, pro vita

hominis nisi vita hominis reddatur, non posse deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur; comp. *Cic.* *Pro Fonteio* X (31).

<sup>14</sup> *Serv.* on *Virg.* *Aen.* III., comp. *Suidas* s. v. περίφημα — οὕτως ἐπέλεγον τῷ κατ'ἐνιαυτὸν ... συνέχοντι τῶν κακῶν Περίφημα ἡμῶν γενεῶ, ἧτοι σωτηρία καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις καὶ οὕτως ἐνέβαλλον τῇ θαλάσῃ ὥσαντι τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσιᾶν ἀποτινύοντες.

<sup>15</sup> *Cato*, *Distich.* IV. 15.

consciously, offended thy majesty; for I am, as thou knowest  
brute, following the simplicity of my nature, and unable to  
changeful and versatile artifices; etc."; and he concludes a  
sive appeal thus, "Is it then not savage, fierce, and ferocious  
not appear to thee, o Jupiter, iniquitous and barbarous, that  
be killed and slaughtered to pacify thee, and to secure the  
the wicked?"<sup>4</sup> "Common sense will not allow us", observes  
Taylor,<sup>5</sup> "to imagine that sin, which can be truly imputed to  
der alone, whose alone it is, was ever *really* transferred to  
much less to a brute altogether incapable of sin"; and he in  
rising earnestness that "vicarious punishment seems to be  
diction in terms; for as there cannot be a vicarious guilt, or  
can be guilty instead of another, so there cannot be a vicario  
ment; . . . punishment in its very nature connotes guilt in th  
which bears it"; and he had therefore recourse to the opinion  
victim presented the person of the offerer "in the symbolical, i  
tive sense, to show him the demerit of sin in general, how he  
slay the brute in himself, and devote his life and soul to God  
symbolising view is kindred to that of Bähr above stated and  
to: many believe they have proved the non-existence of a d  
the Bible when they have proved its unreasonableness or its  
but impartial interpretation must *study* the conceptions of anc  
from their own sphere of thought, though it may *judge* the  
standard of absolute reason. Kurtz confesses that the idea of  
suffering is "a conception contradictory to all human views o

by despair, and tending to a blind confusion of the notions of virtue and crime, of sense and folly.

Now the progress in the idea of atonement among the Hebrews may thus be sketched. At first that idea was confined to *intentional* offences, and especially to murder, the most heinous of all, which could be expiated only by the death of the murderer, since, "blood defiles the land."<sup>8</sup> For this reason an expiation was also required for a murder the perpetrator of which was unknown, and it was effected, with peculiar ceremonies, by the blood of an animal.<sup>9</sup> In course of time, misfortune or misery commensurate with the sin was regarded as an atonement,<sup>10</sup> and a voluntary gift devoted to God or His service was looked upon as an instrument for averting dangers or for securing future success.<sup>11</sup> Then the Hebrews, advancing another step, adopted the belief that God could be induced to pardon offenders through the devotion and prayer of pious intercessors, especially prophets: thus expiation was secured by the holy zeal of Phinehas which stayed a fearful pestilence and reconciled the people to God,<sup>12</sup> and by the supplication of Job who, though unjustly treated by his friends, had manfully upheld his innocence and vindicated the ways of God;<sup>13</sup> it was expected through the mediation of Abraham<sup>14</sup> and Moses,<sup>15</sup> of Samuel<sup>16</sup> and Elishah,<sup>17</sup> of Isaiah,<sup>18</sup> Jeremiah,<sup>19</sup> and others;<sup>20</sup> or through a national fast.<sup>21</sup> On one occasion, money was received as an atonement; namely, when the census was taken, every Israelite above twenty years of age gave half a shekel — the rich not more, the poor not less — as "a ransom for his soul (לִפְּדוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ) to the Lord, that there be no plague (נִגְף) among them", whence the money itself was called "atonement-money" (כֶּסֶף כִּפּוּרִים).<sup>22</sup> At last religious education advanced sufficiently to require atonement even for inadvertent sins. For this purpose a fit symbol was sufficient; for no real guilt, impossible without intention, was to be expiated; it was only necessary to restore the holiness of the

comp. also *Michaelis*, Sünde und Genugthuung, pp. 641—660.

<sup>8</sup> Num. XXXV. 33; comp. 2 Sam. XII. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. XXI. 1—8.

<sup>10</sup> Isai. XXVII. 9; comp. XLIII. 3, 4.

<sup>11</sup> Num. XXXI. 50; Job. XXXVI. 18; Prov. XIII. 8; Ps. XLIX. 8; comp. also Ex. XXI. 29, 30.

<sup>12</sup> Num. XXV. 11—13; comp. Ps. CVI. 30, 31.

<sup>13</sup> Job XLII. 8, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Gen. XX. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Exod. VIII. 4, 5, 24, 25; IX. 28, 33; X. 17, 18.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Sam. XII. 19, 23.

<sup>17</sup> 2 Ki. VI. 20.

<sup>18</sup> 2 Ki. XIX. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Jer. VII. 16; XL 14; XIV. 11; XLII. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. Isai. LIII. 12.

<sup>21</sup> Esth. IV. 15, עָלַי צוֹם "fast on my account" or "for me."

<sup>22</sup> Exod. XXX. 12—16; see Comm. on Exod. pp. 562—564. According to the Talmud, the pontifical vestments also possessed the efficacy of atonement (see *Talm. Erach.* 16a; *Zevach.* 88b; *Talm. Jerus. Yom. capp. I. VII*; comp. *Zechar.* III. 4).

fice embodied the notion of vicarious suffering, but that especially in remoter periods, was possible through other means of sin-offerings.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of these explanations, we have been repeatedly to touch upon the great Christian sacrifice, to which we specially devote a few remarks suggested by an impartial and a review of the subject.

### XIX. THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE.

It is vain to assert that the Christian doctrine is in harmony with the teaching of the Pentateuch. The principle of vicarious atonement is indeed common to both. But the Law permits solely the sacrifice of animals, the New Testament asserts the vicarious suffering of man, whom it conceives at once as a "perfect man" and "perfect God" (*θεάνθρωπος*) — itself a notion utterly unhebrew. The former holds the idea of hereditary sin and punishment, as has above been seen, while the latter considers the transgression of the first man as having a fatal effect upon all posterity for ever, and to require atonement by the blood of the son of God; "by one man", declares the apostle, "sin entered into the world, and death by sin; . . . death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression; . . . through the offence of one many are made sinners." The Messiah of the Old Testament, a man<sup>2</sup> and not created deity,<sup>3</sup> was not expected at all to work expiation of sins. Th

---

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Lev. X. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Lev. XVII. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. V. 12—15; compare also *Michael*. Strafe und Ge

a deliverer were roused in times of public or political calamity; and as according to the commonly received law of retaliation, the misfortune was looked upon as the consequence of moral and religious depravity, so the rescue was deemed impossible without previous atonement through inward regeneration.<sup>9</sup> But this regeneration is never, in the Old Testament, represented as the work of the Messiah, but of the Hebrews themselves, who were trusted to abandon their evil and idolatrous ways, and to turn to God with all their hearts;<sup>10</sup> it was by the better and profounder minds not deemed to result from sacrifice or any ritual exercise;<sup>11</sup> though the indolent and frivolous may have looked forward to it as the spontaneous bestowal of the Messiah.<sup>12</sup> Again, the Old Testament never connects with the Messiah the notions of suffering, misery, or violent

*sqq.*; *De Wette*, Dogmat. I. § 200, who observes: "There are no proofs to show that, at the time of Jesus, the belief in a supernatural birth of the Messiah was entertained: no contemporary of Jesus and of the apostles utters such a view in the N. T.; neither do the apostles themselves do so." The laborious and singularly fallacious arguments set forth by Hengstenberg (*Christol.* I. i. pp. 215—251) to prove the contrary view, exhibit its erroneousness more strikingly than could be done by any direct refutation; but criticism and science are little concerned in the conclusions of a scholar who starts from the principle, "that depraved human reason is unable to form an opinion of the doctrines of revelation" (I. c. II. 373). Maimonides (*De Rege Messia* I. 3) contends even that the Messiah must not be supposed to do miracles (ואל יעלה על דעתך שהמלך המשיח צריך לעשות אותות ומופתים), since in his time nothing will happen out of the ordinary course of things or of nature (*ibid.* II. 1), for which purpose he explains passages like "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb" etc. (*Isai.* XI. 6—8) figuratively (as חידוה or משלים) to point to peace between Hebrews and heathens; comp. also *ibid.* II. 2, אין בן העולם הזה לימות המשיח אלא שיעבוד מלכותו בלבד.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Lev.* XXVI. 3—45; *Isai.* XL. 2; L. 1; *Ps.* I; XXXIV. 12—23; XCI; XCII; *Prov.* III. 1—10, 16, 17, 32—35; IV. 16—19; X. 3, 6, 9, etc.; XI. 3—8, 17; *Dan.* IX. 24; etc. etc.

<sup>10</sup> See *Isai.* I. 25—27; *Ezek.* XXXVII. 21—24; *Zechar.* III. 9; XIII. 1; *Dan.* IX. 24; comp. *Matth.* III. 2 (*μετανοείτε, ἡγγαγεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*). The expressions of Maimonides (*De Rege Messia* I. 4) ויכוף כל ישראל לילך, במארה ולחוק בצרקה, are therefore not quite correct; comp., however, I. c. II. 2, ואינו בא לא למטא המדבר ולא למדבר, המטא... אלא לשום שלום באותו הזמן... לא יהיה עסק כל העולם אלא לדעת את ידוה בלבד וכי. Philo never mentions a Messiah at all, but expects a golden age from the general prevalence of virtue and the faithful observance of the Law; comp. *De Wette*, Dogmat. I. § 192. <sup>11</sup> See Sect. IV.

<sup>12</sup> Even the Talmud (*Sanhedr.* 97b) teaches, "All the terms are completed; and the matter (of the advent of the Messiah) depends only on penitence and good works" (כלו כל הקיצין ואין); (הדבר חלוי אלא בתשובה ומעשים טובים); comp. *ibid.* 98a (where it is promised that the Messiah would come that very day, if the people turn to God); *Shabb.* 118b (מלוא משמרתן ישראל שהי); (שבחא כהלכתן מיד גמאלן); *Targ. Jon. Mic.* IV. 8.

death;<sup>1</sup> on the contrary, it delineates him as the glorious and powerful king of a happy and virtuous world, the restorer of the former splendour of David's house,<sup>2</sup> at once ruler, law-giver, and prophet:<sup>3</sup> even so late a writer as Zechariah, when symbolically representing the High-priest Joshua as Messiah, places a golden and a silver crown upon his head, with the words, "Even he shall build the Temple of the Lord, and he shall bear the glory, and shall go and rule upon his throne."<sup>4</sup> The redemption was, indeed, like every well-secured felicity, to be preceded by heavy struggles and convulsions:<sup>5</sup> but these were the struggles and sufferings of the *age*, not of the *person* of the Messiah.<sup>6</sup> Indeed later

<sup>1</sup> The observations of Hengstenberg on the subject (Christol. I. i. 252—292) contain eloquent assertions ("Die Lehre von einem leidenden und büssenden Messias war bei den Juden von jeher vorhanden", p. 291) but no arguments or proofs; the passages adduced by him (Isai. XI. 1; Ezek. XVII. 22; Zechar. IX. 9; XII. 9; XIII. 7; Isai. XLII. XLIX. L. LIII; Ps. XVI. 9—11, 22, 40; XXII. 17—19; Dan. IX. 26), either do not refer to the Messiah at all, or not to a *suffering* Messiah; and he incidentally admits some of the views he means to combat (l. c. pp. 268—272).

<sup>2</sup> In this sense, David's royalty was termed everlasting; comp. Sir. XLVII. 11; 1 Macc. II. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Isai. II. 2—4; IV. 2—6; IX. 3; XI. 1—16; Ezek. XXXIV. 23—31; XXXVI. 24—30; XXXVII. 21—28; Hos. II. 18—25; III. 5; Am. IX. 11, 15; Mic. IV. 6—8, 12, 13; V. 1—8; Dan. VII. 13, 14; etc.; comp. also Bar. IV. 21—V. 9; Tob. XIII. 7—18; XIV. 4—7; 2 Esdr. XIII. 32—40; Luke I. 71; II. 32; Acts I. 6 (the apostles asked Christ, "wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?").

<sup>4</sup> Zechar. VI. 9—13. Maimonides begins his treatise on the Messiah with the words, המלך המשיח עתיד לעמוד ולהחזיר מלכות בית דוד לישנה הממשלה הראשונה ובונה המקדש ומקבץ נדחי ישראל (Leydecker, R. Mos. Majemonid. Tractat. de Regib. Hebraeor. eorumque

Bellis, praesert. de Rege Messia, Rotterd. 1699, p. 175, and Leydecker's dogmatic remarks on this passage, pp. 176—178; comp. Maimon. l. c. I. 5).

<sup>5</sup> Zech. XII. 10; XIII. 7—9; Dan. XII. 1: they are called by the later Jews חבלי משיח "the throes of the Messiah"; comp. Mishn. Sot. IX. 15 ("at the approach of the Messiah, shamelessness will prevail... the world will turn to heresy, and no one will administer reproof... The wisdom of the sages will be slighted, and the pious will be despised"; etc.); Talm. Shabb. 118a; 2 Esdr. V. 1—13 ("the way of truth shall be hidden, and the earth shall be barren of faith; but iniquity shall be increased" etc.); XIII. 31 sqq.; Matth. XXIV. 3 sqq.; Mark XIII. 14—31; Luke XXI. 25—32; 2 Tim. III. 1—6 ("in the last days perilous times shall come; for men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud", etc.). All those evils were personified by the antichrist (ἀντίχριστος, 1 John II. 18); comp. Hulsius, Theol. Jud.; Emek Hamelech, fol. 42, c. 4; Schoettgen, De Mess. Lib. V. c. 2, pp. 509 sqq.; Eisenmenger, Entdeckt. Jud. II. 711 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Some passages have erroneously been explained in a different sense, as Isai. LII. 13—LIII. 12 (see p. 297; comp. Fatke, Theol. des A. T. pp. 528—533); Zech. IX. 9; XII. 10; comp. John XII. 15, 16; Talm. Sanhedr. 96a. — Even Targum Jonathan, though partially referring the description in Isaiah LIII to the



Judaism, though wavering on the subject, conceived the Messiah as undying,<sup>7</sup> and as having been born many generations before, openly to appear at the appointed time.<sup>8</sup> When after the destruction of the Temple, atonement was no longer possible through sacrifice, it was expected from the Messiah ready to take upon himself the suffering of the world;<sup>9</sup> which doctrine, therefore, in this form, cannot date from a time prior to the final overthrow of the commonwealth. Again, as on the one hand, the time of the Messiah's advent was believed to be fixed, and yet, on the other hand, to depend on the people's abandonment of all wickedness, the idea was naturally conceived that he himself would bear and annul the sins which at that glorious epoch might yet stain the world. It was, at this period, when the Jews began to understand many passages of the Old Testament as referring to a *suffering* Messiah — the same texts, on the whole, which were so interpreted by Christians.<sup>10</sup> Such views were indeed felt to involve a most glaring opposition to the teaching of the prophets; but in order to reconcile the one with the other, the singular expedient was, in the course of time, adopted, that "the Messiah, the son of David" would be preceded by another or an inferior "Messiah, the son of Joseph or Ephraim", who was considered as the deliverer of the ten tribes, and was supposed to fight against the enemies of Israel and defeat them, to restore a portion of the exiles to the holy land, but was at last to be killed in a war against Gog and Magog, in order to expiate the sins of the people by his blood:<sup>11</sup> which notion of a double Messiah was probably recommended, if it was not originally suggested, by the desire of typifying the future reconciliation of Judah and Ephraim, and their friendly concord in a happier age. But the Messiah the son of Joseph is not yet alluded to in the Mishnah,

Messiah, attributes to him no suffering, but on the contrary, the power of prostrating all hostile nations, and of delivering the Hebrews, to whom alone the Targum ascribes the suffering and the calamities, while the Messiah works their expiation, not by his death, but by his intercession in prayer, like Moses (Exod. XXXII. 32), and by his knowledge and wisdom (comp. especially *Targ. Jonath.* on Isai. LIII. 4—7, 11): and similarly later Jewish authorities, as R. Tanchum, R. Alschech, etc.

<sup>7</sup> John XII. 34 (Isai. IX. 5, אֲנִי עֵר); comp. *Eisenmeng.* Entdeckt. Jud. II. 687, 812, 813; *Bertholdt*, Christol. § 28.

<sup>8</sup> *Talm. Hieros.* Berach. 5a; Taanith

64a; *Talm. Babyl.* Sanhedr. 97; 98a; 99a; comp. *Bertholdt*, l. c. § 25; *Hulsius*, l. c. p. 309; *Schöttgen*, l. c. pp. 50. 553 sqq.; *Glaesener*, Comm. de gemino Judaeorum Messia, pp. 15 sqq., 24 sqq.; *Eisenmeng.* l. c. pp. 11, 320, 650, 653. 668, 677, 758; *Corrodus*, Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasm. I. 238, 269, 284, 287 sqq.; *Buxtorf*, Synagog. Jud. p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *Talm. Sanh.* 98a; Sohar II. 85.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Schoettgen*, l. c. p. 161; *Hulsius*, l. c. pp. 321 sqq.; *Eisenmeng.* l. c. p. 757; *H. Michael.* in Bibl. Hal. ad Isai. LIII.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Maimon.* De Rege Messia. II. 2, בְּהַלְלָה יֵשׁוּעַ הַמְּשִׁיחַ תְּרִיזָה מְלַחְמָה, בְּגַד וּמִטָּה.

nor in the Targum Jerusalem; he is first mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud<sup>1</sup> and the later Targums, as Pseudo-Jonathan<sup>2</sup> which was not written before the 6th or 7th century of the present era.<sup>3</sup> Certain it is that the Jews at the time of Christ and the Apostles did not expect a Messiah who by his suffering and death would expiate the sins of the people: such a notion occurs neither in the Apocrypha, nor in the works of Philo and Josephus, nor even in the Mishnah — nay more, it was not familiar to the contemporaries of Christ according to the New Testament itself,<sup>4</sup> which indeed hoped from Jesus expiation and remission of sins,<sup>5</sup> but also deliverance of the Jews from their enemies, and the inauguration of a glorious political era,<sup>6</sup> not through his degradation and death, but through his honour and victory.<sup>7</sup> When the disciples heard of his impending suffering, they were embarrassed and perplexed,<sup>8</sup> because they could not reconcile it with the current notion of a triumphant Redeemer.<sup>9</sup> Though he called himself the Messiah,<sup>10</sup> the character attributed to his mission by contemporary Jews differed widely from the Messiah described by earlier writers and expected in his time.<sup>11</sup> He renounced

<sup>1</sup> Succ. 52a commenting on Zechar. XII. 12, הַאִי הַסְפִידָא מַאי עֲבִידְחִיָּה וּרְבֵנָה חַד אָמַר עַל מְשִׁיחַ בֶּן יוֹסֵף שְׁנֵהֲרָנָה וְחַד אָמַר עַל יֵצֶר הָרַע שְׁנֵהֲרָג בְּשִׁלְמָא לְמַאן דְּאָמַר עַל מְשִׁיחַ בֶּן יוֹסֵף שְׁנֵהֲרָג הֵיִינוּ דְּכַחֲבִי וְהֵבִיטוּ אֵלַי אֲתָּה אֲשֶׁר דִּקְרוּ וּסְפָרוּ עֲלֵינוּ כַּמְסַפֵּר עַל הַיְּחִיד.

<sup>2</sup> On Exod. XL. 11; Cant. IV. 5; VII. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Zunz, Gottesdienstl. Vorträge, p. 65; *De Wette*, Einleit. § 62; *Glaesener*, l. c. pp. 46—49, 56, 57, 145 sqq., 200 sqq.; *Schöttgen*, l. c. p. 359; *Bertholdt*, l. c. pp. 77 sqq., 155; *Eisenmeng.* l. c. p. 720; *De Wette*, l. c. pp. 76 sqq.; *Sommer*, Theolog. Sohar. p. 91; *Hengstenb.* Christol. I. i. pp. 253—290.

<sup>4</sup> See *De Wette*, De Morte Jesu Chr. expiatoria, pp. 50—57; but the author of this excellent treatise, in the preface to its reproduction in his *Opuscula theologica* (pp. 2—145), retracts or modifies some essential points; he especially allows a greater affinity of opinion concerning Christ's death between Christ himself and the apostles; and he all but contends that both the former and the latter attributed to that death an expiatory character; comp. also

*Gramberg*, Rel. Id. II. 564—669, esp. p. 566.

<sup>5</sup> Matth. I. 21; Luke I. 77; John I. 29; etc.; see p. 296.

<sup>6</sup> Luke I. 68—75; II. 30—32.

<sup>7</sup> See *supra*. The passage Luke II. 35 ("yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also") cannot, in harmony with the context, refer to a vicarious and expiatory death of Christ (comp. *De Wette*, l. c. pp. 52 sqq.).

<sup>8</sup> Mark IX. 31, 32; Luke XVIII. 32—34; XXIV. 20, 21; Matth. XVI. 21, 22; 1 Cor. I. 23; comp. also John XVI. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. also Acts VIII. 30—35, which, as *de Wette* observes, proves "loci classici Jes. LIII ad Messiam accommodationem illis temporibus inusitatam fuisse."

<sup>10</sup> Matth. XVI. 13—20; XXVI. 23, 24; John IV. 25, 26; XVII. 1—26; XVIII. 37; comp. Matth. XI. 4 sqq. (Isai. XXXV. 5, 6; LXI. 1; Luke IV. 18).

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Luke II. 25, 26, 38 ("she spoke of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem"); John IV. 25 ("I know that the Messiah comes who is called Christ"); *Joseph. Bell.* Jud. VI. v. 4 (τὸ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν χρησμός

the aspiration of worldly power, and confined himself to the sphere of morality, and to the task of spiritualizing the traditional faith. He was well aware of the persecutions which he and his adherents would have to endure on account of notions so strange and so unwelcome to his countrymen,<sup>12</sup> who, therefore, might well be exempted from blame if they failed or found it difficult to understand his Messianic mission, especially as he did not, at least at first, wish it to be divulged on any account.<sup>13</sup> But the desire of maintaining his influence, and of contributing, if possible, to greater holiness of life, made it appear to him expedient to promise a *second advent*, when he would realise all the predicted Messianic glory, and would judge the living and the dead. At last, deceived in his expectations and broken by resistance, he saw no hope but in his death, which, sealing his convictions, might reuse his disciples to abandon all worldly thoughts and to strive after the kingdom of heaven alone.<sup>14</sup> He easily found allusions to that death in the Hebrew Scriptures,<sup>15</sup> since his life and fate resembled in many points the life and fate of persecuted Hebrew prophets.<sup>16</sup> He was not unwilling to see his end accelerated by the fanaticism of the powerful religious sects which he had embittered by his more liberal teaching; and he proclaimed that he gave up his life for the expiation, and therefore for the happiness, of the world — a doctrine repeated and expanded by his apostles and followers:<sup>17</sup> but it was, in some measure, inconsistent with his principle which, rejecting all external forms, declares "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth":<sup>18</sup> for the sacrifice of a Messiah for the purpose of securing atonement is no less a sacrifice than an offering of "bulls and goats"; it is designed to effect by an outward act that which a truly spiritual faith works by the moral exertion of the sinner himself and alone.<sup>19</sup>

ἀμφίβολος ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐρη-  
μένος γραμμασεν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν παρὸν  
δεικνύον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τις αὐτῶν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυ-  
τῆς εὐκταμένης); *Sueton. Vespas. c. 4*  
(percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et con-  
stans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore  
Judaea profecti rerum potirentur); *Ta-  
cit. Hist. V. 13* (pluribus persuasio inerat,  
antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo  
ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret oriens  
profectique Judaea rerum potirentur).

<sup>12</sup> Matth. X. 23; comp. V. 11, 12.

<sup>13</sup> Matth. XVI. 20 ("then charged he  
his disciples that they should tell no  
man that he was Jesus the Christ");  
comp. *Cohen, Les Décides*.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Matth. XXIII. 37—39.

<sup>15</sup> Matth. XVI. 21; XXVI. 24, 54, 56;  
Mark IX. 12; XIV. 49; Luke XVIII. 31  
—34; XXII. 22, 37; XXIV. 26, 27, 44  
—46; Acts III. 18, 24; XVII. 3; XXVI.  
22, 23; 1 Pet. I. 10—12; comp. Hebr.  
XI. 36—38; Matth. XXIII. 29—32; John  
XII. 27; Dan. VII. 13; IX. 26; Isai. LII.  
13—LIII. 12; Jer. II. 30; XI. 19; XV.  
10—18; XX. 7—18; Neh. IX. 26.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Matth. XXI. 33—39; Luke.  
XX. 9—15; Acts VII. 52.

<sup>17</sup> See p. 296.

<sup>18</sup> John IV. 24.

<sup>19</sup> K. Bähr (*Lehre der Kirche vom  
Tode Jesu*, p. 9) admits that "the con-  
nection between vicarious satisfaction"

and manifesting civility, even children and old men, which characterises its later Talmudical development; and simple and moderate, if contrasted with the complicated rituals of the eastern nations, as the Hindoos and even the Persians. In its conceptions of the Deity and of the nature of sin, the Law is compelled to assign it to a very advanced stage in the development of the Hebrew mind,<sup>1</sup> in which conclusion he is not shaken by the noteworthy exception, the "offering of jealousy" (קנאות) which certainly recalls the heathen ordeals, but is not properly a sacrifice, and was, as regards its principal features, retained by the Law in the form which it had received in the practice of antiquity. The Levitical system is indeed framed on the basis of tradition and the general usage of antiquity; but it is modified in accordance with the distinctive religious views of the Pentateuch, deeper, purer, and more spiritual than any anterior ceremonial, simplified in many respects, and enlarged in several significant points. Free from narrow exclusiveness, it permits strangers also to approach the central altar with sacrifices, certainly holocausts and thank-offerings,<sup>2</sup> and in the spirit of the law be considered, probably sin-offerings also,<sup>3</sup>

through Christ and the sanctification of our lives, is rather artificial": but his efforts to prove that the Fathers of the Church in the three first centuries did not connect with the death of Christ the idea of punishment and vicarious suffering, in as much as "they did not say, God has been reconciled to us by the death and blood of Christ, but

tempt to dispute that Christ was a sacrifice. The same remark applies to John Taylor (Scripture of Atonement examined, p. 10), whose views nearly coincide with those of K. Bähr.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 43 *sqq.* <sup>2</sup> See

<sup>3</sup> Lev. XVII. 8; XXII. 10.

seems to have been acted upon at all times,<sup>5</sup> and is reflected in the Messianic hopes of the age when all nations alike will worship and sacrifice in the Temple;<sup>6</sup> though the bigoted intolerance of later centuries laboured to confine the permission of strangers to burnt-offerings of pigeons alone.<sup>7</sup> Nor can it fairly be represented as unduly splendid and expensive; it mainly requires materials which, in an agricultural and cattle-breeding country of singular fertility, were furnished in abundance and formed the property of every citizen; and it prescribes for the whole year not quite 1300 animals as public sacrifices, or in the average 3 or 4 daily.<sup>8</sup>

The chief characteristic of the sacrifices of different nations necessarily coincides with the chief characteristic of their various creeds, since sacrifices formed the centre and kernel of religious worship.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 Ki. VIII. 41—43; 2 Macc. II. 35; XIII. 23; *Joseph. Contr. Ap.* II. 5 (καὶ γὰρ τρίτος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ λεγόμενος Εὐεργέτης... παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, πολλὰς ὥς ἡμῖν νόμιμόν εἶπεν ἐπετέλεσε θυσιὰς τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἀναθήματα τῆς νίκης αἷα).

<sup>6</sup> Isai. LVI. 6, 7; comp., however, Zech. XIV. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Maimon. Maas. Hakkorb.* c. 3; *Abarban. Introd. to Levit.* c. III; see p. 234 note 8.

<sup>8</sup> The following are the exact numbers. By far the greater part were holocausts, namely, every day — morning and evening — 2 lambs; in addition to them, on Sabbath 2 lambs; on the day of the new-moon and on every day of Passover, except the second, 2 bullocks, 1 ram, and 7 lambs, that is, with the daily sacrifice, 12 holocausts in all, or if a sabbath, 14; while on the second day of Passover, the firstfruit-sheaf of barley was accompanied by one lamb only (Lev. XXIII. 12); on the Feast of Weeks, besides the 2 daily lambs, 2 bullocks, 1 ram, and 7 lambs, as on Passover, and moreover, as an accompaniment of the new loaves of bread, 1 bullock, 2 rams, and 7 lambs, that is 22 animals, or if on a sabbath, 24 in all; on the Day of Memorial, or the first day of the seventh

month, in addition to the new-moon sacrifice of 10 beasts and the daily offering of 2, 1 bullock, 1 ram, and 7 lambs, or 21 holocausts in all, and if on a sabbath, 23; on the Day of Atonement, 1 bullock, 1 ram, and 7 additional lambs; on the first day of Tabernacles, 13 bullocks, 2 rams, and 14 additional lambs, in all 31, or on a sabbath 33 holocausts; on the six following days of the feast, the same number of rams and of lambs, but every succeeding day one bullock less, so that on the seventh day 25 holocausts were offered, or if on a sabbath 27, while on the eighth day or the "Feast of Conclusion", 1 bullock, 1 ram, and 7 additional lambs were burnt. Therefore, all holocausts computed for the term of a solar year of 365 days, amounted to 1094 lambs, 112 bullocks, and 38 rams, in all 1244 pieces of cattle. The public sin-offerings (חטאת), also burnt entire, were a kid of the goats on each day of the new-moon, on every day of Passover, except the second, on the Feast of Weeks, an additional one on the Day of Memorial or the first of the seventh month, and on the Day of Atonement, on all days of the Feast of Tabernacles, and on the Feast of Conclusion; to which may be added the goat sent into the wilderness on the

Providence; He feels pity for the weakness of tempers His justice with compassion. The gods deifications of nature or her powers; they represent preservation, or destruction; they mostly bear even their attributes are identified with those of the influences or forces of the cosmos; for they nations of primeval matter: far from governing, by unalterable laws; they are held in subjection either by superior divinities; they form either a creed many eastern religions, or of simple polytheism, the Greeks and Romans; they may exact homage cannot raise him above his state of nature.<sup>2</sup> Those of the Hebrews have a *moral* or *ethical*, those of other nations of a *cosmical* or *physical* character; the former tend to exalt the soul, the latter upon fears and interests; the one offerer to the sanctity of God, the other lower the sanctity by the weakness and selfishness of man.<sup>3</sup> We are far from d

---

Day of Atonement — in all 31 kids of the goats, so that the total amount of animals entirely given up, is raised to 1275.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Spencer*, Legg. Ritt. III. ii. 2, p. 759.

<sup>2</sup> See Comm. on Gen. pp. 53—63; Comm. on Exod. pp. 185, 186.

<sup>3</sup> This difference has been most admirably stated and unfolded by Bähr (Symb. II. 217—268: comp. nn. 283

the incense-offices, and “offerings” of the Babylonians, Sumerians, and the four chief religions of China by the beginning of the usages of the tribes; and the Greeks and Romans proud of their gods who in their forms are

analogies that exist between the theology of the Hebrews and of other nations, and we readily concede that sporadically most of the conceptions of the former are, in some shape, found among the latter; and that even the Hebrew notion of God or Jehovah has a remarkable parallel in "the Mind" (*Noûs*) of Anaxagoras, who defines this Mind as a spirit, infinite, all-knowing, existing before the world and all finite things, ruling the universe, yet distinct from it,<sup>4</sup> as the absolute Master directing all things and pervading all,<sup>5</sup> as simple, undivided, unchangeable, and without community with any thing,<sup>6</sup> as an immaterial being, the governing and discerning principle, of a substance different from that of which all other things are formed,<sup>7</sup> incorporeal,<sup>8</sup> a soul and the principle of life:<sup>9</sup> yet this "Mind" is very different from Jehovah, a personal God who allows no other deity beside Him, who not only preserves the world but judges mankind, who is "merciful and gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness, and full of truth";<sup>10</sup> therefore the perfect identity of the Anaxagorean Mind and the Hebrew Jehovah can be asserted and upheld only by strange and insufficient analogies.<sup>11</sup>

materially from his peculiar propensity to minute symbolism, nor from his strong dogmatic bias; although the general results at which he arrives are open to grave objections which we have pointed out in their proper places.

<sup>4</sup> *Anaxagor.* Fragm. VIII ed. Schaub., Fragm. VI ed. Schorn.: *Νοῦς δέ ἐστιν ἄπειρος καὶ αὐτοκρατής καὶ μέμικτα οὐδενὶ χρήματι, ἀλλὰ μῦθος αὐτός ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐστιν.*

<sup>5</sup> *Plat.* *Cratyl.* c. 27, p. 413C, λέγει Ἀναξαγόρας νοῦν εἶναι τοῦτο· αὐτοκράτορα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ οὐδενὶ μεμιγμένον, πάντα ἐξηγεῖν αὐτὸν κοσμεῖν τὰ πράγματα διὰ πάντων ἰόντα.

<sup>6</sup> *Arist.* *De Anim.* I. 2, μόνον νοῦν φησιν αὐτὸν τῶν ὄντων ἀπλοῦν εἶναι καὶ ἀμιγῆ τε καὶ καθαρὸν; comp. *ibid.* III. 4 (ὁ νοῦς ἀπλοῦν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀπαθής, καὶ μηδενὶ μηδὲν ἔχει κοινόν); *Phys.* VIII. 5 (διὸ καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ὀρθῶς λέγει, τὸν νοῦν ἀπαθῆ φάσκων καὶ ἀμιγῆ εἶναι).

<sup>7</sup> *Plutarch*, *Vita Pericl.* 4 (τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος οὐ τύχην οὐδ' ἀνάγκην διακοσμήσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐπέστησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκρατὸν ἐν μεμιγμένοις

παῶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποκρίνοντα τὰς ὁμοιομερείας); *Plotin.* *Ennead.* V. 1 (ed. Porph., X. 9 ed. Kirchhoff, Ἀναξ. νοῦν καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμιγῆ λέγων ἀπλοῦν κτλ.), 9 (ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἐν νῷ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον πᾶν εἶναι καὶ κόσμον νοητὸν τοῦτον τὸν νοῦν εἶναι); *Cic.* *De Nat. Dcor.* I. 11; *Tertullian*, *De Anim.* 12; *Lactant.* *Instit.* I. 5, 18.

<sup>8</sup> But this is not quite incontrovertible, as the νοῦς is by Anaxagoras called λεπτότατον πάντων χρημάτων, which expression, to say the least, leaves open the possibility of a corporeal conception of the νοῦς.

<sup>9</sup> *Aristot.* *De Anim.* I. 2; *Anaxag.* Fragm. I. c. ὅσα γε ψυχὴν ἔχει, καὶ μείζω καὶ ἐλάσσω, πάντων νόος κρατεῖ.

<sup>10</sup> *Plutarch* (*De Stoicor. Repugnant.* c. 38) observes, "not all men conceive the gods as merciful (*χρηστούς*), see for instance how the Jews and Syrians think of the Deity" — with what degree of truth needs not to be pointed out.

<sup>11</sup> As has been attempted by Aug. Gladisch in his treatise "Anaxagoras und die Israeliten" (Leipzig 1864) — a work otherwise instructive and useful.



Human sacrifices, sanctioned and regulated in the religious codes of nearly every other people, could not possibly be permitted or legalised among the Hebrews from the moment that the foundations of their theology were established:<sup>1</sup> for among the heathens man was an integral part of material nature, among the Hebrews he was the reflex of God Himself, the Holy One, in whose image he was created; among the former the shedding of human blood, for the purposes of worship, was the highest form of piety, among the latter it was, under all circumstances, an abomination to be punished with death; children especially were, by the one, regarded as due to the deities that personified the productiveness of nature, by the others as a free gift and blessing from Him who bestows or withholds fruitfulness in accordance with His wisdom; sacrifices of children, and more especially of the firstborn, were, therefore, among the pagans a merit and a privilege, among the Hebrews a horror and a crime.

Again, the offerings of maiden virginity largely prevailed in many parts of middle Asia, in Babylon and Cyprus in honour of Bel and Mylitta;<sup>2</sup> in Armenia, in honour of Anaitis, identical with Mylitta;<sup>3</sup> in Syria and Cappadocia, the Pontus and other regions;<sup>4</sup> they were sometimes, as is reported of the Locrians, vowed to Venus in times of distress, to be performed as thank-offerings for deliverance;<sup>5</sup> but they were absolutely impossible among the Hebrews according to the doctrines of the Pentateuch, which did not recognise separate deities of generation, sexually distinct, but was, on the contrary, partially framed to oppose such conceptions, and necessarily recoiled from the idea of appointing the chastity of virgins a "firstfruit-oblation" to the Deity in the very precincts of His Sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> The castration of the priests, extensively connected with the worship of Cybele and Attis, and rooted in the same class of notions, forms an analogous point of contrast.<sup>7</sup> As the Pentateuch avoided everything that could even remotely be

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Herod.* l. 181, 182, 199 (αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων; the man in throwing a piece of silver into the woman's lap, said, ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα); *Strabo* XI. xiv. 16. Creuzer (*Symb.* II. 351) observes: "Hier sehen wir durch die Macht einer fanatischen Religion die chernen Schranken durchbrochen, die sonst die Asiatische strenge Sitte um die Frauen zog."

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Herod.* l. 131; *Creuzer*, l. c. l. 232, 233; II. 285, 331.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Lucian*, *Syr. D.* 6; *Creuzer*, l. c. II. 350—358, 464—472.

<sup>5</sup> *Justin.* XXI. 3, Quum bello Locrenses premerentur, voverant, si victores forent, ut die festo Veneris virgines suas prostituerent; see *Bähr*, *Symb.* II, 243.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Herod.* II. 64 (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μισοῦνται ἐν ἱεροῖσι).

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Creuzer*, *Symb.* II. 367—370.

referred to a deification of the powers of nature, it ordained no *vernal sacrifices*, designed to implore fertility, and all but universal among ancient nations, especially the Egyptians, Hindoos, and Romans, and most of the northern tribes,<sup>8</sup> nor sacrifices at other seasons of the year, to pray for productiveness of the soil, as among the Chinese:<sup>9</sup> for the Passover, whatever its first origin, lost in the Law every trace of a cosmical sacrifice, and received, like the offerings of the Feast of Weeks and of Tabernacles, the meaning of a eucharistic gift.<sup>10</sup> Nor does it sanction *nuptial sacrifices*, meant to plead for progeny, as was customary among the Greeks<sup>11</sup> and others who, on the day before the marriage, offered sacrifices to the tutelary gods of matrimony.<sup>12</sup> It appoints no *sacrifices for the dead* performed among the heathens with the most peculiar ceremonies, in accordance with the supposed nature of the lower gods and the infernal abodes;<sup>13</sup> although later, when the belief in resurrection became an article of faith among the Jews, these also offered sacrifices for the departed, which the pious praised as highly meritorious.<sup>14</sup> It evidently shuns all rituals that might be connected with phenomena of nature, or might recall pagan conceptions. It repudiates, in connection with sacrifices, above all *divination*, almost universal in the pagan world,<sup>15</sup> whether the augury be sought in the entrails,<sup>16</sup> the heart or liver, the bile or the lungs, all considered as bound up with the principle of life, in their shape, their appearance, and their movements, or in the fall or the death of the victim,<sup>17</sup> or any other incident.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Herod.* II. 40, 42, 47; *Macro.* Saturn. I. 21; III. 5; *Virg.* Ecl. V. 74, 75; *Georg.* I. 345; *Ovid.* Fast. IV. 62 *sqq.*; etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Stuhr*, Religionssysteme d. Orients, pp. 19 *sqq.*; *Du Halde*, Beschreib. des Chines. Reiches, III. p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> See Sect. XVII.

<sup>11</sup> Προτέλεια τῶν γάμων or προγάμεια.

<sup>12</sup> Θεοὶ γαμήλιοι; comp. *Plut.* Amator. Narrat. c. 1; *Mone*, Gesch. des nord. Heidenthums, I. 258 *sqq.*

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Hom.* Od. XI. 25—28; II. XXIII. 166—182; *Aeschyl.* Pers. 615—624; *Eurip.* Iph. Taur. 632—635; *Virg.* Aen. III. 62—68; VI. 243—254; *Ovid.* Fast. II. 533—542; V. 419—444; *Juven.* II. 156—158; *Plin.* H. N. XXXV. 15; *Cic.* De Legg. II. 24; *Heliod.* VI. 14; *Apoll. Rhod.* Arg. III. 1032—1038, 1207—1211; etc.; *Lucian.* Charic. c. 29; *Athen.* Deipn. IX. 78; *Plut.* Coriol. 25;

*Num.* 14; etc.; *Manu* III. 74, 81, 214 *sqq.*; see also pp. 141 note 17, 186 notes 2 and 3, 231, 232.

<sup>14</sup> 2 Macc. XII. 43—45 (on which passage the practice of *missae pro defunctis* has been based by the Catholic Church); comp. *Isai.* LXV. 4; see Sect. XXII.

<sup>15</sup> Especially before uncertain or dangerous enterprises, as sea-voyages and battles; comp. *Schömann*, l. c. p. 237. The Hebrews were likewise wont to offer sacrifices before battles (1 Sam. VII. 9; XIII. 9), but simply as acts of public worship, not as means of augury.

<sup>16</sup> Extispicium, ἰερασκοπία.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Extā fumantia, spirantia, trepidantia, palpitantia*, etc.; *Virg.* *Georg.* II. 194; *Ovid.* Met. XV. 576; *Stat. Theb.* IV. 466; *Plut.* De Defect. Orac. c. 49.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Macro.* III. 5 ('hostiarum genera esse duo, unum in quo volun-

It contains no analogy to usages like that of the Egyptians who, in some seasons, impressed upon the sacrificial cakes the image of a tied ass,<sup>1</sup> and at other times, the image of a fettered hippopotamus,<sup>2</sup> to intimate that Typhon to whom those unclean creatures were subject, had been conquered and enthralled. Nor does it exhibit an analogy to the far-spread custom observed both by men and women, of depositing their hair, or that followed by young men of devoting their curls carefully cultivated from boyhood and the "firstlings of their beards", in gold or silver boxes, at the temple of some deity as a symbol of self-sacrifice.<sup>3</sup> Its principles both in the selection and qualification of victims and vegetable offerings are of a simplicity and judiciousness the more striking if contrasted with the confusion elsewhere obvious on the same points.<sup>4</sup> It knows no distinctions like those familiar to the Greeks and Romans, who worshipped the "upper" gods on high structures (*βωμοί*, *altaria*), the "lower" deities on low hearths (*ἑσχύραι*);<sup>5</sup> sacrificed to the one by day, to the others by night;<sup>6</sup> killed the victims of the one from above downwards, of the others from below upwards;<sup>7</sup> sprinkled the blood, in the one case, on the altar, but made it, in the other, to flow into a pit;<sup>8</sup> offered to the former "the things of the first or odd number", and to the latter "the things of an even number."<sup>9</sup> It

*tas dei per exta disquiritur*", whence they were also called *hostiae consultatoriae*); *Herod.* VII. 134 (τοῖσι Σπαρτιήταις καλλιεργῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἰδύνατο); IX. 38, esp. 61; *Thuc.* V. 54; *Soph. Ant.* 1005—1011; *Aristoph. Pax* 1040—1065; *Pausan.* VII. ii. 2 (Μαντικὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐρίφων καὶ ἀρνῶν τε καὶ μόσχων ἐκ παλαιῶν δήλη καθεστῶσα ἵσταντο ἀνθρώποις, Κύπριοι δὲ καὶ ὕοιρ ἐπεξεργόντες εἰνὶ μαντεύεσθαι); *Strabo*, IV. iv. 5, p. 198; *Diod. Sic.* V. 31; *Porph.* Abst. II. 51 (hence in Greek *θύεσθαι* is used in the sense of *μαντεύεσθαι*, see Ammonius s. v.); *Virg. Aen.* IV. 63, 64 (*pecudumque reclusis Pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta*); *Cic. De Divin.* II. 12—14 (*Ut ordiar ab haruspicina, quam ego rei-publicae causa communisque religionis colendam censeo*); *Tacit. Hist.* II. 3, 4, 78; *Sil. Ital.* I. 119—122 (*raptimque recludit Spirantes artus poscens responsasacerdos, Ac fugientem animam properatis consulit extis*); *Juvén. Sat.*

VI. 548—552; so also among the Phoenicians, comp. Tablet of Mars. l. 11 (𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤃𐤍 𐤇𐤃𐤍 𐤃𐤍, "sei es ein Opfer mit Haruspicium, sei es ein Wahrsageopfer" or "Sicht- und Schauopfer"; comp. *Movers*, I. c. pp. 65, 66, 72, 73). See also Sect. XXII.

<sup>1</sup> *Plut. De Isid.* c. 30. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* c. 50.

<sup>3</sup> In some towns, neither men nor women were permitted to marry unless they had previously dedicated their hair to Hippolytus. Comp. *Paus.* II. xi. 6; *Juvén.* III. 186; *Stat. Silv.* III. 4; *Lucian, Syr. Dea* c. 60 (where the author remarks that he himself had adhered to the same custom, and that his hair with his name may be found in the temple of Hierapolis). <sup>4</sup> See Sect. VII. VIII.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 16, 175 note 1.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 172.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 186.

<sup>8</sup> See also p. 208 note 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Plat. Legg.* IV. 8, p. 717 A., τὰ περὶ τὰ καὶ ἀρτία καὶ δευτέρα καὶ ἀριστέρα; comp. also Pythagoras in *Porphyr. life of Pyth.* p. 197 ed. Cant.

could not adopt the rule that the victim should, as much as possible correspond with the peculiar nature of the divinity to whom it was offered.<sup>10</sup> For among the heathens, the animal represented the *deity*,<sup>11</sup> whence for instance *pregnant* cows were offered to Ceres in the spring, but *barren* ones to the spirits of the lower world,<sup>12</sup> whereas in the system of Hebrew sacrifices, the animal represented the *worshipper*. It may be for this reason that the pagans frequently wreathed the sacrificial animals with garlands of flowers, and adorned them with the leaves of the plants sacred to the honoured deity,<sup>13</sup> or that they gilt the horns of victims, especially bulls and cows,<sup>14</sup> and sometimes their hoofs,<sup>15</sup> exactly as they decked the statues of the gods with leaves and festoons.<sup>16</sup> From a similar consideration perhaps, the Greeks laid particular stress upon the tractable bearing of the victim; they avoided dragging it to the altar by force; they desired to see it approach with a willingness that might be construed as an approbation of the deity; they regarded its bellowing at the altar, and still more its attempt at escape, as highly ominous;<sup>17</sup> the priest delayed the act of killing till the animal by a movement of the head seemed to have plainly intimated assent; he frequently procured that movement by pouring water into the victim's

τοῖς μὲν οὐρανίοις θεοῖς περὶ τὰ θύειν,  
τοῖς δὲ χθονίοις ἄρτια; *Plut. Num. c.*  
14, τοῖς μὲν οὐρανίοις περὶ τὰ θύειν,  
ἄρτια δὲ τοῖς χθονίοις.

<sup>10</sup> See pp. 86—88.

<sup>11</sup> "Hier lag der Grund in irgend einer vermeintlichen näheren Beziehung jener Thiere zu der Natur der Götter, denen man sie opferte" observes Schömann (l. c. p. 235) with respect to sacrifices of the Greeks. <sup>12</sup> See pp. 102, 103.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. p. 169 note 11; see also *Bähr*, *Symb. I.* 361—363.

<sup>14</sup> Though this custom may have had no reference to the sun and moon which were considered to be "horned" (*Bähr*, *Symb. II.* 252).

<sup>15</sup> This was not only the case among the Greeks and Romans, but the Persians (*Strabo*, XV. iii. 13); *Hom. II. X.* 294; *Od. III.* 384, 426, 436, 437; *Plat. Alcib. II. c.* 20, p. 149 C; *Virg. Aen. IX.* 627 (aurata fronte juvencum); *Macrob. Sat. I.* 17 (bos auratus, femina aurata); *Ovid, Met. XV.* 131; *Lucian, Sacrif. 12*; *Stat. Theb. IV.* 449; *Strab. XV. iii.* 13, p.

732; *Athen. XV.* 16, p. 674; *Porphyr. Abst. II.* 15; *Saubert, De Sacrif. p.* 388.

<sup>16</sup> In later times, similar customs seem to have been adopted by the Jews, probably from their contact with the Greeks (comp. *Joseph. Ant. XIII.* viii. 2; *Mishn. Bikkur. III.* 3, והשור הולך לפניו וקרניו מצופות זהב ועטרה של זית כראש).

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Macrob. Saturn. III.* 5 (Observatum est a sacrificantibus, ut, si hostia quae ad aras duceretur, fuisset vehementius reluctata, ostendissetque se invitam altaribus admoveri, amoveretur; quia invito Deo offerri eam putabant: quae autem stetisset oblata, hanc volenti numini dari existimabant); *Virg. Georg. II.* 395 (Et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aras); *Sil. Ital. V.* 63—65; *Plin. H. N. VIII.* 45 or 70 (nec trahente se ab aris); *Diod. Sic. V.* 31; *Lucan, Phars. I.* 611 (Impatiensque diu non grati victima sacri Cornua succincti premerent quum torva ministri, Deposito victum praebebat poplite collum).

among the latter simply a means of presenting "the food of the  
in short, the offering was among the heathens designed to c  
the power of the deity,<sup>3</sup> among the Israelites to cleanse and t  
the mind of the suppliant; it was among the former, a direct s  
superior beings, among the latter, virtually a means to a m  
Therefore the notion of atonement differed widely among the  
and the Hebrews: the former desired by their offerings, for  
after pestilence, drought, or internecine war, to restore the  
of nature or the even current of events, which was, or was fea  
disturbed; the latter endeavoured to strengthen or to renew the  
unity with the Deity which, if felt, was considered the highest  
if lost, the direst curse of existence. The former knew no c  
offerings in the deeper meaning, the latter sanctioned non  
worldly or outward sense. Agamemnon was required to sac  
daughter in order to appease the wrath of an offended god  
thus to secure her favour and assistance for a national ent  
Job offered expiatory holocausts for his children, because he  
it possible that they had trespassed and slighted God in thei  
A Hebrew sacrifice analogous to that of Agamemnon was inc  
of David when he "hung up before the Lord" seven descendant  
in alleged deference to the Gibeonites,<sup>6</sup> but that act of barba

<sup>1</sup> *Plut. Symp. VIII. viii. 3* (ἄχρη δὲ  
γῆν παραφυλάττουσιν ἰσχυρῶς τὸ μὴ  
οφάττειν πρὶν ἐπιγεῖναι κατασπενδόμενον); comp. *Serv. ad Virg. Aen. VI.*  
244; *Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 415.*

<sup>2</sup> See *Comm. on VI. 1—4.*

etc.); *Hor. Od. I. xxxvi. 1 sqq.*  
et fidibus juvat etc.); *Sat. II.*  
*Cacs. Bell. Gall. VI. 16; Cic. Pro*  
*Macrobi. Saturn. III. 5* (who  
litare by sacrificio facto placar

<sup>4</sup> *Comm. Eurip. Ion. Aul. 15*

astuteness has nothing in common with the spirit of the sacrificial system of the Pentateuch.<sup>6</sup> One of the most liberal and enlightened of heathen writers observes, "we honour the gods with sacrifices either to seek deliverance from misfortunes, or to secure benefits, or to prove our gratitude for blessings, or to obtain some advantage";<sup>7</sup> he adds indeed vaguely, that we may also do so "merely from respect for the goodness of their nature",<sup>8</sup> but sacrifices prompted by such motives, though unselfish and pious, do not necessarily bespeak contrition or penitence. Paganism, ultimately identifying creator and creature, and therefore merging the individual in the general life of the universe, seeks the cause of man's estrangement from the deity in the contrast that exists between the finite and the infinite; it knows therefore only sacrifices destined to effect the removal of physical or cosmical evils; but the Hebrew Law, conceiving both man and nature in absolute dependence on the Divine will, attributes that estrangement to human wickedness or sin, because its standard of virtue is the holiness of God, and it ordains therefore sacrifices to ensure the removal of moral evils purely as such. The heathens — and this is another most momentous difference — deemed it possible to propitiate the anger of the gods for whatever offence or crime; so that, for instance, the so called "blood-chapter" in Kalika-Purana specified the length of time during which, according to Hindoo sages, the various sacrifices were efficacious in securing the goodwill of the gods — fishes or a crocodile, whether their flesh or their blood, for one month, a wild ox or guana for one year, an antelope or wild boar for twelve years, the wild sarabhas for five and twenty, the rhinoceros, buffalo, or tiger for a hundred, and a lion, a stag, or a man for a thousand years.<sup>9</sup> The Hebrews, as a rule, admitted expiatory offerings for undesigned sins only, and held intentional transgressions resulting from impious contumacy to lie beyond the sphere of the altar; the majesty of the law inexorably demanded justice, but the holiness of God mercifully received into His community those who had forfeited that holiness unwittingly.

Therefore, among the heathens, the principal act in the sacrificial ritual was the killing of the animal; among the Hebrews, the sprinkling of the blood had peculiar importance; the former approached the deity mainly with a view of deliverance from punishment, which was

<sup>6</sup> See Sect. XXIII.

<sup>7</sup> *Porphyr. De Abst.* II. 24, *τεμῶμεν δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ἢ κακῶν μὲν ἀποτροπῇ, ἀγαθῶν δὲ παρασκευῇ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι ζητοῦντες κτλ.*

<sup>8</sup> *Κατὰ τὴν φιλήν τὴν τῆς ἀγαθῆς αὐτῶν ἕως ἐκτίμησιν.*

<sup>9</sup> *Asiat. Res.* V. 371 sqq.; comp. *Rhode, Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, II. 248.

borne by the slaughtered animal; the latter chiefly with the hope of internal purification, which was attained by putting the blood upon the parts of the Sanctuary symbolising Divine presence and mercy. And yet, among heathens, the blood was almost synonymous with sacrifice, because it was the chief part devoted to the gods; among the Hebrews, it was no more than a principal feature; it was indeed of paramount importance in expiatory offerings; but in holocausts it was subordinate to the consumption of the body by the flames, in thank-offerings to the burning of the fat and the fat parts; it had in these two classes of sacrifice force and significance chiefly in as much as they shared the expiatory character, which, however, they did but collaterally and indirectly. The blood was not in itself considered divine, as was necessarily the case among pagan nations which supposed the victim to represent the deity; it was holy in so far only as it pointed to the life (נפש) of the offerer, who sought safety and sanctity by surrendering another life (נפש); it was in every respect a symbol, it had no real power, since man was regarded as a creature essentially different from the victim towards which he occupied no close or cosmical relation, the one being merely a living breath (נפש חיה), the other a reflex of God Himself.<sup>1</sup> The bloody sacrifices were certainly regarded as most valuable, but the bloodless offerings were in every way deemed as acceptable from those who could afford no more; and on many important occasions, both private and public, they were prescribed not as mere substitutes, but as the regular and ordinary oblations. The Hebrew name for offering (קרבן) means simply *gift*, and includes indifferently the bloody and the bloodless kinds.<sup>2</sup>

Again, those two classes of sacrifice which manifest the highest degree of self-abnegation and of humility, the holocausts and the expiatory offerings, were particularly frequent and indeed predominated among the Hebrews, while they occupied a very subordinate place among most other nations, and were all but unknown among many. The latter presented offerings more generally either to conciliate the favour of the deity,<sup>3</sup> or to express gratitude and joy for benefits received; they were

<sup>1</sup> It can, therefore, not be asserted that the Mosaic and the heathen sacrifices perfectly agree in respect to the meaning of the blood (*Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 263); as if to oppose and to eradicate such opinion, the Pentateuch admitted bloodless oblations even for sin-offerings: the chief distinction between both systems was naturally and most strongly reflected in the meaning of

the blood, the principal element of sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> See Sect. V.

<sup>3</sup> Hence several gods and especially Zeus bore the epithet *παλιγγιος* (placabilis), *Xen. Anab.* VII. viii. 4; *Pausan.* I. xxxvii. 4; II. ix. 6; II. xx. 1; *Thucyd.* I. 126. Münter (*Rel. der Karth.* p. 9) identifies improbably *παλιγγιος* with קרבן, and he has been readily followed by other etymologists.



actuated by worldly considerations; they looked to the promotion of their material welfare only; they followed the dictates of necessity and often the impulses of covetousness. The prayers which accompanied the sacrifices of the Hindoos mostly concerned temporal and selfish boons, such as life, posterity, wealth, annihilation of enemies, especially the destruction of the followers of other creeds, or protection against evil spirits.<sup>4</sup> Not unfrequently they attributed to the sacrifices magical powers which compelled the deity, even against its will, to grant the demanded favours.

It is indeed highly probable that burnt-offerings formed a very early, if not the earliest class of sacrifice even among the rudest and most untutored nations; they must almost exclusively have prevailed among those who regarded the sacrifices as presents or as food offered to the gods; and they have thus been characterised by ancient and modern writers.<sup>5</sup> Consequently they are indeed occasionally met with in heathen literature; as among the Boeotians, on the festival of the great Daedala celebrated every sixty years;<sup>6</sup> among the tribes in and near Titane, not far from the Asopus, where the entire animals, whether bulls, lambs, or pigs, were burnt to Aesculapius;<sup>7</sup> or in Patrae at the festival of Artemis Laphria, when animals of every kind, as wild boars, stags, and roes, wolves and bears, were thrown alive into the flames, presenting a horrid spectacle of agony;<sup>8</sup> or in Persia, where the elder Cyrus, on occasions of peculiar splendour, is stated to have offered holocausts of bulls to the highest god and holocausts of horses to the Sun;<sup>9</sup> or among the Carthaginians, in whose name Hamilcar, during a fierce battle with the army of Syracuse, burned on a large pyre the entire bodies of the victims;<sup>10</sup> the Athenian citizens seem indeed to have been in the habit of offering holocausts of hogs, especially to Zeus Meilichios, the Atoner;<sup>11</sup> yet they did so merely for personal advantage and in emergencies of special distress;<sup>12</sup> and in a similar spirit they annu-

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Wilson*, *Introd. to Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, I. p. xxv; II. p. vi.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Porph. De Abst.* II. 44 ('All theologians agree that nothing should be tasted of sacrifices presented for the sake of averting misfortunes': but *ibid.* V. 4 proves nothing, as is evident from a careful examination of the passage); *Hygin. Astron. Poet.* II. 15 (*Antiqui soliti sunt totas hostias in sacrorum consumere flamma*); *L. Schmitz* in *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiqq.* p. 999.

<sup>6</sup> *Pausan.* IX. iii. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Paus.* II. xi. 7.

<sup>8</sup> See *Paus.* VII. xviii. 8; comp. IV. xxxi. 7; *Diod. Sic.* V. 4 (*θύουσιν οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται τὰ ἑλάττω τῶν ἱερῶν, δημοσία δὲ ταύρους θυθίζουσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀμυνῇ*); see also p. 197 notes 16—19.

<sup>9</sup> *Xenoph.* *Cyrop.* VIII. iii. 24; comp. *ibid.* § 34.

<sup>10</sup> *Herod.* VII. 167.

<sup>11</sup> *Xen.* *Anab.* VII. viii. 4 (*εὐχόμενοι δόλοισιν*).

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Xen.* I. c.

bones, on which often but little flesh was left, the intestines enveloped in fat and covered with flour. The ancient authorities assert, the thighs conduce to the and are therefore justly burnt to the gods who bestow times small portions of all the limbs were added and in later times the liver, the heart, and some parts in consumption. The Romans, following nearly the same and customs as the Greeks,<sup>10</sup> burnt the intestines if favourable by the haruspex, and portions of the limbs were in dough of kneaded spelt-flour<sup>11</sup> or strewed with barley dedicated to the deity the skin of the victim suspended

<sup>1</sup> *Polem. Fragm.* ed. Preller, p. 140; comp. *Strabo*, IV. iv. 5, p. 198 (the Gauls κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χορτὸν καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβalόντες εἰς αὐτὸν βοσκήματα καὶ θηρία παντοῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὀλοκαίτουν); *Plut. Sympos.* VI. viii. 1 (Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰολεῖς ὄντες θύουσι Βουβρώσκει ταῦρον μέλανα, κατακόβαντες αὐτόδορον — cum ipsa pelle — ὀλοκαντούοι).

<sup>2</sup> "Tamquam omnia vorantibus" (*Quint. Met.* De Sacrif. I. 10, p. 113); comp. *Apoll. Rhod. Argon.* III. 1032 (ἀδαίετον ὁμοθετῆσαι); *Virg. Aen.* VI. 253; *Lucian, De Luct.* c. 9; *Contempl.* c. 22; comp. *Schömann*, l. c. pp. 236, 237.

<sup>3</sup> "For the ordinary sacrifices of the temple, the feast was essential". ob-

III. 446; *Eurip. Aen.* VI. 245,

<sup>4</sup> *Μηροί, μη-*

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Sc.* II. p. 231.

<sup>7</sup> *Hom. Il.* I. Od. III. 456—

comp. *Hesiod. Μηρία καλεῖν*);

the custom of a stratagem of

upon Jupiter (χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀν-

λευκὰ θυήντε

<sup>8</sup> *Eustath.* s.

femur, fetus, f

crif. pp. 438 s.

<sup>9</sup> *Hom. Od.*

or throwing it over the statue of the god.<sup>13</sup> Concerning the Babylonians the apocryphal epistle of Jeremiah remarks, that their priests sold and employed the sacrifices for their own use, or that their wives "laid up a part of them in salt."<sup>14</sup> The Phoenicians, though reported to have primitively burnt the sacrifice entirely, in later times consumed the larger portions of it themselves.<sup>15</sup> The Scythians devoted to the gods "the first-fruits of the flesh and entrails."<sup>16</sup> Among the Persians, who shunned all burnt-offerings as offences against the sacred element of fire, nothing except a little fat was set apart for the deity that was believed to require only the soul of the animal which dwells in its blood.<sup>17</sup>

The Israelites, on the contrary, presented burnt-offerings so constantly and so numerous that strangers might well consider and represent them as their *only* class of sacrifice,<sup>18</sup> which fact is the more significant as their holocausts obviously partook of the character of sin-offerings.<sup>19</sup> And yet so anxious were the framers of the Levitical code not to imperil the fundamental doctrines of the Law that, whilst the heathens generally presented their firstling-sacrifices, wherever they did so systematically, as holocausts, because they offered them in submissive reverence to the productive powers of nature, the Hebrews, lest they should be misled into pagan notions, were commanded to dedicate them to the Deity as thank-offerings in commemoration of a glorious epoch of national redemption.<sup>20</sup>

Again, some instances of expiatory sacrifices among pagans appear indeed to be recorded. It is true that the Egyptians presented sin-offerings rather than thank-offerings,<sup>21</sup> but they were induced to offer them not from an impulse of penitence or a conviction of unworthiness, but from fear and servile awe, to avert a dreaded punishment or to expiate it. Brahmah's "sacrifice of creation", when calling forth the

(cruda exla victimae uti mos est in mare porricit); *Virg. Aen. V.* 775 (ex-taque salsos Porricit in fluctus); *VI.* 253, 254; *Ovid, Fast. IV.* 935, 936.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Saubert, De Sacrif. c.* 20, p. 445. On the custom of the Kalmucks who spread the hides of the sacrificed horses on fitting skeletons, see *Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 384.

<sup>14</sup> *Baruch VI.* 28.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Porphyr. De Abst. IV.* 15; *Movers, Opferw. d. Karthager*, p. 71.

<sup>16</sup> *Herod. IV.* 61, ὁ θυῖας τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκλάγγων ἀπαρξάμενος.

<sup>17</sup> See *Strabo, XV. iii.* 13, p. 732;

*Herod. II.* 132; *Catull. XC.* 5. Of the pigs offered to the moon, the Egyptians "put together the tip of the tail, with the spleen and the caul, covered them with the fat found about the belly of the animal, and consumed them with fire" (*Herod. II.* 47).

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Porph. De Abst. II.* 26, Ἰουδαῖοι... οὐχ ἐστιάμενοι τῶν τυθῆντων, ἀλὲν αὐτοῦντας δὲ ταῦτα... ἀνέλιονεν τὴν θυῖαν θάρτερον κτλ.; see p. 168 note 2. <sup>19</sup> See pp. 236, 237.

<sup>20</sup> See *Treatise on Priesthood*, ch. III.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. *Sharpe, Egypt. Myth. and Egypt. Christian.* pp. 52, 59.

universe, is represented as a sin-offering; but the legend on the subject is too singular and fantastic to be of practical influence or moral value; and that sacrifice, like its anti-type, the horse-offering or Aswamedha,<sup>1</sup> embodies a metaphysical speculation in cosmogony rather than an ordinance to regulate a religious life. The sacrifices offered to Kali, the goddess of destruction and punishment, have indeed an expiatory character, but, "as her revenge consists in being all-devouring time, the expiation is not of an ethical but a cosmic nature, aiming at the conciliation of the finite and transitory with the infinite and eternal."<sup>2</sup> The laws of Manu, sanctioning an older arrangement of the sages, direct the propitiation of the gods for involuntary sins possibly committed, by the daily performance of the five great sacraments;<sup>3</sup> but they leave it indistinct how far this ordinance was prompted by fear or how far by a yearning after purity of mind. The great bull-sacrifice offered to Mithras, the mediator between Ormuzd and Ahriman, was certainly an expiatory offering; but it was presented to atone for the original sin of Ahriman, who, by killing the world-creating or primeval bull, called forth the evils of nature.<sup>4</sup> Similar results will be apparent from an analysis of other alleged cases of pagan offerings of atonement. Among the Greeks, they were not even, like the other classes of sacrifice, deemed to form a necessary part of divine worship, nor an essential condition of piety.<sup>5</sup> Severed from the higher aspirations of the soul, they were powerless for elevation and ennoblement which might at least result from holocausts and sin-offerings prompted by a sincere conviction of the heart's sinfulness and an anxious desire of confessing it. The heathens held indeed the notion of the *goodness* of the gods to whom they owed all useful gifts, but they were strangers to the notion of the *holiness* of the Deity, which forms the centre of Hebrew theology; they presented therefore indeed thank-offerings, but could not be familiar with true sin-offerings in which the system of the Hebrews culminated. They looked upon moral evil simply as the result of human weakness; whereas the Hebrews viewed it in humble contrast to Divine perfection. They entertained and uttered principles directly opposed to those which give birth to expiatory sacrifices; they encouraged proud self-consciousness (*μεγαλοψυχία*), and praised it as divine; "as it behoves

<sup>1</sup> *Manu*, XI. 261; see p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Manu*, III. 69; comp. chapt. XI; see, however, *supra* pp. 66—70.

<sup>4</sup> *Bähr*, l. c. p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> *Eusebius*; see the classification of Porphyry, p. 2 note 2; comp. *Bernays*,

l. c. pp. 106, 107 ("die Sühnopfer, wie sie nach Ausweis der griech. Religionsgesch. die jüngsten sind, nahmen weder im Volksbewusstsein noch im öffentlichen Leben eine den ältern Opfern ebenbürtige Stellung ein, und wurden nicht zur Gottesverehrung gerechnet").

Zeus", observes Chrysippus, "to know that he is great in himself and in his life, and to speak highly of his own worth, . . . so it behoves all good men to do the like, convinced that Zeus is not superior to them";<sup>6</sup> and with still higher pride and moral self-sufficiency, Aristotle remarks, "magnanimous (*μεγαλόψυχος*) is he who estimates his own worth highly; for he who makes too low an estimate of it, is a fool."<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, the sacrifices of the Hebrews were distinguished by greater earnestness and solemnity; the imposition of the hand, the burning of the whole or of a part of the victim on the altar, and above all the sprinkling of the blood so significantly appointed and varied, nay the very meals in the holy place, whether held by the priests "to remove the sin of the people", or by the Israelites with their households and their poorer guests, all these rites, rigidly fixed and enforced, and partly carried out by the suppliant himself, were designed to fill his mind with awe and reverence, and no doubt produced those feelings as perfectly as the gross form of worship by sacrifice in any way permitted. Thus Theophrastus could be misled into the error of asserting that the Jews fasted whenever they sacrificed,<sup>8</sup> and that they used at their oblations much honey, so extensively employed at the heathen offerings for the dead.<sup>9</sup> Sacrifices were deemed so essential among the Hebrews, that scarcely any holy or solemn act, or any important event or occurrence was left without them; for they were meant not only to satisfy the religious wants of individuals, but to foster an active and healthful communion between God and the whole chosen people<sup>10</sup> — between the Ruler who grants boons and pardon and the nation that looks to Him as the source of all power and holiness.

## XXI. ON HUMAN SACRIFICES IN GENERAL.

As sacrifices primitively originated in the desire to conciliate the gods by offerings held dearest and most precious, it cannot be sur-

<sup>6</sup> *Phil. De Stoic. Repugn.* c. 13, ὡς περ τῷ Δεῖ προσήκει σεμνύνεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ μεγαφρονεῖν . . . οὕτω τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς πᾶσι ταῦτα προσήκει, κατ' οὐθὲν προεχομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεός.

<sup>7</sup> *Aristot. Ethic. Nicom.* VII. iii. 3, μεγαλόψυχος ὁ μέγαν αὐτὸν ἀξίων, ἀξιος ὢν ὁ γὰρ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ἡλίθιος; comp. *ibid.* § 7, ὁ δ' ἐλαττόνων ἢ ἀξιος μικρόψυχος; and § 9, εἰ δὲ δὴ μέγαν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ ἀξιος ὢν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μεγίστων, περὶ ἐν μάλιστα αὖ εἴη.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 168 note 2.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 141. Tholuck (*l. c.* p. 91) finds the same character of earnestness implied in the circumstance that most of the victims were slaughtered at the "cheerless" or northern side of the altar, which is however improbable (see p. 174; comp. also p. 254).

<sup>10</sup> Hence the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (VII. 12) might well say, "the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also in the Law" (*μετατεθείνης γὰρ τῆς ἱερουσύνης ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ νόμου μετάθεσις γίνεται*).

prising to find that, for a long time, human sacrifices were nearly co-extensive with sacrifices in general. Not content with presenting their choicest property, whether animate or inanimate, untutored nations slaughtered in honour of their deities human beings prized as the noblest work of creation, and in many respects kindred with the gods themselves. It may be that very rude tribes, steeped in ignorance and barbarism, regarded the immolated men actually as food laid before their divinities, since all oblations were commonly looked upon in the same light: thus Bacchus was believed to delight in the raw flesh of human victims,<sup>1</sup> who in Chios and Tenedos were offered to him cut into pieces.<sup>2</sup> Again, several nations may have sacrificed men because they were themselves in the habit of eating human flesh,<sup>3</sup> and people usually shared with their gods their most delicious food.<sup>4</sup> Nor is it quite impossible that some tribes introduced the custom of human sacrifices at first in times of distressing famine or hopeless siege, when necessity and despair led them to taste the flesh of their dead or killed fellow-men;<sup>5</sup> and that then, having acquired for it an unconquerable appetite, they offered it to their gods as the most exquisite dainty.<sup>6</sup> But all these motives can have operated in exceptional cases only. As a rule, men offered up their fellow-beings, because they regarded them as the "finest of all sacrifices"<sup>7</sup> or "the best of all seeds",<sup>8</sup> as the noblest, most acceptable and most perfect means of divine veneration.<sup>9</sup> For human sacrifices

<sup>1</sup> He hence bore the epithets ἀμνηστής, ἀνιάδιος, ἀνοπάγος or ἀνθρωποφάστης; comp. also αἰγοπάγος, κριοπάγος (*Plut. Them.* 13; *Arist.* 9; *Anton.* 24; *Pausan.* III. xv. 7; *Porphyr.* *Abst.* II. 55; *Aelian*, *Nat. Anim.* XII. 34); see p. 6; comp. *Hermann*, *Gottesdienstl. Alterth. der Griechen*, p. 121; *Creuzer*, *Symb.* IV. 94, 188; *Hartung*, *Religion und Mythologie der Griechen*, III. 30; see, however, *Schömann*, *Griech. Alterth.* II. 213, 240, 241; the metaphorical phrase αἵματος ἀσπασ *Ἄρτα* (*Hom.* II. V. 289, etc.) does not refer to sacrifices.

<sup>2</sup> *Porphyr.* *De Abst.* II. 55; comp. *Pausan.* X. xiv. 2; *Diod. Sic.* V. 83; *Aelian*, *Var. Hist.* XIII. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Porph.* l. c. II. 8; Pliny observes, the difference is but small between sacrificing human beings and eating them (*Hist. Nat.* VIII. 2; comp. *IV.* 26; *VI.* 20).

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Wolf*, *Vermischte Schriften*, p. 270; *Ghillany*, *Menschenopfer*, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Lev.* XXVI. 29; *Deut.* XXVIII. 53—55, 57; 2 *Ki.* VI. 25—30; *Jer.* XIX. 9; *Lament.* II. 20; *Joseph.* *Bell. Jud.* V. x. 4; xiii. 7; *Appian*, *Iberik.* 96; comp. *Cels.* *Hierob.* II. 30—34; see *infra* *Sect.* XXV. .

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Juven.* XV. 87, 88, 93—103; *Porphyr.* *De Abst.* II. 56, 57; see also *Valer. Max.* VII. vi. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Τὸ κάλλιστον θυμάτων, *Heliod.* I. 31.

<sup>8</sup> *Varro* ap. *Augustin.* *Civ. Dei* VII. 19, Deinde ideo dicit a quibusdam pueros ei solitos immolari, sicut a Poenis, et a quibusdam etiam majores, sicut a Gallis, quia omnium seminum optimum est genus humanum.

<sup>9</sup> *Plut.* *De Superst.* c. 13 (θεοὺς . . . νομίζουσιν χαλκοντας ἀνθρώπων σφαττο-

prevailed most among communities that had considerably advanced on the path of civilisation and had commenced to speculate on the subtler problems of religion. They were not merely presented on account of their awful grandeur or their heroic self-denial, but because man was conceived as the most superior part of creation, as an epitome of universal life, which he represents in its highest and richest form, or as a "microcosmos."<sup>10</sup> Thus closely connected with the centre of paganism, and expressing, in an intensified manner, the deepest of the current views on the nature of the gods and on their relation to mankind, they were not at once abolished as refinement advanced; they could in fact vanish only with paganism itself. It is, therefore, a matter of singular interest to survey the extent to which human victims were slain, and to examine the motives which prompted and the emergencies which claimed them: such enquiry, forming an instructive no less than melancholy chapter in the history of human aberrations, strikingly illustrates the fearful enormities to which religious zeal, however earnest and single-minded, is liable, unless guided by enlightened thought. We shall thus have an opportunity not only of completing our sketch on sacrifices, but of examining the question, much debated even in our time, whether and in what degree human sacrifices were practised by the Hebrews.

#### 1. THE OCCASIONS ON WHICH THEY WERE OFFERED.

The paramount sacredness attached to human sacrifices is manifest from the fact that, though presented for nearly every religious purpose, they were chiefly chosen for expiatory offerings. They formed, therefore, in many lands, an essential part of the public or state worship. Based upon the belief that propitiation of the gods is necessary even if individual offences be not manifest, they were repeated at regular intervals, to expiate the guilt that might rest on the nation, and to mark a new phase in the religious life of the community. They are therefore indeed found to be most prevalent among savage and barbarous tribes: the Thracians and Scythians immolated men chiefly to Diana;<sup>11</sup> the Bassari in Thrace who came into contact with the Taurians and imitated their habits, ate the flesh of the men they sacrificed, and are said to have thereby been maddened to such sanguinary rage that they attacked and devoured each other;<sup>12</sup> among the Zulus in Zululand "human victims are, on certain occasions, either killed or buried alive";<sup>13</sup> and the kings of

μένων αἵμασι, καὶ τελευτάτην θυσίαν  
καὶ ἱερουργίαν ταύτην νομίζοντας).

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 333.

<sup>11</sup> *Herod.* IV. 62; *Porphyr.* De Abst. II. 56; *Lucian*, De Sacrif. 14.

<sup>12</sup> *Porphyr.* l. c. II. 8; comp. *Hartung*, l. c. p. 37.

<sup>13</sup> *Colenso*, Abraham's Sacrifice, a Sermon, p. 2.



Dahomey itself.<sup>2</sup> Human offerings were no less frequent  
 barbarous nations; the Dumatheni in Arabia sacrificed a g  
 and buried her under the altar,<sup>3</sup> and the star-worshipper  
 country adored Mars in a temple of red colour<sup>4</sup> and offered  
 blood-stained garments, a warrior by throwing him int  
 Gauls followed the rite to a very considerable extent, chi  
 of Hestus (Mars) and Teutot (Mercury);<sup>5</sup> the old Teuto  
 sparing in offerings, presented, on certain days, human vict  
 (Mercury);<sup>7</sup> the Semnones, the most powerful section of t  
 the Frieses slaughtered a man annually at their chief  
 Redarii, a Slavonic tribe, worshipped their principal deity  
 only with bulls and sheep, but with men;<sup>9</sup> the Pomerar  
 harvest feast, immolated to their god Swantowit a strang  
 for the purpose;<sup>10</sup> the old Swedes, every nine years, on th  
 nal festival celebrated for nine days, offered nine male an  
 chief species, together with one man daily;<sup>11</sup> the Dane

<sup>1</sup> Though the Europaeans heard of  
 it first about the year 1710.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Burton*, A mission to Gelele,  
 king of Dahomey, I. 345; II. 26; see the  
 descriptions of Norris, Wallon, Forbes,  
 and Burton, I. c. I. 348 *sqq.*; II. 322 *sqq.*  
 The king of Dahomey himself observed  
 in the course of a long speech, "If I  
 neglected this indispensable duty,  
 would my ancestors suffer me to live?  
 Would they not trouble me day and

<sup>3</sup> *Porphy.* Abstin. II

• <sup>4</sup> *Norberg*, Lexid. p.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesenius*, Jesaia, II

<sup>6</sup> *Caes.* Bell. Gall. V  
*Fonteio*, X (31); *Lucas*  
 145; III. 403—405; *L*  
 21; *Tertull.* Apolog. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Tacit.* Ge  
 North. Antiqq. ch. VI.

<sup>8</sup> *Tacit.* Germ. 39;  
*schenopfer*, pp. 109, 11

<sup>9</sup> *Caes.* Bell. Gall. V

every nine years in their capital Lederun, sacrificed to their gods 99 horses, 99 dogs, 99 cocks, 99 hawks, and 99 men;<sup>12</sup> and the Mexicans, on the festival of the great Tlaloc, drowned a boy and a girl in a lake, while, on other occasions, they shut up three boys in a cavern and left them there to die of starvation.<sup>13</sup> But the hideous custom took also root among nations capable of a higher civilisation: the Egyptians annually during the dog-days burnt alive in the town of Ilythia (i. e. Lucina) red-haired men, called Typhonic, and scattered their ashes in the air;<sup>14</sup> and in Heliopolis they are reported to have for many generations killed daily three men at the altar of Juno;<sup>15</sup> the Hindoos regularly sacrificed some of their fellow-men to Narayana<sup>16</sup> and to Kali, the awful personification of the destructive and avenging power of Shiva,<sup>17</sup> though the laws of Manu never mention human sacrifices;<sup>18</sup> many Asiatic tribes presented them in the service of Mithra, the god of the Sun;<sup>19</sup> the Phoenicians and most of their colonists, especially the Carthaginians, practised the burning of their children to Saturn (Cronos or Moloch) to a frightful extent, besides killing human sacrifices generally;<sup>20</sup> the Syrians in Laodicea offered every year a virgin to Minerva,<sup>21</sup> the people of Falerii in Etruria one to Juno,<sup>22</sup> the Phocaeans a man to Artemis Tauropolos,<sup>23</sup> the Salaminians to Agraulos the daughter of Cecrops, and later to Diomedes,<sup>24</sup> the Cretans and Rhodians to Saturn,<sup>25</sup> the people of Chios and Tenedos to Dionysos Omadios,<sup>26</sup> the Cyprians from the

<sup>12</sup> *Mone*, l. c. p. 271; *Grimm*, l. c. p. 29; comp. *supra* p. 69.

<sup>13</sup> *Ghillany*, Menschenopfer, pp. 233, 234. <sup>14</sup> *Plut.* De Iside, c. 73; see *infra*.

<sup>15</sup> *Porph.* Abst. II. 55; see *infra*.

<sup>16</sup> *Colcbrooke*, Asiat. Research. VIII. p. 430. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* V. 371 sqq.

<sup>18</sup> In Ramayana (I. 46) occurs one instance which is probably mythical. In Hitopadesa (Book III, fab. 8, transl. by Max Müller, pp. 134—136) it is related that the goddess of fortune demanded the son of Viravara, the faithful servant of king Sudraka for an atonement if she was to remain propitious to the monarch; but this narrative bears internal evidence of being a fiction; see *infra* p. 350.

<sup>19</sup> *Socrat.* Hist. Eccl. III. 2; comp. *Creuzer*, Symb. I. 258.

<sup>20</sup> See Sect. XXIII; comp. *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. IV. xvi. 6 (οὐδ' ἐν Καρχη-

δόνι τῷ Κρόνῳ κοίρη πάντες ἀνθρωποθυτοῦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περίοδον τῆς τοῦ νομίμου χάριν μνήμης ἐμψύλιον αἰεὶ αἷμα ῥαίρουσι πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς); *Orat.* in laud. Constant. c. 13; *Sil. Ital.* IV. 770 (Urna reducebat miserandos annua casus); *Plin.* H. N. XXXVI. 5 (12, ad quem — Herculem — Poeni omnibus annis humana sacrificaverant victima); see also *Creuzer*, Symb. II. 457, 458; *Tertull.* Apolog. c. 9.

<sup>21</sup> *Porphyr.* De Abst. II. 56.

<sup>22</sup> *Plut.* Parall. 35 (ἐὰν παρθένον τῇ Ἡρᾷ θύωσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν κτλ.).

<sup>23</sup> *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. IV. xvi. 11; *Pythocl.* ap. *Clem. Alex.* Protrept. p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> *Porphyr.* De Abstin. II. 54.

<sup>25</sup> *Porph.* l. c. II. 54—56; comp. *Jul. Firm.* p. 9; *Athanas.* c. Gent. p. 21 C, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Κρήτες τὸν Κρόνον ἐν τοῖς τεκνοθυσίαις αὐτὸν ἱλάσκοντο.

<sup>26</sup> See *supra*, p. 324 note 1.

time of Teucer to Jupiter,<sup>1</sup> the inhabitants of the island of Leucas to Apollo,<sup>2</sup> others to Neptune as a propitiatory offering,<sup>3</sup> the Lacedaemonians to Mars,<sup>4</sup> and the Athenians to Zeus, and after the time of Lykaon<sup>5</sup> to Apollo, in whose honour, on the great expiatory solemnities of the Thargelia, or summer festival,<sup>6</sup> whether annually or only in times of misfortune and danger,<sup>7</sup> two persons called *φαρμακοί*, healers or purifiers,<sup>8</sup> and fed for the purpose by the state,<sup>9</sup> one on behalf of the men and the other on behalf of the women, the one with a garland of black, and the other of white figs round the neck, were led out of the town to the sound of flutes and with the recital of penitential hymns, and beaten on the way with rods of fig-wood, and then either hurled down from rocks,<sup>10</sup> or burnt as a lustration-sacrifice, on funeral piles, and their ashes thrown into the sea and scattered to the winds.<sup>11</sup>

But if some great transgression seemed likely to provoke the wrath of the gods, human sacrifices were at any time offered as an extraordinary atonement. They were deemed particularly essential when the offence was public and concerned the whole community. The Athenians, having been afflicted by a plague which they believed to be owing to the pollution contracted in the matter of Cylon, Epimenides purified the town by immolating two young men, Cratinus and Ctesilius, who had offered themselves spontaneously.<sup>12</sup> The Athenians sent every year seven young men and seven virgins to Crete as a tribute, designed to propitiate the gods for the murder of Androgeus the son of Minos.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Lactant.* l. c. I. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo*, X. ii. 9, p. 452.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Suidas* sub *περίφημα* — ἀπολύτρωσις οὕτως ἐπὶ λέγονται τῷ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν συνέχοντι τῶν κακῶν περίφημα ἡμῶν γενοῦ ... καὶ οὕτως ἐνέβαλλον τῇ θαλάσῃ, ὡς ἀνεί τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσίαν ἀποτινύντες. The mythical narratives quoted by Hartung (*Relig. u. Mythol. der Griech.* II. 65—67) relate for the most part not to sacrifices in the proper sense.

<sup>4</sup> *Porphyr.* l. c.

<sup>5</sup> *Pausan.* VIII. ii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Diog. Laert.* Socrat. II. 23 (44, ὅτε καθαίρουσι τὴν πόλιν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν γενέσθαι Ἀθελῆ φασι; comp. *Hesiod.* Op. 769; *Plat.* Phaed. p. 58 B; *Suidas* sub *Θαργήλια* — ὀνομαζόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ θερεῖν τὴν γῆν, τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τῷ ἡλίῳ).

<sup>7</sup> *Νοσοῦσης τῆς πόλεως*, *Tzetzes*.

<sup>8</sup> That is, scape-goats.

<sup>9</sup> *Suidas*, l. c. *φαρμακοὺς τοὺς δημοσίᾳ τρεφομένους, οἱ ἐκάθαιρον τὰς πόλεις τῷ ἑαυτῶν φόνῳ*; comp. *Aristoph.* *Equit.* 1136, ὥσπερ δημοσίους τρέφεις κτλ. <sup>10</sup> *Müller*, *Dor.* I. 329.

<sup>11</sup> *Tzetzes*, *Chiliad.* V. 40, 41 (τέλος πυρὶ κατέκαιον ἐν ἑύλοισι τοῖς ἀγρίοις καὶ τὸν σπόδον εἰς θάλασσαν ἐρῶσαντες εἰς ἀνέμους); *Hellad.* ap. *Phot.* *Bibl.* c. 279, p. 534; *Hesych.* II. p. 337; comp. *Hermann*, *Gottesd. Alterth.* § 60; *Schömann*, l. c. pp. 243, 434, 435; *Smith*, *Diction. of Gr. and Rom. Antiqq.* p. 1120; *Hartung*, l. c. II. 63.

<sup>12</sup> *Diog. Laert.* *Epimen.* 3; *Athenaeus*, *Deipnos.* XIII. 78 (where the name of the second victim is Apollodorus).

<sup>13</sup> *Plutarch*, *Theseus* 15; *Quaestiones Graecae* 35; compare also *Pausanias*, II. vii. 7.

The inhabitants of Potniae in Boeotia, who in the excitement of drunkenness had slain a priest of Dionysus, and were subsequently visited by a pestilence, sacrificed annually a fine youth by command of the Delphic oracle.<sup>14</sup> When the Carthaginians, at the siege of Agrigentum in Sicily, destroyed many graves that obstructed their military operations, and were about the same time visited by a virulent epidemic, the general Hamilcar (or Imilco) appeased the gods by sacrificing "according to the paternal custom" a boy to Cronos.<sup>15</sup> When, at Rome, two Vestal virgins had been convicted of unchastity (in B. C. 217), the books of fate directed that for atonement a Gallic man and woman and a Greek man and woman, be let down alive in the cattle-market, into a place fenced round with stone and already before used for human sacrifices.<sup>16</sup>

Similar offerings were presented when a glaring crime had been committed, especially against a deity, by a family or an individual, because it was believed to expose the whole community to divine punishment. As Athamas, the son of Aeolus, had planned the death of his son Phrixus, the oracle commanded that the eldest of his race should, as an expiation, be invariably immolated to Zeus<sup>17</sup> if he entered the prytaneum of his town Alos in Achaia.<sup>18</sup> When Athamas himself was to be sacrificed as an atonement for his intended crime, Cytissorus, the son of Phryxus, rescued him, for which reason his descendants became liable to the same penalty.<sup>19</sup> The story of Agamemnon and his daughter Iphigenia at once occurs to every reader. At Patrae in Achaia, Komætho, a priestess of Artemis, and Melanippus impiously disgraced the temple of the goddess; to appease her wrath when the town was smitten with famine and disease, the two offenders, and then annually the finest virgin and the finest youth, were sacrificed to her honour.<sup>20</sup> At a military sedition, Caesar ordered two of the soldiers to be publicly killed as expiatory offerings by the high-priest and the priest of Mars, and fixed their heads before the Regia Martia.<sup>21</sup>

As calamities were believed to be the consequence of sins committed against the gods, and therefore to require expiation, human sacrifices were offered to ensure the cessation of signal public disasters. They were frequently resorted to in times of war or pestilence. They

<sup>14</sup> *Pausan.* IX. viii. 2; though, later, Dionysus was content with a goat.

<sup>15</sup> *Diod. Sic.* XIII. 86.

<sup>16</sup> *Liv.* XXII. 57, where, however, Livy, to mark his disapproval, adds *minime Romano sacro*, see p. 331 n. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Ζεὺς Ἀστυόριος.

<sup>18</sup> *Herod.* VII. 197.

<sup>19</sup> *Herod.* l. c.

<sup>20</sup> *Pausan.* VII. xix. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Dion Cass.* XLIII. 24, where the historian reprovably adds, that Caesar was authorised in this deed neither by the behest of the Sibylline books nor by the permission or command of any god.

were, in such emergencies, presented by the Greeks, and also by the old Italic tribes, especially the Sabines, when they celebrated the so-called "holy spring",<sup>1</sup> and all domestic animals<sup>2</sup> and all children that had been born between the beginning of March and the end of April, were devoted to the gods;<sup>3</sup> in Egypt, where persons with red hair, the colour of Typhon, were burnt; among the Phoenicians,<sup>4</sup> the Gauls,<sup>5</sup> and various other nations.<sup>6</sup> So deeply rooted was this custom that even Origen<sup>7</sup> expressed the opinion, that at periods of national misfortune the Deity may be best appeased by the voluntary death of some pious man.

From such conceptions there is but a small step to the belief that *impending* dangers may be *averted* by presenting to the gods the most precious offering which it is in the power of man to bestow. Hence the Greeks, up to the time of the Peloponnesian war, are reported to have sacrificed a man when they marched out upon a military expedition;<sup>8</sup> and though this practice may not have been regularly carried out or universally adopted, an apparently historical account relates that Themistocles was compelled, before the battle of Salamis, both by the advice of the priest and the impetuous demand of the people, to sacrifice three Persians to Dionysos Omados.<sup>9</sup> Menelaus, when detained in Egypt by adverse winds, is said to have seized two children and to have sacrificed them.<sup>10</sup> Phrixus, the son of Athamas and Nephele, was to be killed on the altar of Jupiter to avert the scourge of a dearth.<sup>11</sup> When Erechtheus, the king of Athens, was at war with the Eleusians aided by Eumolpus, the son of Poseidon, the oracle promised him the victory if he devoted one of his four daughters to Persephone, and when he had slaughtered the youngest of them, the three others killed themselves spontaneously as a sacrifice.<sup>12</sup> Similarly Marius, having been defeated by the Cimbrians, received in a dream the assurance of success if he sacrificed his daughter Calpurnia; he did so, and routed his enemies.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ver sacrum, ἔτος ἱερὸν.

<sup>2</sup> Swine, sheep, goats, and oxen.

<sup>3</sup> *Dion. Halic.* l. 16; *Liv.* XXII. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. IV. 16; *Justin.* XVIII. 6 (quum inter caetera mala etiam peste laborarent, etc.); *Oros.* Adv. Pagan. Histor. IV. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Caes.* Bell. Gall. VI. 16; *Serv.* ad Aen. III. 57.

<sup>6</sup> *Porphy.* De Abst. II. 56; comp. 2 Sam. XXI. 1—9; Num. XV. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Contra Cels. l. p. 349 ed. Paris.

<sup>8</sup> *Porphy.* De Abstin. II. 56; *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. IV. 16.

<sup>9</sup> *Plut.* Them. 13; *Arist.* 9; *Pelop.* 21.

<sup>10</sup> *Herod.* II. 119 (λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παῖδια ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχρῶτων, ἑνὸς ἀσπιδόποινης); comp. *Virg.* Aen. II. 116—119 (Sanguine placastis ventos etc.).

<sup>11</sup> *Apollod.* I. ix. 1; comp. *Pausan.* I. xxiv. 2; *Plato.* Min. 315 C; etc.; although a ram was accepted instead (*Apollod.* l. c.).

<sup>12</sup> *Apollod.* III. xv. 4; comp. *Plut.* Parall. 20; *Stob.* Serm. 157; the story is narrated with slight variations by *Hygin.* Fab. 46; comp. also *Crenzer.* Symb. IV. 341.

<sup>13</sup> *Plut.* l. c.

When Idomeneus, the celebrated Cretan leader before Troy, returned home, and a great storm arose at sea, he vowed to Poseidon to sacrifice to him whatever he should meet first on his landing; he saw his own son first, and he offered him to the god; but the legend — evidently of a later origin<sup>14</sup> — adds that Crete was, in consequence of that sacrifice, visited by a plague, and that the Cretans expelled Idomeneus from the island.<sup>15</sup> When after the conclusion of the first Punic war, the Gauls and other foreign tribes threatened to deluge Italy with their hosts, the Romans, acting upon the directions of the Sibylline books, buried a Greek man and woman and a Gallic man and woman alive in the cattle-market.<sup>16</sup> In fact, it was laid down as a general rule that the civil or military chief of Rome was permitted to dedicate to the gods before a battle any soldier he might select.<sup>17</sup> Decius declared, "It is the privilege of our family to serve as expiatory offerings for averting public dangers."<sup>18</sup> Nero, to escape the calamities supposed to be foreshadowed by the portentous appearance of a comet, killed as an expiation the most illustrious men of Rome.<sup>19</sup> Whenever the Gauls were troubled by imminent dangers or harassed by anxieties, they sacrificed or vowed to the gods human victims, believing "that the deity would not be satisfied for the life of one man without the death of another;" on such occasions some of their tribes constructed gigantic figures of osiers, and filled them with men, and then set them on fire.<sup>20</sup> When, at the approach of Antigonus, the auguries taken from the entrails of the sacrificial animals, were alarmingly unfavourable, the Gauls, to propitiate the gods, killed their wives and children.<sup>21</sup> The old Saxons, before entering upon an expedition vowed every tenth captive as a sacrifice, and redeemed their

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Hom. Od.* III. 191, 192; *Diod. Sic.* V. 79, *Ἰδομενεία καὶ Μηριόνην ... διασωθέντας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τελευτῆσαι καὶ ταφῆς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ τιμῶν ἀθανάτων.*

<sup>15</sup> *Serv.* ad *Aen.* II. 116; III. 121, 401, 531; X. 264; *Schol.* ad *Od.* XIII. 259; comp. also the parallel of Jephthah and his daughter, see Sect. XXIII.

<sup>16</sup> *Plut.* Marcell. 3; yet Plutarch denounces the act as barbarous, inhuman and not Roman (*βαρβαρικόν ... ἐκφυλόν κτλ.*); see p. 329 note 16.

<sup>17</sup> *Liv.* VIII. 10, licere consuli dictatorique et praetori, quum legiones hostium devoveat, non utique se, sed quem velit ex legione Romana scripta civem devovere.

<sup>18</sup> Datum hoc nostro generi est, ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus (*Liv.* X. 28; comp. VIII. 10, Decius omnes minas periculaque ab Diis superis inferisque in se unum vertit); comp. *Plin.* H. N. XXVIII. 2 (3).

<sup>19</sup> *Sueton.* Nero 36.

<sup>20</sup> *Caes.* Bell. Gall. VI. 16 (qui sunt adfecti gravioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque veruantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolaturos vovent ... publiceque ejusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia); *Diod. Sic.* V. 31 (ὅταν περὶ τούτων μεγάλων ἐπισκίπτωνται, adding παράδοτον καὶ ἀπίστον ἔχουσι νόμιμον).

<sup>21</sup> *Justin.* XXVI. 2 (auspicia belli a parricidio incipientes).

promise with great pomp. The Goths thought victory in battle impossible, unless they had before offered a human sacrifice. The Prussians, previous to commencing an engagement, offered through their high-priest (Criwe) an enemy to their gods Pikollos and Potrimpos. And the inhabitants of the Tonga islands immolate a child when there is dangerous illness in the family, while in less serious cases the members of the house cut off a part of their little finger as an atonement to the gods.<sup>1</sup> But the most remarkable instance is that related in the second Book of Kings.<sup>2</sup> When Mesha, king of Moab, was severely pressed and besieged in Kir-Haraseth by the Israelites and their allies, he sacrificed publicly on the walls of the town his firstborn-son and heir; and when the Hebrews witnessed this act, they withdrew from the city in dismay; which narrative unmistakably proves the notion of the supreme efficacy of human sacrifices in counteracting dangers to have not only been entertained by the Moabites, but shared by the Hebrews in the ninth century.<sup>3</sup>

If victims generally were considered instrumental in ascertaining the issue of uncertain events,<sup>4</sup> human victims were deemed especially fitted to disclose the hidden future. They were, therefore, in extraordinary cases employed for divination. The Gauls took their auguries for many ages<sup>5</sup> from the fall of a slaughtered man, from the convulsions of his limbs and the flow of his blood,<sup>6</sup> and a similar practice is stated to have been resorted to by many ancient nations.<sup>7</sup>

The same means of worship by which disasters were supposed to have been obviated, were naturally employed for evincing gratitude when deliverance had been effected. Human victims formed, therefore, not

<sup>1</sup> *Wuttke*, Geschichte des Heidenthums, I. p. 141. <sup>2</sup> III. 26, 27.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra* Sect. XXIII.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 313 notes 15—18.

<sup>5</sup> *Diod. Sic.* V. 31, παλαιᾷ τινι καὶ πολυχρονίῳ παρατηρήσει περὶ τούτων πεπιστευκότες.

<sup>6</sup> *Diod. Sic.* I. c. (καὶ πεισόντος τοῦ πληγέντος ἐκ τῆς πτώσεως καὶ τοῦ σπαραγμοῦ τῶν μελῶν ἐτι δὲ τῆς τοῦ αἵματος ῥύσεως τὸ μᾶλλον νοοῦσι); *Strab.* IV. iv. 5, p. 198 (ἄνθρωπον κατασπικόμενον παίσαντες εἰς νῦτον μαχαίρᾳ ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαιδασμοῦ); *Tacit.* Ann. XIV. 30 (nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fbris consulere deos fas habebant).

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Porph.* Abst. II. 51 (ἐπι-

φαίνεται γὰρ μᾶλλον, ὥς φασι, τοῖς τούτων — sc. men — σπλάγχνοις τὰ μέλλοντα, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων δι' ἀνθρώπων σπλαγχνεύονται); *Juv.* VI. 556, 557 (Pectora pullorem rimatur et exta catelli, *Interdum et pueri*); *Dion Cass.* LXXIII. 16 (ἐκτείνε—Didius Julianus—δι' καὶ παῖδας συχνοὺς ἐπὶ μαγγανείμασιν, ὥς καὶ ἀποστρέψαι τι τῶν μελλόντων, εἰ προμάθοι αὐτὰ, δυνηόμενος); LXXIX. 11 (παῖδας σφαγιαζόμενος καὶ μαγγανεύμασιν χρώμενος); *Lamprid.* Heliogabal. c. 8 (cecidit et humanas victimas lectis ad hoc pueris nobilibus... cum inspiceret exta puerilia etc.); *Socrat.* Hist. Eccl. III. 2; comp. *Hor.* Epod. V. 83 sqq.; *F. Lindenberg* ad *Amm. Marc.* XXIX. 9.



unfrequently the thank-offering after happy events and successful wars.<sup>8</sup> Sextus Pompejus, having landed in safety after a violent storm at sea, ordered men to be thrown alive into the waves, together with their horses, as an oblation to Neptune.<sup>9</sup> The people of Argos, after having taken Mycenae, dedicated every tenth inhabitant to the gods.<sup>10</sup> After the victory over L. Antonius and the capture of Perusia, Augustus is related to have sacrificed 300 senators and knights on the altar of Caesar as an offering of atonement.<sup>11</sup> The Carthaginians, having defeated Agathocles, burnt by night the finest prisoners as a eucharistic offering to the gods.<sup>12</sup> At the conclusion of campaigns, the Assyrians offered captive soldiers to their god of war Nergal.<sup>13</sup> After the battle of the Teutoburg forest, the Cherusci sacrificed a large number of prisoners, and suspended their bodies on trees. The Saxons, after their war with Charlemagne, killed on the holy Harz-mountain all the Frankish prisoners in honour of their god Wodan.

Next to expiation and thanks-giving, human sacrifices were most frequently offered in commemoration of the dead; and they are so met with in the most different countries and ages. It may be doubtful, whether the Egyptian kings in early times sacrificed foreigners at the grave of Osiris,<sup>14</sup> since Herodotus<sup>15</sup> distinctly denies it.<sup>16</sup> Nor is it quite certain whether the custom of consigning to the grave of departed persons their best and most attached friends can in all cases be looked upon in the light of a sacrifice, since it seems frequently to have possessed a different meaning. In Dahomey, in former times, the moment the death of the king was reported in the palace, the women began to

<sup>8</sup> Aristomenes of Messene is by Eusebius (Praep. Ev. IV. xvi. 9) related to have sacrificed 300 men to Jupiter, but seems in reality to have three times offered the sacrifice hecatomphonia (*ἑκατομφορία*) customary among the Messenians from early times, whenever any one among them had killed 100 enemies (see *Pausan.* IV. xix. 3).

<sup>9</sup> *Dion Cass.* XLVIII. 48.

<sup>10</sup> *Diod. Sic.* XI. 65.

<sup>11</sup> *Dion Cass.* XLVIII. 14; *Suetonius*, August. c. 15 (scribunt quidam, trecentos ex dedititiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Julio extructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos); comp. *Propert.* El. I. xxii. 2, 3 (Si Perusina tibi patriae sunt nota sepulcra Italiae duris funera temporibus).

<sup>12</sup> *Diod. Sic.* XX. 65.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. 2 Ki. XVII. 30; *Gesen.* Com. über den Jesaia II. 345; see Sect. XXII.

<sup>14</sup> *Diod. Sic.* I. 88. For red-haired men, such as the rite required, were but rarely found among the natives of Egypt; hence the fable of the murder of strangers by Busiris, that is the grave of Osiris, probably originated; *Diod. Sic.* I. c.; comp. also *Plut.* De Isid. c. 73.

<sup>15</sup> II. 45.

<sup>16</sup> Sir G. Wilkinson, in his notes on the passage, in Rawlinson's edition, shares the opinion of Herodotus; though even he is obliged to admit the possibility "that in their earliest days, the Egyptians may have had human sacrifices like the Greeks and others"; comp. *Costaz*, Descr. de l'Eg. Ant. mem. I. 75.

kill themselves and one another, because the sovereign must enter Dead-land with royal state, accompanied by some of his wives and eunuchs, singers and bards, drummers and soldiers; the greatest number was 500 persons; and this custom prevailed through the African continent to the south-eastern country of the Cazembe, and in many parts, where a much larger number of human victims was demanded;<sup>1</sup> at present, the Dahomans celebrate after the death of the king "the grand customs", distinguished by greater splendour and bloodshed than the "annual customs";<sup>2</sup> those held in 1791 lasted for three months, from January to March, when no less than 500 men, women and children fell victims to the detestable superstition.<sup>3</sup> Of many analogous instances we shall only adduce a few more. In Maabar, a province of India, it was usual upon the death of a king and when his body was burnt, for all his devoted servants to throw themselves into the same fire, "intending by this act to bear him company in another life."<sup>4</sup> Similarly the Scythians, at the funeral obsequies of their monarch, buried together with him in one grave his favourite wives after they had been strangled, his cup-bearer, a cook, a groom, a page, a messenger, and horses, besides many valuable objects; and after the lapse of a year, they sacrificed to him, under peculiar ceremonies, 50 of his best servants and 50 of his finest horses.<sup>5</sup> A similar motive must perhaps be attributed to the fearful usage of burning the wives in the funeral pile of their husbands, a usage which obtained among the Wends,<sup>6</sup> the Heruli,<sup>7</sup> among most of the Thracian tribes, where the wife supposed to have been most beloved by her husband, was slain on his tomb by her own nearest relation, having been glorified both by men and women for a distinction eagerly desired by all wives,<sup>8</sup> and especially among the Hindoos.<sup>9</sup> That practice is hardly, as has

<sup>1</sup> See *Burton*, *Mission to Gelcle*, II. 20, 23, 24; compare the "Oyo customs" performed at Koma, *Burton*, l. c. I. 197—199.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra* p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> Yet the accounts "of 2000 killed in one day, the canoe paddled in a pool of gore" and other tales are gross exaggerations disseminated from hatred or interest (comp. *Burton*, l. c. II. 19—22, 335). "You have seen", said the king of Dahomey to Commodore Wilmot, "that only a few are sacrificed, and not the thousands that wicked men have told the world of" (l. c. p. 359); compare *Snelgrave*, *Voyage to Guinea*, pp. 32—34, where it is

related that the King, on a military expedition, sacrificed 4000 men in one province alone.

<sup>4</sup> *Marco Polo*, *Travels*, III. xx. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Herod.* IV. 71, 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Bonifac.* Ep. ad Ethelbald.

<sup>7</sup> *Procop.* B. Goth. II. 14; *Grimm*, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 451.

<sup>8</sup> *Herod.* V. 5; *Cic.* Tusc. V. 27; *Val. Max.* II. vi. 14; *Mela*, II. 2.

<sup>9</sup> By the well-known *suttee* (properly meaning a pure and virtuous woman, then the rite, which however was originally called *saha-gamana*); in some cases, burying alive was substituted for burning (*Ward*, *View of*

been maintained,<sup>10</sup> of purely social origin, to prevent the wives from poisoning their husbands, for in some instances the sisters of the husband devoted themselves to the flames; much less was it prompted by the avariciousness of the priests coveting the jewels with which the widow was decked, for she burnt herself with all her ornaments.<sup>11</sup> However, the custom, which is not of very early date among the Hindoos, as it is neither mentioned in the Vedas nor in the code of Manu, was not by far so universal as has frequently been asserted. It was limited by numerous conditions. First the act was to be completely and absolutely spontaneous, not urged even by persuasion either on the part of the relatives or priests. If the widow refused, she was by no means regarded to have disgraced herself, but continued to enjoy general respect provided she carried out certain ascetic exercises, was zealous in piety, charity, and prayer, and remained single and strictly chaste;<sup>12</sup> though, of course, the wife who followed her husband in death, was extolled by fervent praises, and cheered by promises of eternal felicity, for she was believed to purify not only her consort, had he even been guilty of the blackest crimes, but also his and her own paternal and maternal ancestors.<sup>13</sup> Again, the rite was interdicted by most sects, if the widow, at the death of her husband, happened to be in another town, since both were to be burnt on the same pile; or if she was at the time unclean or pregnant, or believed to be so, or had little children who required her care. If all these circumstances be considered, it will be admitted that the usage was not so awful in reality as it is in principle; that, in fact, the "martyrs of that superstition have never been numerous", as Colebrooke observes, who, writing in 1795, adds, "it is certain that the instances of the widows' sacrifices are now rare; on this it is only necessary to appeal to the recollection of every person residing in India, how few instances have actually occurred within his knowledge."<sup>14</sup> But the idea of an offering of expiation performed for departed relatives or friends, appears distinctly among the Greeks and Romans. Achilles

the History of the Hindoos, vol. I. p. LXXI; vol. II. p. 110; *Rhode*, Religiöse Bildung der Hindus, II. 474, 475).

<sup>10</sup> *Diod. Sic.* XVII. 91; XIX. 33, 34.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. in general, *Mela*, II. 2; *Cic.* Tusc. V. 27; *Diod. Sic.* II. cc.; *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. VI. 10.

<sup>12</sup> *Manu*, V. 160—166; comp., however, Strabo XV. i. 62, p. 714, who states, on the authority of Aristobulus, that "the women who refused to submit to this custom were disgraced"

(*τὰς δὲ μὴ ὑπομένουσας ἀδοξάζειν*); or according to Diodorus Siculus (XIX. 33), they were compelled to remain widows, and were, as despisers of the gods (*ὡς ἀσεβοῦναι*), for ever excluded from sacrifices and other holy rites.

<sup>13</sup> *Bohlen*, Alt. Ind. I. 293—302; *Rhode*, l. c. II. 469—475.

<sup>14</sup> *Essays*, p. 75, edit. 1858; comp. *Strabo*, l. c. (*παρά τισι δ' ἀκούειν φησὶ καὶ συγκατανασμένης τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς ἀνδράσι δεύρας*).

threw into the funeral pile of Patroclus, not only numerous cattle and horses and two dogs, nor only jars with honey and oil, but also twelve *Torjans*.<sup>1</sup> Polyxena was sacrificed to the manes of Achilles. Alexander the Great killed on his father's tomb the accomplices in his murder, in order to propitiate his shades. And Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, ordered twelve men to be buried during her life-time to render the Hades propitious to herself.<sup>2</sup> At Rome the bowels of slaughtered boys seem occasionally to have been offered to the gods of the lower world.<sup>3</sup> But more frequent, as sacrifices for the dead, were gladiatorial combats, in which, if none of the fighters died on the spot, at least blood was required to flow. So the three sons of Aemilius Lepidus (in B. C. 217) caused 22 pairs of gladiators to fight for three days at the funeral games of their father;<sup>4</sup> and somewhat later Titus Flaminus evinced his filial affection by instituting for three days a combat of 74 men.<sup>5</sup>

But human sacrifices were, besides, offered on any extraordinary occasion to which a paramount importance was attached. The Getae in Thrace were in the habit of despatching every fifth year one of their number as a messenger to Zalmoxis, their teacher and law-giver, with orders to let him know their wants and wishes: the man appointed by lot was thrown into the air and made to fall upon the points of three javelins; if he was transfixcd and died, the deity was supposed to be propitious, if not he was accused of wickedness and considered to have been rejected by the god.<sup>6</sup> Similarly in Dahomey, whenever the monarch deems it desirable to convey to his forefathers an account of his actions or of the events of the day, however trivial and frivolous, he sends a messenger to them by chopping off his head, in which manner at least a thousand victims fall annually;<sup>7</sup> and at times, he sends, as an ocean sacrifice, from Agbome a man carried in a hammock with the dress, the stool, and the umbrella of a cabocceer; a canoe takes him out to sea, where he is thrown to the sharks.<sup>8</sup>

We believe therefore there is no need of additional proofs to show that human sacrifices were among ancient nations very generally deemed the most precious and the most acceptable oblations that could be presented to the deity.

<sup>1</sup> *Hom.* II. XXIII. 166—182; comp. *Virg. Aen.* X. 517—520.

<sup>2</sup> *Plut.* De Superst. 13; comp. the expiatory offering of Octavian after the capture of Perugia, *supra* p. 333 n. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Cic. In Vat.* c. 6 (quum inferiorum animas elicere, quum puerorum extis deos manes mactare soleas).

<sup>4</sup> *Liv.* XXIII. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Liv.* XLI. 33; comp. *Serv. Aen.* III. 67.

<sup>6</sup> *Herod.* IV. 94.

<sup>7</sup> See *Burton*, Mission to Gelele, II. 24, 25; comp. p. 331.

<sup>8</sup> *L. c.* II. 141.

## 2. THE PERSONS SELECTED.

As human sacrifices, like all other offerings, were prized in proportion to the self-denial which they involved, *self-immolation* was regarded as the highest and most glorious offering, since man cannot manifest his earnestness and religious devotion more strikingly than by delivering up his own life to move the will of the gods.<sup>9</sup> In the war of the seven Argives against Thebes under the leadership of Polyneices, Teiresias or the Delphic oracle prophesied the victory to the Thebans if Menoeceus, the chaste son of Creon, would sacrifice himself for the welfare of the country to Mars incensed on account of the slaughter of the sacred dragon by Cadmus; and Menoeceus accordingly killed himself outside the gates of the town.<sup>10</sup> When the Athenians under king Theseus waged war against the Peloponnesians under Eurystheus because they refused to deliver up the children of Hercules, they received from the oracle the assurance of conquest if one of the hero's offspring devoted himself to Demeter; upon which Macaria the daughter of Hercules and Deianira offered herself spontaneously.<sup>11</sup> The two Greeks, who at the purification of Athens by Epimenides gave themselves up as expiatory offerings, were revered as the rescuers of the city.<sup>12</sup> Even the death of Leonidas at Thermopylae was later conceived as a spontaneous sacrifice for the safety of Greece in consequence of a divine oracle.<sup>13</sup> The Decii<sup>14</sup> and M. Curtius<sup>15</sup> were for their pious heroism glorified as the saviours of their country. When in a battle of the Carthaginians against the Syracusans, the victory seemed to incline to the enemy, Hamilcar threw himself into the flames to propitiate the gods.<sup>16</sup> Antinous, the page of the emperor Hadrian, has made his memory famous by precipitating himself into the Nile, because he believed that his death would secure the success of his master's schemes.<sup>17</sup> In all parts of India, at the processions of the image of Juggernaut, enthusiasts throw themselves under the colossal chariot which carried the god, to be crushed by the ponderous wheels, either in fulfilment of a vow, or to appease the deity; and though this practice may not be of very early origin, since it is neither mentioned by ancient writers nor later travellers,<sup>18</sup> it obtains to this day, at Orissa, Serampore, and

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Philo*, De Vict. 13, *κρημάτων γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτὸς τις ἑστὶν αὐτῷ οἷ παρὰχωρεῖ καὶ δέινεται*.

<sup>10</sup> *Eurip.* Phoen. 898—952; *Apollod.* III. vi. 7; *Pausan.* IX. xxv. 1; comp. IX. xvii. 1; *Stat.* Theb. X. 756 *sqq.*

<sup>11</sup> *Eurip.* Heraclid. 406—607, esp. 531 (*ἐκθύσα κοῦν ἀκθύσα*), 547—551; *Paus.* I. xxxii. 6; *Plut.* Pelop. 21.

<sup>12</sup> See *supra* p. 326.

<sup>13</sup> *Plut.* Pelop. 21; comp. *Herod.* VII. 223, 224. <sup>14</sup> See *supra* p. 331.

<sup>15</sup> *Liv.* VII. 6 (manum nunc in coclum, nunc in patentes terrae hiatus ad deos manes porrigentem se devovisse).

<sup>16</sup> *Herod.* VII. 167. <sup>17</sup> *Dion Cass.* LIX. 11; *Spartian.* Hadrian. c. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Buhlen*, *Alt. Ind.* I. 275.

elsewhere, under the very eyes of the British authorities, and it is so difficult to eradicate chiefly on account of the prevailing conviction that the victim, had he even committed the foulest crime, becomes spotless, yea is changed into the god Shiva himself, and through many ages enjoys divine bliss and honour.<sup>1</sup> An eye-witness, giving an account<sup>2</sup> of the festival which took place at Serampore on the 6th of July 1864, describes the chariot as a vast house of wood seventy feet high and twenty square, rising tier above tier to the idol's throne, and loaded at every stage with Brahmins and gigantic figures. The chariot "crushed out a life with every revolution of its hideous wheels, covered as they were with human flesh and gore...The Brahmins looked down from the car upon the poor wretches with perfect unconcern, and were even signalling the crowd to pull again."<sup>3</sup> The voluntary death of the Hindoo wives on the demise of their husbands, has above been commented upon. Among the old Prussians, the custom prevailed that the high-priest, having attained a certain age, burnt himself for the weal of the people.<sup>4</sup> A different character must be ascribed to the instances of self-destruction sanctioned by the tenets of the stoics, when life seemed to be a burden or a disgrace, or by the doctrines of the Hindoo sages, who, although denouncing suicide as a rule, deem it a most meritorious act to end an ignoble life of disease or decrepitude by the sacred and purifying flames or waves which secure to the sufferer immediate admission into heaven:<sup>5</sup> it suffices to allude to the story of Cabanus (originally Sphinas, the happy), the Indian friend of Alexander the Great,<sup>6</sup> and to that of Zarmanochegas (that is, the holy) of Barygaza, who lived at Athens in the time of Augustus;<sup>7</sup> and, in the year 166 of the present era, the convert Peregrinus followed their example.<sup>8</sup> In fact, pious Christians believed martyrdom to be the noblest form of sacrifice. This was the opinion of Origen;<sup>9</sup> its harmony with the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Asiat. Res.* V. 374, 380; *M. N. Schmidt*, *De Sacrificiis religionis Indo-Brahmanicæ*, pp. 19, 20.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Times*.

<sup>3</sup> See also the fine description of Southey, in *Curse of Kehama*, "A thousand pilgrims strain" etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Mone*, *Geschichte des nord. Heidenth.*, I. 82, 92.

<sup>5</sup> *Lucian*, *De Morte Peregrini*, c. 25; *Lucan*, *Phars.* III. 240—243 (pro! quanta est gloria genti Injecisse manum fatis etc.); *Joseph.* *Bell. Jud.* VII. viii. 7 (*Ἄρ' οὐκ οὐκ αἰδούμεθα χεῖρον Ἰνδῶν φρονεῖντες, καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπολ-*

*μίας κελ.*); *Strabo*, XV. i. 73 p. 720; comp. *Bohlen*, *Alt. Ind.* I. 267—290.

<sup>6</sup> *Arrian*, VII. 3; *Strabo*, XV. i. 4, 64—68; *Diod. Sic.* XVII. 107; *Plut.* *Alex.* 65; *Aelian.* *Var. Hist.* V. 6 (*ὅτε ἐβουλήθη ἀπολῦσαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ σώματος δεσμῶν*).

<sup>7</sup> *Strabo*, XV. i. 73, p. 720, where the epitaph on his grave is thus stated, *Ζαρμανοχηγὰς Ἰνδὸς ἀπὸ Βαργόσης κατὰ τὰ πατρία Ἰνδῶν εἶθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀπαθανατίσας κεῖται*.

<sup>8</sup> See *Lucian*, I. c. 21—30.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. p. 330; *K. Bähr*, *Lehre der Kirche vom Tode Jesu*, pp. 113 sqq.



spirit of Christianity is proved by the example of Jesus himself;<sup>10</sup> and a modern theologian writes, "He who, under circumstances, cannot become a martyr, thereby shows that his whole worship has been hollow and empty, and that he was never in earnest with regard to the holocaust so strongly demanded by the Law of God. Whoever has been in earnest, sees in martyrdom nothing but the manifestation of a principle which had ever lived within him."<sup>11</sup>

Next to self-immolation the most valued sacrifice was that of the *dearest relation*.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the Phoenicians and all those who adopted their religious doctrines and rites, burnt their *children* to Moloch, a custom which prevailed to an almost incredible extent, and which took deep root among the Hebrews also.<sup>13</sup> All children so sacrificed were naturally required to be healthy and well-formed;<sup>14</sup> but the offering was regarded particularly praiseworthy if the child was the *firstborn* or the *only* son of his parents.<sup>15</sup>

*Priests* and *pious people* were next regarded as highly acceptable victims. "Chariclea", says Heliodorus, "was from the beginning reserved to the gods on account of her unsurpassed excellence."<sup>16</sup> Those who had devoted themselves to certain deities, could at any time be killed in honour of them, because by death their souls were supposed to be raised at once to the gods, and to be lifted into heaven, their true abodes.<sup>17</sup> In the service of Ashtarte, the immolation of priests was preserved up to the time of the Christian era; and even in the age of Strabo, an attendant of the temple near Iberia, in the Scythian country of Albania, was annually seized by a priest, bound with sacred fetters, and maintained sumptuously, to be sacrificed in honour of the goddess at the expiration of the year.<sup>18</sup> The chief priest of Diana Taurica or Ari-

<sup>10</sup> See Sect. XIX; comp. esp. Philipp. II. 17; 2 Tim. IV. 6; Ephes. V. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Hengstenberg*, Opfer, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>12</sup> Ἐθνον τῶν φιλτάτων τινα, *Porph.* Abst. II. 56; *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. IV. 16 (ὡς καὶ τοῖς τῶν φιλτάτων αἵμασι . . . ἰλεῖσθαι νομίζειν τὰς μαιφόνους θυγάμεις κτλ.). <sup>13</sup> See Sect. XXII. XXIII.

<sup>14</sup> *Oros.* Adv. Pagan. Hist. IV. 6, puras animo et incorruptas offerri hostias mos est; comp. *Curt.* IV. 3 (15, ingenuus puer).

<sup>15</sup> Comp. ἀπαρχαὶ ἀνθρώπων, the *firstlings of men*, presented by the Eretrians and Magnetians to Apollo whom they revered as the bestower of all fruits, as the paternal, beneficent

god, and the patron of births (*Plut.* Pyth. orac. 16; comp. *Eurip.* Phoen. 203, ἀκροθίνια λεξία; *Iph. Taur.* 459); *Porphyr.* De Abst. II. 46; *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. I. x. 36 (ὕιον μονογενῆ . . . ὃν διὰ τοῦτο Ἰουδ — i. e. ὅτι — ἐκάλουν; comp. Gen. XXII. 2, בְּבִטְחִי נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ); In laud. Constant. c. 13 (Κρόνῳ γὰρ Φοίνικες καθ' ἑκάστην ἑτος ἔθνον τὰ ἀγαπητὰ καὶ μονογενῆ τῶν τέκνων); *Diod. Sic.* XX. 14 (τῶν ὑἱῶν τοὺς κρατίστους); see also 2 Ki. III. 26, 27 (*supra* p. 332).

<sup>16</sup> *Heliod.* X. 9 (θεοῖς . . . διὰ τὸ ὑπερβαῖλλον τῆς φύσεως ἀρχῇθεν φυλαττομένην). <sup>17</sup> *Macrobi.* Saturn. III. 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Strab.* XI. iv. 7, p. 503.



cina in Latium was commonly slain by his successor's own hands.<sup>1</sup> On important occasions, the Franks cast lots among themselves to decide who was to die as a sacrifice, and the person so marked out was regarded as the special favourite of the gods.<sup>2</sup> — In Meroë it was customary for the *king* to be killed as a sacrifice when the priests deemed it expedient or pretended to have been directed by an oracle; which usage was maintained up to the third century before Christ, when the Ethiopian king Ergamenes, having been summoned for a similar sacrifice, killed the priests and abolished the custom.<sup>3</sup> As chastity was regarded a chief condition of holiness, *virgins* and *unstained youths* were, in many instances, esteemed as victims, especially in honour of maiden goddesses, as Minerva and Diana; the former deity received annually a virgin on her altar at Laodicea.<sup>4</sup> Pelopidas was commanded, by a vision in a dream, to offer a fair virgin;<sup>5</sup> the Ethiopians sacrificed to Helios and Selene none but chaste persons, whose innocence was tested by their being placed on a sacred grate (*λοχύρα*) which, if they were not spotless, was supposed to burn off their feet.<sup>6</sup>

Anxious to show that success in great or dangerous enterprises was attributed to the favour of the gods, most nations, both at the commencement of a military expedition and after its happy conclusion, sacrificed *captives of war*, in the one case for supplication, in the other for grateful acknowledgment,<sup>7</sup> which custom was continued up to a very late period.<sup>8</sup> For this purpose the first prisoners captured<sup>9</sup> were deemed most desirable, as among the Ethiopians,<sup>10</sup> whenever they triumphed over foreign enemies,<sup>11</sup> among the Thulitæ or Scandinavians,<sup>12</sup> and occasionally among the Persians.<sup>13</sup> Particularly grateful also were captives of *high rank*, such as *chiefs* and *generals*, who, among the old Prussians and others, were burnt on a funeral pile together with their arms and horses. In other cases, supplication or gratitude was manifested by the *multitude* of victims. The Scythians sacrificed one of every hundred prisoners;<sup>14</sup> the Argivi, after the conquest of Mycenæ, devoted every tenth inhabitant to the gods;<sup>15</sup> the Tarquinians (in B. C. 355) slaughtered 307 captive Romans,<sup>16</sup> and the Mexicans as many of the Spanish in-

<sup>1</sup> *Strab.* V. iii. 12, p. 239; comp. *Pausan.* II. xxvii. 4; *Hygin.* Fab. 261; *Sueton.* Calig. 35; *Ovid.* Fast. III. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Mone.* l. c. p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Diod. Sic.* III. 6. <sup>4</sup> See *supra* p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> See, however, *infra*. <sup>6</sup> *Heliod.* X. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Ovid.* Fast. I. 336 (*hostibus a domitis hostia nomen habet*); see *supra* pp. 330—332.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Tertull.* Adv. Gnost. 7; *Just. Mart.* Apoll. II. 12; *Talies.* c. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Called ἀπαρχαὶ τοῦ πολέμου, *Heliod.* X. 7. <sup>10</sup> *Heliod.* X. 7, 20.

<sup>11</sup> *Procop.* Bell. Goth. II. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Herod.* VII. 180.

<sup>13</sup> *Herod.* IV. 62.

<sup>14</sup> *Diod. Sic.* XI. 65.

<sup>15</sup> *Liv.* VII. 15.

vaders as they were able to seize. It is noteworthy that, in most cases, sacrifices of captives were employed as a means of divination and of ascertaining the issue of the war, as is related of the Lusitanians, the Britons, and the inhabitants of Mona (or Anglesey), the Cimbri, the Prussians, and others.<sup>16</sup>

The custom of sacrificing prisoners of war probably gave rise, among many tribes, to the idea of killing in honour of the gods *strangers* rather than natives; for foreigners and enemies were extensively held to be equivalent terms.<sup>17</sup> The sacrifice of shipwrecked strangers by the Scythians in Tauris at the shrine of Diana, has become celebrated by the descriptions of historians and poets.<sup>18</sup> Foreigners were offered by the Hindoos,<sup>19</sup> by the Egyptians in honour of Typhon,<sup>20</sup> by the Ethiopians, who are said to have periodically seized two strangers to slaughter them for the welfare of the community,<sup>21</sup> and frequently by the old Germans.<sup>22</sup> From this point it is not difficult to trace

### 3. THE GRADUAL ABOLITION OF HUMAN SACRIFICES.

For when men accustomed themselves to consider strangers as oblations pleasing to the gods, they imperceptibly strove to substitute them for their own countrymen and relatives. They thus satisfied their deepest feelings of religion by presenting a human sacrifice, and yet avoided the tormenting conflict into which such sacrifice might bring them with their natural sympathies. But even this first step was not achieved without a severe struggle. It was by men of a fanatic or enthusiastic creed regarded as a cowardly evasion of the most sacred of religious duties. As the Phoenicians and those who adopted their faith believed their eldest sons rightfully to belong to Moloch, the childless among them, to evince their holy zeal, were from early times wont to *buy* the sons of poor persons and to present them to the god; the mother was required to be present at the sacrifice; but if she shed a tear or uttered a sigh, she lost the purchase money, without saving her offspring.<sup>23</sup> Such precedents induced rich parents secretly to purchase boys and to sacrifice them as their own.<sup>24</sup> The detestable practice seems, in later times, to have obtained to a considerable extent. Therefore, when the Carthaginians were defeated by Agathocles, they supposed that the disaster

<sup>16</sup> See *supra*, pp. 332, 333; comp. *Strabo*, III. iii. 7, p. 154.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Plut. Marc.* 3.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Eurip. Iph. Taur.* 28, 29; *Ovid, Trist.* IV. iv. 63, 64; *Pont. III.* ii. 65 *sqq.*; *Juven. XV.* 116 *sqq.*; *Plin. H. N.* VII. 2; *Lucian, De Sacrif.* 13; etc.

<sup>19</sup> *Asiat. Research.* V. p. 386.

<sup>20</sup> See *supra* p. 327.

<sup>21</sup> *Diod. Sic.* II. 55; see, however, *infra* p. 344.

<sup>22</sup> *Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 344.

<sup>23</sup> *Plut. De Superst.* 13.

<sup>24</sup> Comp. *Plut. l. c.* 20.

had been sent by Saturn wroth at being deprived of his due honours; they appeased him by a speedy offering of 200 boys of the best families; and 300 adult persons joined in the sacrifice spontaneously.<sup>1</sup>

The next advance towards mitigating the terrors of human sacrifices was to slaughter men who by the laws of the land had forfeited their lives, especially *condemned criminals*. In Maabar, in India, the culprit sentenced to die usually sacrificed himself in honour of some particular idol, and the readiness evinced in the act was by the people regarded as eminent piety.<sup>2</sup> At Athens, malefactors were kept and fed at the public expense, sometimes for many years, to be offered as expiatory sacrifices at the festival of the Thargelia, at impending or actual public misfortunes, such as pestilence, war, or famine.<sup>3</sup> The same usage prevailed in Rhodes, where primitively a pious man, and afterwards a criminal, was sacrificed at the festival of Saturn;<sup>4</sup> it obtained on the island of Leucas,<sup>5</sup> and in Rome where it was acted upon in the worship of Jupiter Latialis considerably later than the commencement of the Christian era;<sup>6</sup> among the Cimbri, the Frieses, and the Gauls, who went so far as to look upon the sacrifice of delinquents, especially thieves and robbers, as peculiarly agreeable to the gods, and offered innocent men only when convicts were not at hand.<sup>7</sup> In Dahomey, the victims are either foreigners, especially captives of war, or if natives criminals and dressed as such.<sup>8</sup> In fact, a modern traveller received the assurance from king Gelele himself, that "many victims would be released, and that those executed would be only the worst of criminals and malignant war-captives."<sup>9</sup>

Blood, the symbol of life, being generally regarded as the chief and most important element in sacrifices,<sup>10</sup> thoughtful men, urged moreover by considerations of humanity, held it to be unnecessary to kill the human victim, and declared that the gods are effectually propitiated

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. Sic.* XX. 14; *Lactant. Instit.* I. 21, 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Marco Polo*, III. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Tzetzes*, Chil. V. 25; Schol. *Aristoph. Equit.* 36, 1144; *Ran.* 730—733, *ἐπεσον γὰρ τινὰς Ἀθηναῖοι λίαν ἀγενεῖς καὶ ἀχρήστους . . . ἔθνον τούτους ἔνεκα καθαρθῆναι τοῦ μιάματος. οὕς καὶ ἐπυνόμαζον καθάρματα* (comp. 1 *Cor.* IV. 13).

<sup>4</sup> *Porph.* De Abst. II. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Strab.* X. ii. 9, p. 452; see *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> As is confirmed by Minucius Felix, Lactantius, and Tertullian (*Apol.*

*c.* 9, Jupiter quidam quem ludis suis humano proluunt sanguine); see *Ghillany*, *Menschenopfer*, p. 543; comp. *Sueton. Calig.* 27.

<sup>7</sup> *Caes. Bell. Gall.* VI. 16, supplicia eorum qui in furto aut in latrocinio aut aliqua noxia sint comprehensi, gratiora dis immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed cum ejus generis copia defecit etiam ad innocentium supplicium descendunt.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Burton*, l. c. I. 345—350; II. 20, 28, 352.

<sup>9</sup> L. c. I. 372.

<sup>10</sup> See Sect. IX. 7.

provided some of the man's blood flowed in their honour. Thus another and a very decided step towards a less revolting form of human sacrifices was made. In Sparta, the image of Artemis Orthia, supposed to have been that once taken away by Orestes and Iphigenia from Tauris, was for a long time worshipped by human victims, but this sacrifice was later, it is asserted by Lycurgus, changed into the flagellation of boys (*διαμασιγῶσις*), so that the image was sprinkled with their blood;<sup>11</sup> and at Alea in Arcadia, Dionysos was honoured at an annual festival (*συνδραμία*) by the scourging of women.<sup>12</sup> In Elis, a libation of blood was offered at the grave of the dead as an expiation.<sup>13</sup> The priests of Phoenicia and Syria, especially of Baal, those of Hierapolis, of the Greeks in later periods, and chiefly those of Bramah and Buddha, were in the habit, on certain festivals or serious occasions, of cutting themselves with knives and lancets "till the blood gushed out upon them";<sup>14</sup> the same practice sprang up in Rome where it was observed by the priests and priestesses of Bellona;<sup>15</sup> and it prevails still among the Dervishes of Turkey and Persia.<sup>16</sup> The Carian settlers in Egypt, when on the great festival of Isis at Busiris the sacrifice had been performed in honour of Osiris, "cut their faces with their knives."<sup>17</sup> In Rome, the image of Jupiter Latiaris was every year sprinkled with the blood of a gladiator who had been wounded in the public games, and this custom was maintained up to the second and third century after Christ.<sup>18</sup> When the Romans rigorously interdicted human

<sup>11</sup> *Pausan.* III. xvi. 6 (οὕτω τῷ ἀγάλματι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ θυσίῳν ἐμμελένηκεν ἀνθρώπων αἵματι ἡδεσθαι); comp. *Cic.* Tusc. II. 14 (34); *Lucian*, Anachars. c. 38; Schol. Stat. Theb. IV. 227.

<sup>12</sup> *Porph.* Abst. II. 27; *Pausan.* VIII. xxiii. 1 (καὶ ἐν Διονύσου τῇ ἑορτῇ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν μαστιγοῦνται γυναικες, καθὼ καὶ οἱ Σπαρτιατῶν ἑφηβοὶ παρὰ τῇ Ὀρθίᾳ); comp. *Porphyr.* Abst. II. 27 (ἐμφύλιον αἶμα ῥαίνουσι πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς); comp. *Eurip.* Iph. Taur. 1458—1461.

<sup>13</sup> *Pind.* Olymp. I. 90, 91 (146, 147, εἴν δὲ αἱμακουργίας ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται).

<sup>14</sup> 1 Ki. XVIII. 28; *Lucian*, Syr. Dea. c. 50 (τάμνονταί τε τοὺς πήχους); comp. cc. 51, 59.

<sup>15</sup> *Tibull.* El. I. 47—49 (Ipsa bipenne suos caedit violenta lacertos, Sanguine et effuso spargit inulta deam, Statque

latus praefixa veru, stat saucia pectus); *Propert.* El. III. xv. 15 (Cur aliquis sacris laniat sua brachia cultris?); *Stat.* Theb. X. 170—175; *Lucan.* Phars. I. 565 (quos sectis Bellona lacertis Saeva movet cecinere deos, crinemque rotantes Sanguineum populis ulularunt tristia Galli); the "Bellonarii" performed the rite annually, though perhaps only in a symbolical manner, on the 24th of March, hence called "dies sanguinis"; whereas Commodus "from love of cruelty forced them really to cut open their arms" (*Lamprid.* Commod. 9).

<sup>16</sup> Comp. *Rauwolf*, Reise I. p. 149; *Olearius*, Persian. Reisebeschreib. IV. p. 243; see *Rosenmüller*, Morgenl. III. 169—191.

<sup>17</sup> *Herod.* II. 61; comp. notes on Lev. XIX. 28.

<sup>18</sup> *Tertullian*, Adv. Gnost. 7; *Just.* Mart. Apol. II. 12.

## A. THE PRINCIPAL SACRIFICES.

sacrifices among the Gauls, the latter, as a substitute for their ancient rites, scratched the skin of the devoted person, and offered to the deity the blood so obtained.<sup>1</sup> And the Incas in Peru presented cakes sprinkled over with human blood.<sup>2</sup>

A further progress was manifest in the growing belief that the intention of offering a human being is as pleasing to the gods as the actual oblation. Not sufficiently enlightened to perceive the abomination of human sacrifices, and yet too merciful to slaughter their fellow-creatures if it could possibly be avoided, some tribes resorted to the most curious devices to overcome the harassing dilemma. They not only connived at but facilitated the escape of the intended victim. In Orchomenos, the maiden appointed to be sacrificed to Dionysos was allowed to save herself by flight from the very altar.<sup>3</sup> The eldest member of the family of Athamas, doomed to die if he entered the Prytaneum of his native town, was permitted to seek refuge in another country.<sup>4</sup> On the island of Leucas, a man was annually, at the festival of Apollo, precipitated into the sea as an expiation for the people; but various kinds of wings were attached to his body, and even birds suspended at his person to lighten by their fluttering the fall or the leap; below, many persons were stationed around in small fishing boats to receive him, to preserve his life if possible, and to carry him beyond the boundary of the country.<sup>5</sup> The Ethiopians placed the two foreigners whom they seized from time to time as a national atonement,<sup>6</sup> in a strong vessel, furnished them with provisions for six months, and ordered them to sail on in a southward direction till they came to a blooming island, where a hospitable reception awaited them: the safe arrival of the men on the island was by the Ethiopians considered as a pledge that the country would, during the period of 600 years, enjoy peace and prosperity. So ancient a work as the Vedas commanded, as a symbolical rite, to tie to posts the persons devoted to death in honour of the goddess Kali, then, after the recital of the hymn on the allegorical immolation of Narayana, to release them unhurt, and finally to make oblations of butter on the sacrificial fire.<sup>7</sup> Later, the multiplied conditions, under which human sacrifices were permitted in India, rendered their frequent occurrence impossible.<sup>8</sup> Gradually, by the softening

<sup>1</sup> *Mela*, III. 2 (manent vestigia scitatis jam abolitae, atque ut ab ultimis caedibus temperant, ita nihilominus ubi devotos altaribus admovere delibant). <sup>2</sup> *Robertson*, *America*, II. 559. <sup>3</sup> *Plut.* *Quaest. Graec.* 36; *Herod.* VII. <sup>4</sup> See *supra* p. 329.

<sup>5</sup> *Strab.* X. ii. 9, p. 452.

<sup>6</sup> See *supra* p. 341.

<sup>7</sup> *Colcbrooke*, *Asiat. Research.* VIII. p. 437; comp. *Essays*, pp. 35, 36 (edit. 1856); *Moor*, *Hindupanth.* p. 366.

<sup>8</sup> *Comp. Asiat. Research.* V. 369 sqq.; *Rhode*, *Hindus*, II. 249—251: the

influence of the Brahmans and the wisdom of Gautama, they ceased entirely, and were in later writings forbidden by the threat of eternal punishment in hell.<sup>9</sup> In a similar manner, they were rejected and denounced in other countries, as better notions regarding the nature of the deity and of atonement prevailed.<sup>10</sup> From early times, there was, in spite of the cosmic character of paganism,<sup>11</sup> among more civilized tribes a tendency towards that end. Not unfrequently *animals*, considered as legitimate and acceptable representatives, were sacrificed instead of devoted men.<sup>12</sup> It was incompatible with the national character of the Greeks to suffer long the atrocity of human sacrifices which was utterly abhorrent to the nature of Hellenism.<sup>13</sup> Homer mentions indeed the immolation of men in honour of Patroclus, but not the tradition of Iphigenia's sacrifice. The horrid custom seems to have been brought into Greece by foreign contact and as a foreign element.<sup>14</sup> Though it is true, as we have abundantly shown, that "we find traces of it throughout almost the whole Hellenic world, in the *cultus* of almost every god, and in all periods of their independent history",<sup>15</sup> it is certain that it was from the fifth century openly denounced as an unholy and godless practice repugnant to the spirit of the national laws.<sup>16</sup> The substitution of animals for men is related in legends reaching back even into pre-historic times;

king must give his consent; the victim must neither be a Brahman, nor a Kshatriya, nor a descendant of either; he must not before have been devoted to a god or a Brahman; he must be childless, absolutely perfect in form and health, and not under twelve years of age; the sacrifice cannot be performed by a Brahman; etc.

<sup>9</sup> Jones, Works, IV. p. 130; Asiat. Res. III. 388; sacrifices of children are without example in India, except that in some cases daughters were killed if it was to be feared that poverty would preclude them from marrying; see Bohlen, Alt. Ind. I. 302—304.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Cic. Pro Font. X. 31 (humanis hostiis deorum aras funestant; religionem scelere violant, etc.); De offic. III. 23 (tetrum facinus); Diod. Sic. V. 31 (παράδοτον καὶ ἄπιστον ἔχουσι νόμιμον); Phil. Pelop. 21; Clemens in Euseb. Pr. Ev. IV. xvi. 12 (φόνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνθρωποκασία ἢ τοιαύτη θυσία); Phil. Superst. c. 13; Lucian passim; Heliod. X. 9; Plin.

Hist. Nat. III. 264 (monstra in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum); Sil. Ital. IV. 768 (infandum dictu); Curtius, IV. 3 (15, sacrilegium verius quam sacrum; dira superstitio); Justin. XVIII. 6 (scelere pro remedio usi sunt); etc.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 310. <sup>12</sup> Comp. Porph. De Abst. II. 55, where men and animals are termed *ἱεράκια*; and, on the other hand, in Hierapolis children were sometimes sacrificed instead of calves (Lucian, Syr. Dea 58).

<sup>13</sup> Comp. Böttiger, Kunstmythologie, II. 10; see also Schömann, l. c. pp. 240—246 (whose remarks are, however, too partial and apologetic).

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Gladstone, Address on the Place of ancient Greece in the providential Order of the World, pp. 35, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Sir John Acton, quoted by Gladstone l. c. p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Eurip. Iph. Taur. 463—466, ὦ πότνι, εἰ σοὶ τὰδ' ἀρεσκόντως πόλις ἤδε τελαῖ, δέξαι θυσίας, ὥς ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν



though not alluded to in the Homeric poems, it was primitively sanctioned in several religious systems;<sup>1</sup> it is implied in the story of Iphigenia intended for a sacrifice to Diana but replaced by a stag,<sup>2</sup> and in the narrative of Abraham offering a ram instead of his son Isaac. Phryxus, devoted by the oracle to die in honour of Zeus Laphystios,<sup>3</sup> received from his mother Nephele a ram with a golden fleece, on which he was carried to Colchis, and which he there offered instead of himself.<sup>4</sup> A youth was, at Potniae in Boeotia, to be sacrificed every year to Dionysus, because the inhabitants had slain one of the priests of the god; but "a few years later",<sup>5</sup> the youth was replaced by a kid of the goats.<sup>6</sup> The people of Tenedos, in later times, offered to the same deity, instead of a child, a new-born calf to which they attempted to give a human appearance by providing its feet with cothurni, while they nursed the cow that had thrown the calf like a woman after childbirth, and obliged the man who had sacrificed the calf to flee, probably because in former periods the person who had sacrificed the child was equally persecuted.<sup>7</sup> The human victim periodically offered at Salamis to Minerva and Diomedes, was by Diphilus, king of Cyprus, replaced by a slaughtered ox.<sup>8</sup> Pelopidas, invited in a dream, the night before the battle of Leuctra, by the shades of the "virgins of Leuctra" and their father, to expiate their murder by the sacrifice of a fair-haired virgin, believed he satisfied the request of the vision by slaughtering a light-coloured colt which had strayed from the herd and ran through the camp;<sup>9</sup> and in a similar manner Agesilaus, when staying over night in Aulis and admonished by a dream to sacrifice a man in commemoration of Agamemnon and Iphigenia, offered a stag.<sup>10</sup> And at Laodicea, in Syria, a virgin was, for some time, offered every year, but later a stag.<sup>11</sup>

νόμος οὐχ ὅσας Ἑλλήους δίδους ἀναφαίρει; *Plato*, *Min.* 5, p. 315 C, ἡμῖν μὲν οὐ νόμος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπους θύειν ἀλλ' ἀνθρώσιον; *Plut.* *Pelop.* 21, ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν κρείττωνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀρεστὴν οὖσαν οὕτω βάρβαρον καὶ παράνομον θυοίαν, οὐ γὰρ τοῖς Τυφῶντας ἐκείνους οὐδὲ τοὺς Γίγαντας ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντων πατέρα θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων; *Euripid.* *Heraclid.* 411—414.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Nägelsbach*, *Homer. Theologie*, p. 303; *Müller*, *Eum.* pp. 144 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Eurip.* *Iph. Aul.* 1592—1595, ταύτην — viz. the stag — μάλιστα τῆς κόρης ἀσπάζεται, ὡς μὴ μιάνη βωμὸν εὐγενεῖ φόνῳ; *Hygin.* *Fab.* 98.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the Devourer (from λαφύσσειν to engulf, *Hom.* *Il.* XI. 176), who accepted men as victims.

<sup>4</sup> *Apollod.* I. ix. 1; *Paus.* I. xxiv. 2; comp. *Hartung*, *Relig. and Mythol. der Griechen*, III. p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον.

<sup>6</sup> *Pausan.* IX. viii. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Aelian*, *Hist. Nat.* XII. 34; comp. p. 12; see also *Schömann* l. c. pp. 242, 243.

<sup>8</sup> *Porph.* *De Abst.* II. 55.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Plut.* *Pelop.* 20—22.

<sup>10</sup> *Plut.* *Ages.* 6; *Pelop.* 21; comp. *Xen.* *Hell.* III. iv. 3; VII. i. 34.

<sup>11</sup> *Euseb.* *Praep. Ev.* IV. 16; *Porphyr.* *De Abst.* II. 56.



However, sometimes not animals but symbolical figures were substituted instead of men, and this must be regarded as another advancement in religious notions. The Egyptian king Amasis offered at Heliopolis wax-images instead of the human beings formerly sacrificed.<sup>12</sup> The Hindoos shaped the form of a man in butter or dough, and burnt it to the destructive goddess Kali.<sup>13</sup> An ancient oracle ordered the old Italic tribes, "Offer heads to Hades, and to his father (Saturn) a man",<sup>14</sup> and this command was for some time acted upon: but when Hercules passed through Italy with the herd of Geryon, he is said to have persuaded the people to offer images of human heads instead of real ones,<sup>15</sup> and torches instead of men.<sup>16</sup> Again, it was customary on the festival of the Compitalia celebrated on the cross-ways, to offer sacrifices in honour of the Lares and their mother the goddess Mania; but Junius Brutus induced the people to present garlic and poppy-heads instead of human heads.<sup>17</sup> Every year, on the ides of May, during the festival of the Lemuralia celebrated for the souls of the departed, 24 or 30 figures<sup>18</sup> of men made of bulrushes<sup>19</sup> were, for the propitiation of Saturn; by the chief priests and the Vestal virgins thrown from the Sublician bridge into the Tiber, as substitutes for the human victims which had once been killed on the same day;<sup>20</sup> and this usage, the origin of which is likewise attributed to Hercules, was maintained at least to the time of Augustus.<sup>21</sup> The vows of the "sacred spring" which the Romans had adopted from the old Italic tribes,<sup>22</sup> were later confined to the cattle alone,<sup>23</sup> or if the children were also included, they were not killed, but in the spring of their twentieth or twenty-first year, they were led out

<sup>12</sup> *Porph. Abst.* II. 55. Whiston (in his Translation of Josephus, p. 678) attributes this change to the example of Abraham and the frustrated sacrifice of Isaac!

<sup>13</sup> *Asiat. Res.* V. 376.

<sup>14</sup> *Καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἀΐδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα*, *Macrob. Sat.* I. 7; comp. *Dion. Halic.* I. 19, *Καὶ κεφαλὰς Κρονίδῃ πελ.*

<sup>15</sup> *Oscilla ad humanam effigiem arte simulata.*

<sup>16</sup> Because the word φῶτα admits of this interpretation also; comp. *Macrob. Sat.* I. 7.

<sup>17</sup> See *Macrob.* I. c.

<sup>18</sup> According to Varro 24, according to *Dion. Halic.* 30; see note 20.

<sup>19</sup> Called Argei (*Ἀργεῖαι*), *αἰδωλα ἀνδρείκελα*, *priscorum simulacra viro- rum*, or *straminei Quirites* (Ovid).

<sup>20</sup> Comp. *Ovid, Fast.* V. 621—660;

*Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 32; *Varro, L. L.* VII. 44 (*Argei ab Argis; Argei sunt e scirpeis, simulacra hominum XXIV; ea quotannis de ponte sublicio a sacerdotibus publice deici solent in Tiberim*); *Dion. Hal.* I. 38 (*αἰδωλα μερκαῖς ἀνθρώπων εἰκασμένα, τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς γενέρας βάλλοντες εἰς τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Ταβήριος, Ἀργεῖους ἀντὰ καλοῦντες*); *Festus s. v.* Depontani; *Lactant. Instit.* I. 21.

<sup>21</sup> *Dionys. Halic.* I. 38 (*τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ ἐπετίλουν Ῥωμαῖοι ὁσέτη πελ.*); comp. also *Grimm, Deutsche Mythol.* p. 690.

<sup>22</sup> See *supra* p. 330; comp. *Strabo*, V. iv. 12.

<sup>23</sup> *Liv. XXII* 9, 10; *XXXIV.* 44 (*ver sacrum videri pecus*).

of the boundaries of the land, provided with arms, and directed to establish colonies wherever they might chance to find a resting place; and indeed many settlements, and among them those of the Picentines and Mamertini in Sicily, owe their origin to the emigration of devoted persons.<sup>1</sup>

But human sacrifices were too deeply rooted in the life of the ancient world to be easily eradicated; they lingered for long periods, even after more rational views had been diffused and adopted; and their suppression required the continuous and zealous efforts of public teachers and reformers. They were kept up in the Roman empire with incredible tenacity. Darius Hystaspis, king of Persia, is said to have forbidden the Carthaginians "to offer human sacrifices and to eat dog-flesh;"<sup>2</sup> Gelon, the king of Sicily, after his victory over the Carthaginians at Himera (B. C. 480), made the abolition of child-sacrifices in honour of Moloch a condition of peace;<sup>3</sup> a certain Iphicrates devised another attempt at their extinction;<sup>4</sup> but they survived the destruction of Carthage itself;<sup>5</sup> till at last, in the second century after Christ, the proconsul Tiberius, to put an end to the abomination, ordered the priests who performed the rite to be crucified on the trees of their temples.<sup>6</sup> When, in B. C. 116, two Gauls had been sacrificed in one of the streets of Rome, the practice was forbidden, "except when human offerings were ordered by the Sibylline books." The first interdiction for Italy was proclaimed by the senate in B. C. 96, especially in connection with the art of magic.<sup>7</sup> But that law was by no means decisive or effectual. Men were sacrificed by the most prominent, and often the most educated individuals, as by Caesar, at a sedition of his soldiers,<sup>8</sup> by Augustus after the victory over Mark Antony and at the surrender of Perusia,<sup>9</sup> by Vatinius whom Cicero accused of offering the entrails of boys to the gods of the lower world,<sup>10</sup> by Nero at the appea-

<sup>1</sup> See *Plin.* H. N. III. 13 (16, *orti sunt* — Picentes — a Sabinis voto vere sacro); comp. *Dion. Hal.* l. 16; *Justin.* XXIV. 4; *Serv.* ad *Aen.* VII. 796.

<sup>2</sup> *Justin.* XIX. 1, Legati a Dario . . . Carthaginiem venerunt, afferentes edictum, quo Poeni humanas hostias immolare, et canina vesci prohibebantur.

<sup>3</sup> *Plut.* De Sera Num. Vind. c. 6, ὅτι παύουσιν τὰ τέλεια τῷ Κρόνῳ καταθύοντες. <sup>4</sup> *Porphyr.* II. 56; comp. *Euseb.* *Præp.* Ev. IV. xvi. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Curt.* IV. 3 (15), quod sacrilegium . . . Carthaginienses, a conditoribus traditum usque ad excidium urbis suae fe-

cisse dicuntur; *Dion. Halic.* l. 38, ὡς περ ἐν Καρχηδόνι τέλος ἡ πόλις δέμεινε.

<sup>6</sup> *Tertull.* *Apolog.* c. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Plin.* H. N. XXX. 2 (3).

<sup>8</sup> See *supra*, p. 329; *Dion Cass.* XLIII. 24 (ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας ἐσάγγησαν, and πρὸς τε τῶν πορτυρίων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἐτύθησαν).

<sup>9</sup> See *supra* p. 333 note 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Cic.* In Vatin. c. 6; comp. *Tacit.* *Ann.* II. 69, where it is related that attempts were made to avert the death of Germanicus by enchantments supported by "carcases half burnt, besmeared with gore."

rance of a comet,<sup>11</sup> and frequently at his magical incantations,<sup>12</sup> by Commodus (A. C. 180) who at the mysteries of Mithra offered human victims,<sup>13</sup> by Didius Julianus (A. C. 192) and Heliogabalus (A. C. 217) who found satisfaction in sacrificing children to the Sun in connection with magic artifices,<sup>14</sup> by the emperor Valerian (A. C. 253) who on the advice of an Egyptian magician sacrificed boys and disemboweled newborn babes, and by Maxentius (A. C. 306), who cut open pregnant females and examined the bowels of children to invoke the daemons or to avert impending war:<sup>15</sup> abominations indulged in at the same period by others also.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the Fathers of the Church are almost unanimous in testifying to the existence of the horrid practice in their own time.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the prohibition had to be repeated again and again; it was rigorously enjoined by the emperor Claudius,<sup>18</sup> and renewed by Hadrian for the whole extent of the empire.<sup>19</sup> Still the effect of these edicts was long imperfect and fluctuating. The Gauls sacrificed men publicly at every important crisis in the time of Caesar and Cicero.<sup>20</sup> Some transalpine tribes killed human victims at least up to the time of the elder Pliny.<sup>21</sup> On an elevation in Arcadia, Zeus Lycaeus continued to be honoured with sacrifices of boys in the time of Pausanias, in the

<sup>11</sup> *Sueton.* Nero 36.

<sup>12</sup> *Plin.* H. N. XXX. 5, 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Lamprid.* Commod. 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Comp. Münster,* Rel. der Karthag. p. 24. <sup>15</sup> *Euseb.* H. E. VIII. 14.

<sup>16</sup> As the tribune Pollentianus; see *Amm. Marcell.* XXIX. ii. 17 (Pollentianum . . . iisdem diebus — i. e. A. C. 371 — convictum confessumque, quod exsecto vivae mulieris ventre, atque intempestivo partu extracto, infernis manibus excitis de permutatione imperii consulere ausus est); *comp. supra* p. 332; *Lucan.* Phars. VI. 554—561 (Vulnere si ventris, non qua natura vocabat, Extrahitur partus, calidis ponendus in aris).

<sup>17</sup> *Comp. Tertull.* Apol. c. 9 (sed et nunc in occulto perseveratur hoc sacrum facinus); *Adv. Gnost.* c. 7; *Euseb.* Praep. Ev. IV. 16; and Lactantius (who died in A. C. 325) says explicitly (*Instit.* I. 21 ("Ne Latini quidem hujus immanitatis expertes fuerunt, si quidem Latialis Jupiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano")); and so Por-

phyry (*De Abst.* II. 56, 'Ἄλλ' ἐτι καὶ νῦν τίς ἀγνοεῖ κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τῇ τοῦ Λατιαρίου Διὸς ἑορτῇ σφαζόμενον ἄνθρωπον). Hence Sir John Acton (l. c. p. 35) is correct in his conclusion that "in every generation of the four centuries, from the fall of the Republic to the establishment of Christianity, human victims were sacrificed by the emperors." <sup>18</sup> *Sueton.* Claud. 25.

<sup>19</sup> *Porph.* *De Abst.* II. 56; *Lactant.* *Instit.* I. 21.

<sup>20</sup> *Caes.* *Bell. Gall.* VI. 16, see *supra*; *Cic.* *Pro Fonteio* X. 31 (si quando aliquo metu adducti deos placandos esse arbitrantur . . . quis ignorat, eos usque ad hunc diem retinere illam inhumanam ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolaudorum?).

<sup>21</sup> *Hist. Nat.* VII. 2, *μυρρίμῃ* trans Alpes hominem immolare gentium earum more solitum; *comp. Dion. Hal.* I. 38, ὥσπερ . . . παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τόδε χρόνον γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἔθνων ἀνδροφόνους; see also *Plat. Legg.* VI. 22, p. 782 C.

second century of the present era.<sup>1</sup> The old Prussians and Goths adhered to the custom for centuries after their open adoption of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> And in India, the burning of the widows was continued up to the establishment of the British rule. In 1829, Lord William Bentinck abolished it as far as his authority extended, that is among the 37 millions British subjects out of 77 millions souls forming the population.<sup>3</sup> Instances, however, are recorded at Oodypore so late as August 30, 1838, and at Kolah in October 29, 1840.<sup>4</sup> But in 1844, a religious change was wrought. It began in the stronghold of the rite, among the Rajpoots in Rajpootana living in the north-western frontier, a brave race of warriors and hunters, and almost revered by the other tribes. Lieutenant Colonel Ludlow, then the English representative at Jypore, happily availed himself of the movement to carry out his long cherished and philanthropic designs. He forcibly pointed out what indeed had long been known, that the rite of *suttee* was not only unsanctioned but inferentially forbidden by the earliest and most authoritative Hindoo scriptures; that the laws of Manu clearly involve its non-existence; that an obscure passage in Rig-Veda, long the only support of its advocates, has been clearly proved to have no reference to it whatever;<sup>5</sup> and that, in fact, it was an unauthorised innovation and heresy of no earlier date than B. C. 300.<sup>6</sup> Ludlow succeeded first in Jypore (Aug. 1846), next among most of the remaining Rajpoot states, and then in some other free principalities of India occupying about two thirds of the whole territory.<sup>7</sup>

Among the Dahomans also the rite is beginning to lose ground; it is by the chiefs upheld from motives of expediency rather than of religion; king Gelele released, at Captain Burton's intercession, nearly half of the intended victims;<sup>8</sup> this prince, having to perform "a disagreeable duty" over his ancestral graves, takes care that the executions are performed without cruelty;<sup>9</sup> in 1863 and 1864, he allowed no victim to be put to death publicly during day-time;<sup>10</sup> and sometimes he exposes the men without slaying them.<sup>11</sup> "If I were to give up this custom at once", said he, "my head would be taken off to-morrow; by and by, little by little, much may be done."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Paus.* VIII. xxxviii. 5 (*ἐπὶ τοῦτον τοῦ βωμοῦ τῇ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ θύουσι ἐν ἀποψήῳ*); comp. *Augustin*, *De Civit. Dei* XVIII. 17 (sacrificio, quod Arcades immolato puero deo suo Lycaeo facere solerent). <sup>2</sup> *Procop.* II. c. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Wilson*, *Hist. of Brit. India*. III. 265 sqq. <sup>4</sup> Comp. *H. J. Bushby*, *Widow-burning*, a narrative, 1855, pp. 8 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *supra* p. 327 note 18.

<sup>6</sup> See Prof. Wilson's Paper on the subject read before the Royal Society, on Febr. 4, 1854.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Bushby*, l. c. pp. 37—39.

<sup>8</sup> *Burton*, l. c. p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> L. c. II. 21.

<sup>10</sup> L. c. II. 27.

<sup>11</sup> L. c. I. 350.

<sup>12</sup> L. c. p. 359.

Thus, then, the slaughter of men to secure the favour of the gods originated indeed in a religious sentiment common to all nations and apparently inherent in the human mind; it was resorted to on occasions of exceptional solemnity when the sacrifice of animals seemed inadequate to express the full depth of religious emotion;<sup>13</sup> it was long regarded as a form of divine worship so praiseworthy and exalted that its neglect was deplored as a symptom of degeneracy and of declining earnestness;<sup>14</sup> it proved compatible with a very considerable degree of civilisation and mental culture; and as it accustomed men to feel supreme satisfaction in seeing their fellow-beings nay their own children massacred, pierced by the sword, burnt to death, hurled from rocks or lofty terraces, drowned in rivers, seas or cess-pools, exposed to starvation or otherwise cruelly exterminated,<sup>15</sup> it is one of the awful warnings held out by history to prove how narrow-minded enthusiasm, even if exercised for spiritual ends, may lead to the most revolting and most degrading enormities — a warning equalled if not surpassed, in the Christian times, by the burning of witches and the horrors of the inquisition.

We might now enter upon the question how far human sacrifices were practised among the Hebrews; but in order to prepare the way still more completely for the unbiassed treatment of that enquiry, we deem it expedient to premise a sketch of

## XXII. THE VARIOUS FORMS OF IDOLATRY ADOPTED BY THE HEBREWS.

A COMPREHENSIVE summary of the variety and extent of heathen worship among the Israelites, as mirrored forth in the works of their historians and prophets, suggests the most momentous and most significant conclusions with regard to the religious development of the chosen nation.

Can a stronger proof of the confusion which long prevailed in the

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Müller*, Dor. I. p. 329.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Plut.* De Sacrif. c. 13 (ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σχύθης πάσας τὰς θυσίας ἀφείκε καὶ ἡγῆσάμενος ταπεινὰς αὐτοῦς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι παρίσταναι καὶ οὕτως ποιῶν ἀρίσκει τὴν θεὸν). *Ewald* (Alterth. pp. 26, 27) observes justly, "Nach der Folgerichtigkeit solcher Gefühle musste endlich eben das Menschenleben als das unvergleichlich höchste und wunderbarste Opfer gelten . . . So lag dies Menschenopfer eigentlich überall als

die Spitze und Vollendung aller dieser Aeusserungen der Gottesfurcht vor." Against all history is Hengstenberg's view (Auth. II. 144).

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Strabo*, IV. iv. 5, p. 195. ἄνθρωπον γὰρ κατασπινόμενον παῖ-  
"αντες εἰς πῦρ μαχαίρα . . . καὶ κατα-  
τέλλοντι τινὰ καὶ ἀνιπταύρου ἐν τοῖς  
ἱεροῖς . . . καὶ αἰλοκάνουν; *Hind. Sic.*  
V. 31, ἄνθρωπον κατασπείσαντες τύπ-  
τουοι μαχαίρα κατὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ διά-  
γραμμα τόπον καὶ πεσόντες τοῦ πλη-  
γίντος ἐκ τῆς πτώσεως κτλ.; etc.

notions of the Deity be conceived than the fact that men who meant to serve Jehovah in earnestness and piety, represented and worshipped Him by images? Even the history of Jeroboam is instructive in this respect. This king, anxious to prevent his newly-acquired subjects from visiting the capital of the sister kingdom, not from worshipping its God, placed two golden calves, the familiar symbols of the Egyptian Apis and Mnevis, in Bethel and Dan, towns probably consecrated by national sanctuaries from remote times,<sup>1</sup> and proclaimed to the people, "Behold these are thy gods, o Israel, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt."<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising to find that the author of the Books of Kings, living at a time when the worship of Jehovah began to take root in consequence of the promulgation and diffusion of the Pentateuch, severely reprimanded this act of Jeroboam, and described it as the cause and origin of grievous sin,<sup>3</sup> which was unavoidably followed by fearful visitations,<sup>4</sup> and which in his zeal he goes so far as unjustly to characterise as rejection of Jehovah and adoption of strange gods.<sup>5</sup> It is even less surprising to notice that the compiler of the Books of Chronicles, writing at a still later period and with a strongly marked Levitical bias,<sup>6</sup> did not scruple to call those images "no-gods" (לֹא-אֱלֹהִים), and to denounce them as foul paganism.<sup>7</sup> But an impartial examination of the facts warrants no such conclusion. The arrangement of Jeroboam had a political rather than a religious object; it was not designed to weaken the people's attachment to the common God of the Hebrews, but to strengthen their fidelity to the new dynasty. The phrase so frequently repeated by the later historian, "the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who caused Israel to sin",<sup>8</sup> does not refer to the worship of heathen gods, but merely to the consecration of the two golden statues. This may not only be reasonably inferred from several passages,<sup>9</sup> but is distinctly stated in that narrative which, after declaring that Jehu killed the worshippers of Baal, burnt his images, and destroyed his temple, continues, "However, as regards the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who caused Israel to sin, Jehu did not depart from them, namely, the golden calves that were in Bethel and in Dan."<sup>10</sup> Jeroboam transgressed therefore not the first but the second commandment; he did not repudiate Jehovah, but fashioned Him in golden images.<sup>11</sup> However,

<sup>1</sup> See Comm. on Genes. p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Ki. XII. 28; comp. 2 Ki. XVII. 16.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Ki. XII. 30. <sup>4</sup> XII. 1—10.

<sup>5</sup> אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, XIV. 9; comp. Jer. XLVIII. 13.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 31—33.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Chr. XIII. 8—10.

חֲטָאתוֹ יִרְבֶּעַם בְּרֵגֶב אֲשֶׁר הָחִיָּא  
אֵת יִשְׂרָאֵל, 2 Ki. III. 3; XII. 2; XV.

9, 18, 24, 28; etc.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Ki. XVI. 31—33; 2 Ki. III. 1—3; XII. 6.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Ki. X. 29; comp. vers. 26—28.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Comm. on Exod. p. 346.



the people, uneducated and eagerly bent upon foreign superstitions, could not fail ere long to regard these statues not as impersonations of Jehovah, but actually as the Egyptian Apis or Mnevis, and to worship them as such. Hence the prophets stigmatized them not unfairly as pernicious snares; they called *Beth-el* (בֵּית-אֵל) tauntingly *Beth-aren* (בֵּית-אֲרֵן), *the town of iniquity*; <sup>12</sup> they castigated the practice among the worst forms of idolatry certain to provoke the wrath of God. <sup>13</sup> Indeed the worship of the golden calves inevitably caused many deplorable aberrations; and in this sense Hebrew moralists were justified in inveighing against "*all the sins of Jeroboam*." <sup>14</sup>

But we are able to adduce even more striking instances and proofs of the proposition above set forth. The pious priest Ahimelech who, at Nob, conducted a complete and lawful service, <sup>15</sup> had in his possession a gold-plated image or ephod (עֹפֹד) which evidently represented Jehovah. <sup>16</sup>

David appropriated to himself this ephod; <sup>17</sup> and he solemnly consulted it, whenever in critical emergencies he wished to explore the will of God. Having retired to Keilah and being actively pursued by Saul, "he said to Abiathar the priest, Bring hither the ephod; then said David, O Lord God of Israel (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), Thy servant has heard for certain that Saul seeks to come to Keilah to destroy the city for

<sup>12</sup> Hos. IV. 15; X. 5; Am. V. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Hos. VIII. 5, 6; X. 5; XIII. 2; Am. III. 14; IV. 4; V. 6; VII. 9, 13; VIII. 13, 14: in which passages the allusions, though partly veiled, are yet unmistakable.

<sup>14</sup> כָּל-חַטֹּאת וְכִי, 2 Ki. XIII. 11; XIV. 24; etc. — It would, therefore, be hazardous to contend that the usages of idolatry were more predominant in the empire of Judah than of Ephraim (*Gramberg*, *Rel. Ideen*, I. 509, 510); a view which can only be upheld by the most artificial interpretations of the plainest texts (comp. I. c. pp. 516 init., 517 med., etc.); the testimony of writers living very near the times which they describe, is too weighty to be disregarded (comp. 2 Ki. XVII. 16—23); and there was scarcely any form of pagan worship not indulged in by the people of Ephraim (1 Ki. XIX. 18; comp. XVIII. 19; see 1 Ki. XX. 23, 28; comp. also 2 Ki. I. 1—16; XVII. 9—11,

16, 17, 30, 31; XVIII. 19; Am. II. 4—12; etc.; see *infra*). Ezekiel declares indeed (XXIII. 11 *sqq.*) that Judah surpassed her faithless sister Israel in revolt from Jehovah; but this rhetorical phrase of impassioned remonstrance can hardly be taken as a historical witness. Comp. also *Boch. Hieroz.* I. ii. 34. <sup>15</sup> 1 Sam. XXI. 2—10.

<sup>16</sup> The word עֹפֹד is, in this passage, neither the garment of the High-priest (Exod. XXVIII. 6—13; comp. 1 Sam. II. 28; XIV. 3; XXII. 9; XXX. 7), nor that (כֹּהֵן עֹפֹד) of the common priests (1 Sam. II. 18; XXII. 16; 2 Sam. VI. 14; comp. *Treatise on Priesthood* ch. IV), but, as in several other passages (Judg. VIII. 27; 1 Sam. XXIII. 6; XXX. 7; Hosea III. 4; see *infra*), like הָעֹפֹד (Isai. XXX. 22), the golden plating of an image made of wood or clay, and hence the image itself (comp. *Fatke*, I. c. pp. 267, 269).

<sup>17</sup> 1 Sam. XXIII. 6.



against David's use of the ephod; but the Chronist, faithful of clearing his favourites from all deeds deemed reproachful, makes no mention whatever of that figure in the narrative in question.<sup>5</sup> David had, besides, in his house an image of the obviously for his legitimate domestic worship;<sup>6</sup> and the prophet enumerates the Teraphim, like "statue (מַצֵּכָה) and ephod", and "chiefs and sacrifices", as an element of national happiness and prosperity, "when the children of Israel again seek the Lord the God of David their king, and when they fear the Lord and His voice in later days."<sup>7</sup>

Micah, living in mount Ephraim, had abstracted from the temple and then restored to her a sum of money; when she declared, "I had wholly dedicated the silver to the Lord by my hand for my son, to make a graven image and a molten calf (מַצֵּכָה וּמִצְבֵּה); and when these figures had been made<sup>8</sup> and placed in the house, together with an ephod and Teraphim, and when the Levite had been secured, Micah was certain that

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. XXIII. 9—11.

<sup>2</sup> ויתחזק רוח בידוהו אלהיו.

<sup>3</sup> וישאל בידוהו.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. XXX. 6—8; comp. 2 Sam. II. 1; V. 19, 23, 24 (XXI. 1), which passages merely state that "David enquired of the Lord", without mentioning the ephod. The explanation of all these texts (recently repeated by *Klaiber*, *Das priesterliche Orakel der Israeliten*, im Programm des Gymnasiums in S. . . .

after the transportation of Jerusalem (2 Sam. VI. 12) he most likely sought oracles from prophets (comp. 1 Ki. XXI. VIII. 8; XXII. 13, 14), as he had done before he came into possession of the ephod (comp. 1 Sam. I. 1, 4; comp. XIV. 36, 37).

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 Chr. XIV. 10.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. XIX. 11—17.

tained the favour of God, and exclaimed with joyful confidence, "Now I know that the Lord (יהוה) will do me good, since I have a Levite to be my priest."<sup>10</sup> These facts lead to the most remarkable conclusion that even several and different images, worshipped simultaneously, were by well-disposed people viewed as lawful embodiments of Jehovah; hence a number of Danites who, in search of settled abodes, passed through mount Ephraim, were most eager to secure both those images and the Levite, and when they had accomplished their design by cunning and violence, Micah was overwhelmed by grief and consternation.<sup>11</sup> The author of the Book of Judges conveyed indeed an implied disapproval of Micah's images, "In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes";<sup>12</sup> but he regarded the matter from his own point of view and by the light of later convictions.<sup>13</sup>

Gideon who had firmly declared, that "the Lord (יהוה) shall rule over the Hebrews",<sup>14</sup> yet placed in Ophrah, his native town, a golden figure (אפוד), and revered it in common with the whole nation.<sup>15</sup> The historian's censure, "and this thing became a snare to Gideon and to

<sup>10</sup> Judg. XVII. 3—5, 12, 13. The text evidently distinguishes four different images: the mother of Micah devotes 200 shekels to a פסל and a מסכה (ver. 4), to which Micah himself adds an אפוד and תרפים (ver. 5); the same four figures are named in XVIII. 14, 17; in XVIII. 18, 20 three only are mentioned because completeness in the enumeration was no more deemed necessary; and verses 30 and 31 speaking merely of a פסל מיכה, are a supplement of the narrator who lived many generations after the recorded event (comp. ער יום גלות הארץ, ver. 30). The four terms are, therefore, by no means to be taken as synonyms; nor do they describe four parts of one and the same object — pedestal (מסכה), image (פסל), the robing of the latter (אפוד) "with a bag on the breast for the lots employed at divinations", and the Teraphim within the garment for oracular purposes (*Hengstenberg*, *Auth. des Pent.* II. 95; *Ewald*, *Alterth.* pp. 231, 232; comp. also *Klaiber*, l. c. p. 15 note 35); and the separation of the section into two different stories (*Vatke*, l. c. p. 269) seems needless.

The observations of Paulus Cassel on the narrative (*Theolog. homiletisch. Bibelwerk*, herausgegeben von J. P. Lange, V. 156—160) are in his usual biassed and uncritical manner, partly exegetical and partly homiletic, and obviously misinterpreting the Hebrew records by strong dogmatic preconceptions.

<sup>11</sup> Judg. XVIII. 14—26.

<sup>12</sup> L. c. XVII. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Jeh. Halevi*, *Cusari* IV. 14, "Micah was like a man who commits the incestuous act of marrying his sister, but is scrupulous in observing all the legal matrimonial rites."

<sup>14</sup> Which terms express even the true theocratic principle, though they are probably attributable to the author of the Book of Judges rather than to Gideon, since in the time of the latter that principle was scarcely yet established or clearly understood (comp. *Vatke*, l. c. pp. 263, 264).

<sup>15</sup> Judg. VIII. 23, 27. *Hengstenberg's* remarks (*Auth. des Pent.* II. 97), intended to prove that the ephod of Gideon was an imitation of that of the High-priest, are not convincing.

his house",<sup>1</sup> must be estimated in the same manner as his disparaging comment on Micah's images.

Aaron himself, according to a narrative embodied in the Book of Exodus, made during the absence of Moses a molten calf (עֲגֹל מִסֵּכָה) of gold, and declared, exactly like king Jeroboam, "Behold, these are thy gods, o Israel, that brought thee out (הַעֲלִיךָ) of the land of Egypt"; he is then reported to have built an altar before the image and to have proclaimed for the following day "a festival to the Lord" (חַג לַיהוָה).<sup>2</sup> It is a matter of course that the compilers of the second and fifth Books of the Pentateuch, writing at a very advanced period, taxed in terms of indignant rebuke the iniquity which, in their opinion, merited and almost caused the complete extirpation of the people, and the expiation of which required the destruction of 30,000 persons;<sup>3</sup> and authors of subsequent ages, imbued with the true spirit of theocracy, depicted Aaron's conduct as a forgetful abandonment of God, and a disgraceful exchange of His glory for the "similitude of an ox that eats grass."<sup>4</sup> But the historical fact remains undisputed that even men of good intentions, such as David and Aaron, were unaware of a wickedness when they represented Jehovah in a human form or by the figure of a beast. To this may be added the fact, proved and dwelt upon elsewhere, that the "heights" (בָּמוֹת) were deemed unobjectionable even by some pious and theocratic kings, and therefore left untouched by them as places of private and public worship;<sup>5</sup> from which it appears that the Temple of Jerusalem was originally not designed by David and Solomon to form an exclusive but only a central or national sanctuary;<sup>6</sup> till gradually other places of worship became to be considered as unlawful because dangerous to the purity and unity of faith.<sup>7</sup>

There was, however, in the eastern world scarcely a divinity adored or a religious rite performed which the Hebrews did not adopt, and retain with their own peculiar tenacity. They are, in several passages, summarily stated to have worshipped the gods of Egypt — not only at their early sojourn in that country<sup>8</sup> and in the time of their national existence in Canaan,<sup>9</sup> but even during their later stay in

<sup>1</sup> L. c. ver. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. XXXII. 1—6; comp. Neh. IX. 18, where the singular הָעֵלֶךְ is employed instead of the plural used in Exodus; see Comm. on Exod. pp. 574, 575; *Gramberg*, Rel. Id. I. 442—444, 447—450, 455—458, 505—510.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Exod. XXXII. 7—10, 20—28; Deut. IX. 12—16.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. CVI. 19, 20; Neh. IX. 18,

נִבְרָא וְנִצְּלָה; compare *Milton*, *Parad. Lost*, l. 482—487.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Ewald*, *Geschichte*, III. 110 ("daneben blieben andere Heiligthümer durch's ganze Land zerstreut in voller Freiheit bestehen").

<sup>7</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Josh. XXIV. 14; Ezek. XX. 7, 8; XXIII. 3, 8; see p. 24 note 6.

<sup>9</sup> Ezek. XVI. 26.

Egypt as exiles, in the seventh and sixth centuries<sup>10</sup> — and the gods of the Phœnicians, of the Aramaeans, the Amorites, and Philistines,<sup>11</sup> the abominations of Moab, Ammon and Edom,<sup>12</sup> of Assyria and Chaldaea.<sup>13</sup> The permanent establishment of a great portion of these idolatries is distinctly attributed to Solomon acting in deference to the propensities of his foreign wives.<sup>14</sup> For the tendency of the Hebrews towards heathen worship was strengthened by the matrimonial alliances perpetually contracted with neighbouring tribes<sup>15</sup> to such an extent that they could hardly be considered as an unmixed race<sup>16</sup> and the pure descendants of the patriarchs.<sup>17</sup> We are enabled to form an estimate of the astounding multiplicity of their pagan usages by the statements of their prophets and historians, of which we shall attempt to give a brief review. — Above all prevailed the adoration of the heavenly bodies.

The worship of BAAL (בַּעַל) was not only most extensively cultivated, to the utter neglect of Jehovah, from early times up to so late an age as that of Jeremiah,<sup>18</sup> but was frequently attended with the utmost pomp and splendour;<sup>19</sup> the god was honoured with statues<sup>20</sup> and temples,<sup>21</sup> altars,<sup>22</sup> fumigations,<sup>23</sup> and sacrifices, sometimes even of men;<sup>24</sup> he was adored with genuflexions and kisses,<sup>25</sup> even in the very Temple at Jerusalem,<sup>26</sup> and so universal was the idolatry that at the time of Jehu and Elisha not more than 7,000 Israelites were found

<sup>10</sup> Jer. XLIV. 8; comp. ver. 1; Ezra IX. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Judg. VI. 10; X. 6; 2 Chr. XXVIII. 23; Ezra IX. 1. <sup>12</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 1, 7, 8.

<sup>13</sup> Ezek. XVI. 28, 29.

<sup>14</sup> See 1 Ki. I. c.; though the Chronist suppresses this fact; comp. 2 Chr. IX; see *infra*.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Jud. III. 5, 6 ("and the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites; and they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods"); XIV. 1, 2; Ruth I. 4; 1 Ki. XI. 1—3; Ezra X. 2 *sqq.* 10 *sqq.*; Mal. II. 11; Neh. XIII. 23—27.

<sup>16</sup> Ezra IX. 1, 2 ("they have taken of their daughters for themselves and for their sons; so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of foreign lands; yea, the hand

of the princes and rulers has been chief in this trespass"), 14; Neh. I. c.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Falke*, I. c. p. 257.

<sup>18</sup> Judg. II. 11, 13; III. 7; VI. 25—32; VIII. 33; X. 6, 10; 1 Sam. VII. 4; XII. 10; 1 Ki. XVI. 31, 32; XVIII. 19; 2 Ki. III. 2; X. 18—28; XI. 18; XVII. 16; 2 Chr. XXIV. 7; XXVIII. 2; Hos. II. 15, 19; Jer. VII. 9; IX. 13; XI. 13, 17; XXIII. 27; etc.

<sup>19</sup> Hos. II. 10, 15.

<sup>20</sup> מַצֵּבֹת, 2 Ki. III. 2; X. 26, 27; XI. 18; XVIII. 4; XXIII. 14; 2 Chr. XIV. 2; etc. <sup>21</sup> 1 Ki. XVI. 32; 2 Ki. X. 21.

<sup>22</sup> Judg. VI. 25; 2 Chr. XXXIV. 4; etc.

<sup>23</sup> Hos. II. 15; Jer. VII. 9; XI. 13; XXXII. 29.

<sup>24</sup> Jer. XIX. 5; comp. 1 Ki. XVIII. 26 (on Jer. XXXII. 35 see Sect. XXIII. *init.*); comp. *Plin.* Hist. Nat. XXXVI. 5 (*supra* p. 327 note 20); *Creuzer*, Symb. I. 39; II. 457. <sup>25</sup> 1 Ki. XIX.

18; see *infra*. <sup>26</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 4.

grapes and pome-granates in his hands, as symbols of generation not unfrequently drawn by bulls<sup>9</sup> — a being utterly incompatible with the existence of Jehovah, the Author and Lord of the Universe.

**ASHERAH** or **ASHTAROTH**, the Phoenician goddess **ASHTARTE**, in almost every respect, the counterpart of Baal, with whom she was generally worshipped in conjunction,<sup>12</sup> and hence bore also the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Ki. XIX. 18; comp. XVIII. 19; 2 Ki. X. 18—28.

<sup>2</sup> מלך קרן king of the town, δ πολιοῦχος θεός; (comp. *Aeschyl.* Sept. 271; Suppl. 1020; see also *Creuzer*, Symb. II. 451).

<sup>3</sup> מלך, Isai. XLVI. 1; Jer. L. 2; LI. 44; Bel and the Dragon; comp. *Herod.* I. 181—183; *Strabo* XVI. i. 5, 18; also *Plaut.* Poenul. V. ii. 67 (bel, see *infra*). On the connection between Belus and Merodach, see *Sir Henry Rawlinson*, On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians, in *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, I. 629. <sup>4</sup> Comp. *Diod. Sic.* XX. 14; *Cic.* N. D. III. xvi. 42; frequently perhaps because Baal was, like Hercules, represented with a lion's skin and a club; hardly because he was the god of commerce, that is מלך (1 Ki. X. 15; Ezek. XVII. 4; XXVII. 3, 13,

*Comment.* über den Jesaia, II. 3 *Wette*, Archäol. § 232a note c.

<sup>6</sup> Hence he is in Phoenician inscriptions represented as מלך חמון *Monum. phoenic.* p. 170; *Vorre Hebr. Handwörterbuch* p. XXII was also termed “king” or “heaven”, *Belsamem* (מלך שמים) *Plaut.* Poenul. I. c.; comp. *Die punischen Texte im Poenu Plautus*, pp. 129, 130. On Melchior the Sun see *Euseb.* Pr. Ev. III.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Movers*, Phoen. I. *Müller*, Archäologie der Kunst,

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Gesen.* Monum. Phoen. 23. <sup>9</sup> *Lucian*, Syr. De.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Selden*, De Diis Syris II. c. 1, pp. 193—230; *Fatke*, R. A. T. I. pp. 365—371; *C.* Symbol. II. 443—452; *Braun*, 356—359.

lation *Becltis*, the supreme female divinity in the Assyrian Pantheon, "the mother of the gods" or "the great goddess", or "queen of the lands", sometimes called the wife of Asshur, but more safely to be taken as the wife of Bel-Nimrud, the second member of the governing triad of Assyrian gods;<sup>13</sup> for she was the goddess of the moon,<sup>14</sup> and appears in inscriptions under the name *Tanis* (𐎲𐎶𐎵) or the Persian Artemis, and as the goddess of war and the chase.<sup>15</sup> She was therefore called "the queen of heaven"<sup>16</sup> or *Urania*,<sup>17</sup> and represented either with a woman's head, or the head of a bull, the emblem of royalty,<sup>18</sup> and with horns,<sup>19</sup> generally three, in the form of the crescent,<sup>20</sup> and later a star between them; for she was Venus as planet,<sup>21</sup> or in the Babylonian mythology *Ishtar*, "queen of the land", the "queen of all the gods", "the beginning or mistress of heaven and earth", and especially "goddess of war, battle, and of the chase", the "queen of victory", the "fortunate or happy";<sup>22</sup> she was the passive or female principle of conception and birth,

<sup>13</sup> She bears the name *Mulita* (𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵) or *Enuta* in Babylonian, and *Billa* (𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵, *Bēlith*) or *Billa Nipruta* in Assyrian, that is *lady* or *queen*. Comp. *Rawlinson*, l. c. pp. 589, 603—605, 625, 626.

<sup>14</sup> *Lucian*, *Syr. Dea*, c. 4 (Ἀστάρτη δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι).

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Creuzer*, *Symb.* II. 356; *Braun*, l. c. II. 192—195.

<sup>16</sup> 𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵; so also by *Jeremiah* (VII. 18; XLIV. 17—19).

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Herodian*, V. vi. 4, Αἰθρὺς μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοίνικες δὲ Ἀστροάρχην — i. e. 𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵, or *Ashtarte* — σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες; *Dion Cass.* LXXIX. 12, Οὐρανίαν τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων; *Horat.* *Carm. Sacc.* 35, 36, *Siderum regina bicornis* . . . *Luna*.

<sup>18</sup> *Euseb.* *Praep. Ev.* I. x. 21 (ἡ δὲ Ἀστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρου); comp. *Creuzer*, *Symb.* II. 393.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. the town 𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵 (Gen. XIV. 5).

<sup>20</sup> Comp. *Milton*, *Paradise Lost*, I. 439, 442, *Ashtarte*, Queen of Heaven, with crescent horns . . . In *Sion* also not unsung.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. Ἀστὴρ, 𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵; Pers. ستاره;

Assyr. *Ishtar*; *Suidas* sub Ἀστάρτη ἡ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν Ἀφροδίτη λεγομένη, ἐκ τοῦ ἄστρου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν πεποιήκοσιν, αὐτῆς γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἑωσφόρον μυθολογοῦσιν; *Cic.* *Nat. Deor.* III. 23, *Quarta* — *Venus* — *Syria* *Cyproque* *concepta*, quae *Astarte* vocatur, quam *Adonidi* nupsisse proditum est; *Euseb.* *Praep. Ev.* I. 10; *Augustin.* *Civ. D.* II. 3 (*Berecynthia mater omnium*); *Hammer*, *Fundgruben des Orients*, III. 275; *Gesenius*, *Thesaur.* II. 1062, 1083; see, however, *Münter*, *Rel. der Babylonier*, pp. 215 *sqq.* Yet by the Romans she was not only identified with *Juno* (*Augustin.* *Quaest. XVI.* in *Judic.*, *Juno* sine dubitatione a *Poenis* *Astarte* vocatur), but understood as a chaste virgin, and called *Coelestis virgo* (*Augustin.* *Civ. D.* II. 4; comp. *Tertull.* *Apologet.* c. 23), *Virginal Numen* (*August.* l. c. II. 26), *Coelestis* (*August.* *Enarrat.* in *Ps.* LXII), or *Vesta* (*August.* *Civil. Dei* IV. 10; comp. *Münter*, *Rel. der Karth.* 30, 31); while again she was often represented as an hermaphrodite and sometimes bearded (*Selden*, l. c. pp. 239, 240, *Münter*, l. c. pp. 35, 36; *Creuzer*, *Symb.* II. 334, 335).

<sup>22</sup> *Asurah*, like 𐎠𐎤𐎶𐎵, see *infra*. Comp. *Rawlins.* l. c. pp. 604, 634—637;

although admitting that Ishtar is in some localities not clearly distinguished from Beltis, he supposes the former to correspond to Venus, the latter to Rhea or Cybele of the Greeks. The Babylonian Ishtar seems to answer to the Assyrian Nana.

<sup>1</sup> מלדחא, she who causes to bring forth children (Rawlinson, l. c. p. 605, considers *Múlitta* to be the Assyrian Mul, equivalent to Bel, and interprets it therefore *lady*, like Bilita); in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar and elsewhere she is termed "queen of fecundity" (Rawlinson, l. c. pp. 603, 604). אֲשֶׁרָה also, from אֲשֶׁר to be happy or prosperous, especially with regard to offspring, has probably a similar meaning; comp. עֲשֶׂהְרִיחַ Deut. XXVIII. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. XLIV. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Exod. XXXIV. 13; 2 Ki. XVII. 10; Mic. V. 13; see also Judg. II. 13; VI. 25; X. 6; 1 Sam. VII. 3, 4; XII. 10; XVI. 33; XVIII. 19; 1 Ki. XV. 13 (where the Vulg. renders אֲשֶׁרָה by Priapus, ne esset princeps in sacris Priapi et in luco ejus, as in 2 Chr. XV. 16); XVIII. 19; 2 Ki. XIII. 6; XVII. 16:

filiarum, antequam jun-  
comp. Heyne, De Bab-  
gioso instituto, ut muli  
templum prostarent, an  
Comanensi (in vol. XVI.  
Commentationes); Hir-  
len, pp. 17—29. Some  
Movers, Gramberg, Hü-  
verf. der Israel. pp. 13  
schutz (Mos. R. I. 300;  
385), and others, have  
אֲשֶׁרָה and עֲשֶׂהְרִיחַ as  
deities, and described the  
*Virgo Coelestis* with a p  
service; but in the Old T  
are undoubtedly identic  
placed in juxtaposition  
with אֲשֶׁרָה (Judg. III. 7  
XVI. 32, 33; 2 Ki. XVII  
XXIII. 4), and with אֲשֶׁרָה  
13; 1 Sam. VII. 4; XI  
אֲשֶׁרָה and עֲשֶׂהְרִיחַ are  
tioned together in any of  
frequent enumerations of  
(comp. אֲשֶׁרָה and אֲשֶׁרָה  
8; XXVII. 9; 2 Chr. XXXI  
אֲשֶׁרָה is also the statue  
VII 5. XII 2. P. 1. 1. 1. 1.



to that of Ashtarte, because also requiring the chastity of virgins as an offering to the deity.<sup>7</sup>

Together with Baal and Ashtarte, the Hebrews are, in the later times of the monarchy, usually stated to have adored ALL THE HOST OF HEAVEN,<sup>8</sup> that is, all the sidereal bodies, comprising Sabaeism in its widest extent, whence Jehovah was also called "the God of hosts";<sup>9</sup> and that service was often performed on the flat roofs of houses arranged for the purpose and provided with altars.<sup>10</sup> The Sun (שֶׁשֶׁשׁ) particularly, called in Assyria "the regent of the heavens and earth", "the great mover", or "destroyer of the enemies",<sup>11</sup> received divine honours.<sup>12</sup> Though sometimes invoked without images,<sup>13</sup> he was revered chiefly by statues or pillars (מַצֵּבֹת), probably of the form of the cone or of the obelisk, the common symbol of the rising flame,<sup>14</sup> and frequently placed on the altars of Baal,<sup>15</sup> or by carriages and horses, which were kept in the sanctuaries and found access even to the Temple at Jerusalem;<sup>16</sup> and in imitation of the Mithras worship of the Persians, the Israelites prostrated themselves before the rising orb, turning their backs to the Temple and their faces to the east;<sup>17</sup> they adopted during these acts even the curious

<sup>7</sup> It has been plausibly supposed that the name *Venus* is traceable to *Benoth* (בְּנוֹת), whose worship was, at an early time, disseminated from Carthage and other parts of Africa to the shores of Italy; see *Des Brosses*, *Hist. de la Républ. Rom.* I. 113; II. 21; *Hirt*, l. c. pp. 25, 26. Rawlinson (l. c. p. 630) identifies *Succoth Benoth* with *Zirbanit*, the wife of Bel-Merodach, and therefore styled the queen of Babylon; but he seems himself to be aware of the precarious nature of that conjecture.

<sup>8</sup> כָּל צְבָאוֹת שָׁמַיִם, 2 Ki. XVII. 16; XXI. 3, 5; XXIII. 4, 5, 11; Zeph. I. 5; Jer. VIII. 2; XIX. 13.

<sup>9</sup> יְדוּהָה צְבָאוֹת (1 Sam. I. 3, 11; IV. 4; XV. 2; etc. etc.) or אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת (2 Sam. V. 10; Ps. LXXXIX. 9; comp. LXXX. 5, 8, 15, 20); comp. *Fatke*, l. c. p. 386.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 12; comp. Zeph. I. 5; Isai. LXV. 3; Jer. XIX. 13; XXXII. 29; see also *Strabo*, XVI. iv. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Rawlinson*, l. c. pp. 609, 610.

<sup>12</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 5; Jer. VIII. 2; where sun and moon (יָרֵחַ) are joined; comp. also Job XXXI. 26, 27; Deut. IV. 19.

<sup>13</sup> *Lucian*, *Syr. D. c.* 34; see *supra* pp. 17, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Tacit.* *Hist.* II. 3 (alluding to the Ashtarte at Paphos), simulacrum deae, non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens; *Herodian.* V. 3; *Plin.* H. N. XXXVI. 8 or 14 (trabes ex eo fecere Reges... obeliscos vocantes, Solis numini sacratos). It must be left undecided whether שֶׁשֶׁשׁ is "the god of Chemnis" in Upper Egypt or Khem, as Braun (l. c. I. 356) contends, in conformity with his scheme of reducing all mythology to an Egyptian source or primitive myth.

<sup>15</sup> Isai. XVII. 8; XXVII. 9; Jer. XLIII. 13; Ezek. VI. 4, 6; 2 Chr. XIV. 4; XXXIV. 4, 7; comp. Lev. XXVI. 30.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 11; comp. p. 89 note 12; *Selden*, l. c. p. 325; *Münter*, *Rel. d. Karth.* pp. 13, 14. The horses served probably, as was the case in Persia, for a kind of royal oracle. It has hence been conjectured that the great mass of the people considered the Temple to have been dedicated specially to the worship of the Sun. <sup>17</sup> Ezek. VIII. 16.

and behold, every form of creeping things and abominable all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the about" <sup>6</sup> — that is — the Scorpion, Cancer, Bull, and other analogous to the representations of the zodiac at Tentyra. <sup>7</sup>

To this cycle of idolatrous worship belongs the adoration muz (מז), the Syrian name of ADONIS (אדון), the beloved or Venus, and the god of fruitfulness. When in the autumn Adonis <sup>8</sup> assumes a red colour in consequence of the red dust by the equinoctial gales from the Lebanon, where is its people of Byblus, among whom Adonis was said to be born supposed that colour to be owing to the blood of this hero who boar on the chace, and flowing into the river. Then they die death with weeping and beating of their breasts and every moment grief, and offered to him funeral sacrifices; but the following day they believed he had risen from the dead and had ascended into heaven and then their grief was changed into festive joy and jubilation. <sup>9</sup> This legend is reflected in the cosmic myth, that Adonis and Ashtarte rule together from the vernal to the autumn causing all vegetation to bloom and thrive; while in the winter nature stands bare and lifeless, Adonis dies; and then in

<sup>1</sup> דַּעֲמָאֵל הַמְּוֹרָה הַזֵּה, ver. 17.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ράβδον μυρρινῶν λεπτῶν δέσμεν κατέχοντες, *Strabo*, XV. iii. 14, p. 733.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Zend-Avesta*, II. p. 204 (*Kleuker*, "those who, with the barsom in their hands sing praises to the gods").

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Fatke*, l. c. p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> At present Nahr-Ibra *Strabo*, XVI. ii. 19, p. 755

<sup>9</sup> See *Lucian*, *Syr. Dec.* *Ovid*, *Ars Amat.* l. 75 (nec

also, at the northern gate of the Temple, "the women were sitting and weeping for Tammuz";<sup>10</sup> while, in the spring, joyful festivals were celebrated, especially by women offering their chastity. This myth recurs, with slight modifications, in many heathen religions; Osiris was mourned in Egypt,<sup>11</sup> Adonis in Phoenicia, Tammuz in Babylon, Attes in Asia Minor, Dionysos and Linos in Greece, and Balder in the countries of the north;<sup>12</sup> and though the rejoicing followed immediately upon the lament, the cosmic meaning of the worship cannot be mistaken.<sup>13</sup>

Baal was, however, worshipped under various special forms and attributes; he was revered as Baal-Berith, Baal-Peor, and Baal-Zebub, and he returns in the shape of the Phoenician Moloch and of other kindred idols.

BAAL-BERITH (בַּעַל בְּרִית) was "the lord or protector of covenants",<sup>14</sup> probably the patron of the confederacy of the Phoenician towns; his service was in Palestine apparently well established and widely spread;<sup>15</sup> his temples were so richly endowed, that, on particular emergencies, they furnished sums of money to be employed for public purposes;<sup>16</sup> they

הַנָּשִׁים יֹשְׁבוֹת מִבְּנֵי אֶחָדָהֶֿמָּחָּ עֶשְׂרִים  
Ezek. VIII. 14; comp. Epistle of Jeremy  
(Baruch VI), verss. 31, 32; see also  
Milton, Parad. Lost, I. 446—457, where  
the poet distinguishes between Tam-  
muz and Adonis. The Jewish opinions  
on the origin of the custom and of the  
name Tammuz see *D. Kimchi* Rad.  
Lib. s. v. אֲמָרִים כִּי הָיָה עוֹשֶׂה צֶלֶם  
וּמַמְלָאִים עֵינָיו עָפָר וְהָיָה עוֹשֶׂה אֵשׁ  
מִתַּחְתָּיו וְהָעוֹפָרָת נָמַס וְדוֹמָה שְׂרָא  
בֹּכָה וְכִי.

<sup>10</sup> *Herod.* II. 40, 61; comp. *Lucian*,  
Syr. D. c. 7; see *Creuzer*, Symbol. II.  
394, 450; *Bähr*, Symb. II. 230.

<sup>11</sup> See esp. *Macrobius*, Saturn. I. 21;  
comp. *Chwolson*, Sabb. II. 27, 206;  
*Braun*, I. c. I. 59, 60; II. 103—115.

<sup>12</sup> This has sometimes been denied,  
as by *Braun* (I. c. II. 104), *Lobeck*  
(*Aglaophamus*, p. 691), *Keightley* (*My-  
thol. of Anc. Greece and Italy*, p. 109);  
comp., however, *Macrobius*, Sat. I. 21,  
Adonis quoque solem esse non dubi-  
tatur, inspecta religione Assyriorum...  
lucens inducitur Dea (Venus), quod Sol  
annuo gressu per duodecim signorum

ordines pergens partem quoque hemi-  
sphaerii inferioris ingreditur... et cum  
est in inferioribus signis... lugere cre-  
ditur Dea tamquam Sole . . . a Pro-  
serpina retento etc.; *Apollod.* III. xiv.  
4; *Plut.* Is. 69; see *Selden*, De Diis  
Syris, Syntagm. II. c. 11, pp. 330—340;  
*Deyl.* Obs. S. III. 506—542; especially  
*Creuzer*, Symb. II. 417—436, 473—  
483. The Jews still keep the fifteenth  
day of the month of Shevat, which is  
the fifth month in the civil year, as a  
holiday (about the middle of February)  
and call it "the New-year of the trees"  
(רֵאשִׁית הַשָּׁנָה לָאֵילָן), because they be-  
lieve that then the fresh sap enters the  
stem, and the regeneration of nature  
begins (*Mishn.* Rosh Hashan. I. 1).

<sup>14</sup> Analogous to *Zeus ὅρκιος* or *Deus  
fidius* (*Zeus Πίστιος*); it is scarcely  
*allied Baal*, i. e. Baal with whom a  
covenant has been made (*Movers* and  
others), nor the "Baal of Berytus, the  
Phoenician town"; comp. *Bochart*,  
Phal. p. 775; *Creuzer*, Symb. II. 413.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Judg.* VIII. 33.

<sup>16</sup> *Judg.* IX. 4; comp. ver. 27.

desert already been smitten on account of it by a fearful pestilence, which destroyed 24,000 worshippers,<sup>5</sup> and they seem to have shameful practices in later periods.<sup>6</sup>

BAAL-ZEBUB (בַּעַל זְבוּב), "the god of the flies", the obnoxious insects, and therefore protector against pestilence to Zeus Apomyios worshipped in Elis<sup>7</sup> or to the Heros Myia by the Arcadians,<sup>8</sup> was honoured by the Philistines, and temple in Ekron, to which Ahaziah, the king of Israel, sent

<sup>1</sup> Judg. IX. 46—49.

<sup>2</sup> Num. XXIII. 28; Deut. XXXIV. 6; like Jupiter Olympius a. o.; comp. *Theodoret.* in Ps. CV. 28; *Suidas* sub Βαυλαργώρ (Βαλ δ Κρόνος, Φαργώρ δ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἐτιμαῖτο); *G. J. Vossius*, De Orig. et Prog. Idol. II. 7.

<sup>3</sup> And therefore often compared to the Greek Priapus (*Hieron.* ad Hos. IX. 10; contra *Jovin.* I. 12; etc.). It is unsafe to conclude from Ps. CVI. 28 (וַיֹּאכְלוּ זִבְחֵי מֵתִים) that his sacrifices were offerings to the dead.

<sup>4</sup> Num. XXV. 6. Hence some explain the name בַּעַל פֶּעַר "the god of opening", qui aperit vulvam; but Rashi (on Num. XXV. 3) ludicrously על שם שפוערץ לפניו פי המכעח ומציאין רעי (quod distendebant coram illo foramen

ματος, evidently reading and similarly Jerome (l. c. idolum tentiginis habens in summitate pellem, ut membri virilis ostenderetur), De Diis Syris, Synop. pp. 157—164); while of "the Baal of uncovering" (see *Talm. Sanhedr.* a. o.).

<sup>5</sup> Num. XXV. 3—6, 9; comp. Num. XXXI. 16; *J.*

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Hos. IX. 10; *J.* 31; see *infra*; *Creuzer*, §

<sup>7</sup> Ζεὺς Ἀπόμυιος (*Pa.* 2) or *Myiagros deus* (*Plin.* or 40, Elei — invocant deum muscarum multitudinem adferente).

in a serious illness;<sup>9</sup> though in later times he was understood as the satan or "the chief of the devils."<sup>10</sup>

MOLECH (מֹלֶכֶת), the detestable Phoenician deity and "the abomination" (יִצְחָק) of the Ammonites,<sup>11</sup> to whom children were constantly burnt,<sup>12</sup> was the destructive planet Saturn,<sup>13</sup> whose dreaded power benighted generations sought to appease by surrendering those they loved most fondly;<sup>14</sup> though later speculations conceived him as the impersonation of Time or the revolving Year which produces and destroys all things in a perpetual cycle, and therefore as the Sun himself, and like the Shiva of the Hindoos at once as the bestower and destroyer of life, and hence coinciding with Baal;<sup>15</sup> he was by the Ammonites called MILCOM (מִלְכָּם)<sup>16</sup> or MALCOM (מַלְכָּם),<sup>17</sup> and it was to this Ammonite form of the idol that Solomon dedicated a special place of worship<sup>18</sup> on the southern side of mount Olivet;<sup>19</sup> whereas the service of Molech

<sup>9</sup> 2 Ki. I. 1—6, 16; for Baal-Zebub was analogous to Ἡρακλῆς σωτήρ or ἀλεξίκακος; comp. Ἀπόλλων Ἐπιχοῦριος (Paus. VIII. xli. 5), Πάϊων (I. xxxiv. 2), Ἀκῆσιος (VI. xxiv. 5), Οὐλίος (Strab. XIV. i. 6, p. 635), Ἰατρόμαντις (Aesch. Eum. 62); see also Selden, l. c. Synt. II. c. 6, pp. 300—306; Münter, Rel. der Karth. p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Matth. XII. 24; Luke XI. 15, 18.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 7; 2 Ki. XXIII. 10.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Wisd. XII. 4—6 (πράσσειν... τελετὰς ἀνοσίους, τέκνων τε φονίας ἀνελήμονας κτλ.); XIV. 23 (ἡ γὰρ τεκνοφόνους τελετὰς κτλ.); Philo, Abrah. c. 33 (II. 27, βαρβαρικὰ δὲ ἔθνη μέχρι πολλοῦ παιδοκτονίαν ὡς δεινὸν ἔργον καὶ θεοφιλὲς προσέτιθαι); Plat. Min. 5, p. 315 C; the verse of Ennius—Poeni sunt solitei sos sacrificare puellōs (or another reading, Ille suos Divois mos sacrificare puellōs; see Fragm. Ennii in Annal. Libr. I, ed. Hesselii, p. 26); Sil. Ital. IV. 767—789; Curt. IV. iii. 23; Plut. De sera Numin. Vindict. c. 6; Augustin, De Civ. Dei VII. 19; comp. Plin. H. N. XXXVI. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Probably מֶלֶךְ, in Am. V. 26 (comp. Acts VII. 43), Syr. מֶלֶךְ, Arab. كَيوان, called "the great misfortune", stella nocens (Lucan, Phars. I. 652), grave

sidus (Propert. V. i. 84), sidus triste (Juven. VI. 569; comp. Tacit. Hist. V. 4, praecipua potentia stella Saturni), and worshipped in a black temple by priests in black robes; comp. Vitranga, Obs. Sacr. I. II. c. 1, pp. 239—267; Pfeiffer, Dub. Vexat. Cent. IV. 80, pp. 928—930; Gesen. Comm. ūb. d. Jesaia, II. 343, 344; Wiener, Real-Wört. II. 386—388; Rawlins. l. c. p. 620. That Moloch is Mercury (מֹלֶכֶת—מֶלֶךְ, the messenger; so Goodwin, Mos. et Aar. p. 633), is an etymological play; equally unfounded are the identifications of Moloch with Mars and Venus (Spencer, Legg. Ritt. II. xiii. 1).

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Macrob. Sat. I. 7; Deyling Obs. sacr. II. 36, pp. 444—456; etc.

<sup>15</sup> Jer. XIX. 5, see *supra* p. 358; comp. Macrob. Sat. I. 8; Münter, Rel. d. Karth. pp. 14, 15; Movers, Phoen. I. pp. 322 sqq; Hartung, Relig. und Mythol. der Griech. III. 21—31.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 5 (מִלְכָּם יִצְחָק), 33; 2 Ki. XXIII. 13, generally mentioned together with Chemosh of the Moabites (1 Ki. XI. 7, 33; 2 Ki. XXIII. 13), to whom he is probably akin in attributes.

<sup>17</sup> Jer. XLIX. 1, 3.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 5.

<sup>19</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 13.

was performed, at least in later times, in the valley of Hinnom at a spot called Topheth (תֹּפֶת).<sup>1</sup> The hideous idol was represented by a huge bull-headed but hollow statue of metal; when a fire had been kindled in the cavity, the child was laid into the outstretched and lowered hands of the figure, and was then by some mechanical contrivance made to roll into the blazing flames.<sup>2</sup> Caresses, kisses and promises were lavished upon the wretched child, to prevent its crying if this were possible, "lest a tearful victim be immolated";<sup>3</sup> and in order to drown every sound of agony, the act was accompanied by the din of flutes and drums.<sup>4</sup> Jewish writers<sup>5</sup> maintain that the hollow image of Moloch had seven distinct compartments or divisions, employed respectively for burning an offering of pigeons or turtle-doves, of a sheep

<sup>1</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 10; Jer. VII. 31; XIX. 6, 14. It has been supposed that the Topheth was only built by king Manasseh (*Ewald*, *Geschichte*, III. 367). It appears that Milcom and Molech are the same deity, though with national distinctions (comp. 2 Ki. XXIII. 10 and 13); and both were honoured with human sacrifices, though the Bible does not expressly mention this with respect to Milcom (comp. *Winer*, *Real-Wört.* II. 95, 96; *Ewald*, l. c. p. 100, proposes, without authority, to read also in ver. 7 of 1 Ki. XI, מִלְכָּם instead of מֶלֶךְ). But מֶלֶךְ is nowhere employed for מִלְכָּם: in Isai. LVII. 9 (וְחִשּׁוּרֵי לְמֶלֶךְ בְּשֵׁם), a human king can be understood (*and thou camest to the king with ointment*, that is, for a present, to conciliate his favour); the suffixes in מִלְכָּם (Isai. VIII. 21), מִלְכָּם (Am. V. 26; comp. Acts VII. 43), and מִלְכָּם (Zeph. I. 5), prove that the word is no proper noun, no *name* of a god, though it means deity, by way of appellative description; whence the Chaldean translator renders in most of these passages פֶּתֶר *idol*.

<sup>2</sup> *Diod. Sic.* XX. 14; the fire was kindled in the cavity (ὡς τὸν ἐκτεθείοντα τῶν παίδων . . . πίπτει εἰς τὸ χάσμα πλεῖρες πυρός), *not beneath it* (so among others *Rashi* on Jer. VII. 31, (וּמְסִיקֵן אוֹתוֹ מִתַּחַת); comp. also *Eurip.* *Iphigen.* Taur. 625, 626 — when

*Orestes* asked what death awaited him, *Iphigenia* replied, πῦρ ἱερὸν ἔχον χάσμα τ' εὐρωπὸν πέτρας.

<sup>3</sup> *Ne flebilis hostia imoletur* (*Minucius Felix*); comp. *Tertull.* *Apol.* c. 9 (et infantibus blandiebantur ne lacrymantes immolarentur).

<sup>4</sup> *Plut.* *De Superst.* c. 13. Hence some have curiously derived תֹּפֶת from תֹּף *cymbal*; comp. *Pfeiffer*, *Dub. Vexat.* *Centur.* IV. 20, pp. 803—805. Even the king of Dahomey does everything to keep the intended victims "in the best of humours", and therefore probably regales them with liquors (*Burton*, *Mission to Gelele*, I. 350; II. 32). "These men will allow themselves to be led to the slaughter like lambs" (l. c. I. p. 350).

<sup>5</sup> See *Yalkut Shimeoni* on Jer. VII. 31 (vol. II. p. 61c, ed. Frankf. 5469); the passage which is interesting may here be partially inserted, המולך היה צלם והיה לו שבע קנקלן או חדרים והוא לפניו מהם והיה פניו של עגל וידיו פשוטות . . . והיו מסיקין אותו מבפנים שהיה חלול וכל אדם ואדם לפי קרבנו נכנס כיצר כל מי שהיה לו עוף היה נכנס לקנקל ראשון מקריב צאן לשני שה לשלישי עגל לרביעי פר לחמישי שור לששי ומי שהיה מקריב בנו היו מכניסין אותו לשביעי והוא נושק . . . והיו מביאים תפלים ומקישים בהם בקול גבה כרי שלא יהא קולו של נער יוצא ואביו שומע ומיעזר הומים עליו.

or a goat (אֵז), a lamb (אֵז), a calf, a ram, a bull, and a child; but this description, the authenticity of which is not confirmed by any ancient testimony, was probably borrowed from the construction of the temple of Mithras and its seven gates corresponding to the seven planets, or is perhaps based on the circumstance that seven old temples stood originally in the valley of Hinnom.<sup>6</sup> The extent to which the rites of Moloch obtained among the Hebrews will be pointed out in the next section. It is probable that the Moabites and Amorites worshipped a deity akin to the nature of Moloch under the name of CHEMOSH (חִמּוֹשׁ),<sup>7</sup> who, on coins of Areopolis or Ar-Moab, is represented standing on a column of fire, with burning torches at his side.<sup>8</sup> Solomon built a sanctuary for him "on the mountain to the east of Jerusalem", that is, on mount Olivet.<sup>9</sup> And the idols ADAMMELECH (אֲדַמְמֶלֶךְ) and ANAMMELECH (אֲנַמְמֶלֶךְ), embodying the male and female power of the sun, were introduced into Canaan, in Shalmanassar's time, by the colonists from the Babylonian town Sepharvaim, that is, Sippara or Sephoris,<sup>10</sup> sacred to the sun, hence also called Heliopolis, and famous throughout the East; and those gods were honoured by the Hebrews likewise, who appeased them by the sacrifice of burnt children;<sup>11</sup> and they were therefore essentially equal to Moloch.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to these deities connected with Sabaeen idolatry, the Bible specially mentions a variety of other heathen gods worshipped by the Hebrews. From Egypt they adopted, besides the *cultus* of APIS

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Selden*, De Diis Syris, Synt. l. c. 6, p. 170; and in general pp. 167—192; *Goodwin*, Mos. et Aar. pp. 663 sqq.; *Carpzov*, Appar. Crit. pp. 86—92, and in general pp. 84—100; *Spencer*, Legg. Ritt. II. xiii. 1; *Grotius* on Deut. XVIII. 10; *Pfeiffer*, Dub. Vexat. Cent. IV. 80, pp. 930—933; *Münter*, Relig. der Karth. pp. 11, 12; *Braun*, l. c. I. pp. 350—352. Benjamin of Tudela's description of the image of the children of Ammon (שְׂקִיץ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן), at Djebail (גִּבְעַל), one day's journey from Tripoli (see p. 25 of the Hebrew text, p. 60 of the translation in Asher's edit.), does not refer to a statue of Moloch, but more probably to one of Baal.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 7, 33; 2 Ki. XXIII. 13; Jer. XLVIII. 7, 13; Judg. XI. 24: the Moabites are hence called "the people of Chemosh" (עַם כִּמּוֹשׁ), Num. XXI.

29; Jer. XXVIII. 46; comp. *Philo*, Alleg. III. 82 (l. p. 133), Χαμὸς ἐμνηστεύεται ὡς φιλαίφημα.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Eckhel*, Doctrin. Num. I. iii. 504; *Vatke*, l. c. p. 362.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 7; comp. 2 Ki. XXIII. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Gradually corrupted to Sivra and Sura, modern Mosäib.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 31.

<sup>12</sup> Adrammelech seems to signify *king of fire* (𐤀𐤁𐤓𐤌𐤍 Pers.); Rawlinson however proposes "the royal arranger" (*ediru* and *gamitu*); while he connects Anammelech with *Annil*, the name for the female power of the sun (like *gula*); comp. *Ghillany*, Menschenopfer, p. 130; *Gramberg*, Rel. Id. I. 516; *Gesen.* Jesai. II. 347, 348; *Rawlinson*, l. c. p. 611. The Talmud (Sanhedr. 63b) explains the idols by דְּפִדֵּי דְּסִידִּים, without foundation.



human hands, but a fish-stump — “sea-monster, upward m  
ward fish”<sup>6</sup> — worshipped by the Israelites through mai  
and so faithfully did they copy their heathen models tha  
even to the singular rite of “leaping over the threshold”  
temple, without treading upon it, a custom traced b  
historian to an alleged discomfiture of the idol at Ashdo  
presence of the Ark of the Covenant.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lev. XVII. 7; 2 Chron. XI. 15  
(where the  $\text{דִּי־יָעֹשׂ}$  are coupled with  
the  $\text{דִּי־לָיִשׁ}$ , the figures of Apis).

<sup>2</sup> *Herod.* II. 42; *Strabo*, XVII. i. 19,  
40, pp. 802, 812 (*Μένδης, ὅπου τὸν*  
*Πᾶνα τιμᾶσι, καὶ τῶν ζῴων τράγον*);  
*Diod. Sic.* I. 88 (*τὸν δὲ τράγον ἀπε-*  
*θείωσαν, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι*  
*τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι τὸν Πρίαπον, διὰ*  
*τὸ γιγνητικὸν μόριον*); *Jablonski*,  
*Panth. Aegypt.* II. 7 (vol. I. pp. 281,  
282); *Spencer*, *Legg. Ritt.* I. II. c. 12;  
comp. *supra* p. 87. In some passages  
(as *Isai.* XIII. 21; XXXIV. 14)  $\text{דִּי־יָעֹשׂ}$  are  
*satyrs* or *demons* inhabiting deserts  
and forests, “gespenstische, neckische  
Wüstengeister” (*Ewald*, *Alterth.* 230),  
believed to have the form of goats;  
comp. *Bochart*, *Hieroz.* II. 643; *Bauer*,  
*Gottesd. Verfass.* I. 294.

<sup>3</sup> See *Comm. on Genes.* pp. 117, 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen.* XVIII. 4 “the break in pieces

at all (comp. 2 Chr. XI  
author of the notice i  
Numbers obviously lo  
brazen serpent merel  
(comp. *Exod.* XVII. 11  
posed that that image  
tended by Moses as an e  
assistance during a se  
serpents, was later pe  
idol (comp. *De Wet*  
p. 361; *Gramberg*, *Re*  
518; *Vatke*, l. c. p. 79

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. V. 4; perh  
ing with the Greek *Δε*  
*γάτις* (*Strabo*, XVI. i. 2  
*γάτιν δὲ τὴν Ἀθάραν*  
*κετὼ δὲ αὐτὴν Κτησίας*  
*Symb.* II. 391—410, et

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Judg.* XVI.  
1—4; 1 Macc. X. 83, 84  
l. c. II. c. 3, pp. 261—

<sup>8</sup> *Gen.* XVIII. 4 “the break in pieces

THE TERAPHIM (תִּרְפִּים),<sup>10</sup> idols of human form,<sup>11</sup> though perhaps of smaller size,<sup>12</sup> were probably introduced from the countries of the Euphrates and Tigris;<sup>13</sup> the Hebrews, regarding them as tutelary deities, deemed them long as thoroughly compatible with the true worship of Jehovah, and therefore consulted them as a Divine oracle, like the Ark of the Covenant,<sup>14</sup> the Urim and Tummim, and the prophets.<sup>15</sup> But later, when purer religious notions prevailed, the Teraphim were naturally included in the general interdiction of idolatry; they were even denounced as abominations,<sup>16</sup> perhaps just because they were almost viewed by the people as a legitimate means of religious devotion, and had in the lapse of centuries taken such a powerful hold upon the national mind, that they remained in favour at so late a period as that of the prophet Zechariah.<sup>17</sup>

In the times of the declining monarchy, the Israelites were still more infected with the superstitions of the Assyrians and Babylonians, with whom they were brought into contact not only in the regions of the Euphrates but also in Palestine itself through the Assyrian settlers thither transplanted by Shalmanassar.<sup>18</sup> Besides the service of the "Tents of the maidens" and of Adrammelech and Anammelech (see *supra*), they did homage to NERGAL (נֶרְגַל)<sup>19</sup> of the Cuthites, in inscriptions also constantly called the god of Cutha<sup>20</sup> and Tiggaba,<sup>21</sup> the Ba-

<sup>10</sup> Whether allied to the Seraphim (שֶׁרָפִים), or meaning images generally connected with שָׂרַף to *melt* or *purge by fire*; Sept. *αἰδωλα* (though in 1 Sam. XIX. 13, 16 peculiarly *νευροτάγια*, and in Hos. III. 4, *δῆλος* i. c. אִמֹר); Ewald (*Alterth.* p. 232) conjecturally *face* or *mask* (أشرف) with which he supposes the images to have been provided; see *Comm. on Gen.* pp. 554, 555.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Sam. XIX. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Gen. XXXI. 34.

<sup>13</sup> Gen. XXXI. 19, 30; Ezek. XXI. 26.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 30 note 1.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Judg. XVII. XVIII; Hos. III. 4; Zech. X. 2; comp. Ezek. XXI. 26.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 24; 1 Sam. XV. 23.

<sup>17</sup> X. 2; see also 2 Ki. XXIII. 24; comp. *supra* p. 355; comp. *Selden*, *De Diis Syris*, Synt. l. c. 2, pp. 96—123; *Ewald*, *Alterth.* pp. 23, 232.

<sup>18</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 30—41; esp. ver. 40.

<sup>19</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 30, perhaps signifying

"the great hero", and occurring in the proper noun Nergal-shaluzur (i. e. Nergal protects the king) or *Νεργαλή-σαρος*. His earliest title was *Va-gur* or *Va-hur*, of uncertain meaning; he is also designated *si-du* (ancestor), "the brother", and "the great brother".

<sup>20</sup> The ruins of Cutha, about 12 miles from Babylon, were in 1846 discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson; Cutha is in Arabic writings very commonly represented as the town of Nimrod; there, it was supposed, Abraham was thrown by the king into the fire, and an old and highly revered shrine marks still the spot where the event is alleged to have taken place; comp. *Rawlins.* l. c. p. 632.

<sup>21</sup> Ptolemy calls it *Αἰδουσία* (V. xx. 4), Pliny Digba (VI. 26 or 31); the god of Tiggaba, or Nergal, is on inscriptions also called *Aria*, that is, lion (לֵא), *Ares* (Mars).

of the people of Hamath or Epiphania,<sup>4</sup> of whose nature we possess no reliable information;<sup>5</sup> to NIBHAZ (נִבְחָז) of who was probably the god of darkness or the evil demon, his in the lowest depths of the infernal abyss, while his throne on the surface of the upper world;<sup>7</sup> to TARTAK (תַּרְתָּק), also the Avites,<sup>8</sup> probably not differing much from Nibhaz, likewise supposed to be the lord of darkness, and, whether Saturn or Mars, to be fatal as a planet;<sup>9</sup> to the god of I (יָ), equivalent to Baal or Bel, the planet Jupiter, the bestower of blessings,<sup>10</sup> and the goddess MENI (מְנִי), corresponding to the preceding deity regarded as the source of every bounteousness,<sup>11</sup> and like him honoured with lectisternia by the "prepared a table to Gad and filled the goblet for Meni."<sup>12</sup>

Now all these idols, whether expressly mentioned or allusions, were worshipped, under the guidance of a num-

<sup>4</sup> The Mendaean name for the planet Mars is still *Nerig*.

<sup>2</sup> The Talmudical interpretation of Nergal by cock (רִנְנָל, *Talm. Sanhedr.* l. c.) is untenable, although Babylonian relics represent priests in the attitude of prayer or sacrifice before a cock on an altar (comp. *Layard, Niniv. and Babyl.* pp. 538, 539); but it is a fanciful combination to identify Nergal with "Typhon Ares" or "Ares Ahri-man" or "the Satan himself" (*Braun, l. c.* II. 19), a conjecture contradicted

<sup>5</sup> The Talmud (*l. c.*) calls him קַרְחָא *hircus calvus*; comp. *den, l. c.* II. 9. pp. 327—

<sup>6</sup> 2 Ki. l. c. ver. 31.

<sup>7</sup> The Talmud (*l. c.*), observing the word to the root נִבְחָ, proposes Nibhaz to be a deity of a dog, which animal indeed some Syrian divi-

<sup>8</sup> 2 Ki. l. c.

<sup>9</sup> The Talmud (*l. c.*) comp. *Gesen. Jesai.* II. 3.

<sup>10</sup> السعد الاكبر, *den*

hood<sup>13</sup> specially appointed,<sup>14</sup> by images of wood and stone,<sup>15</sup> and later<sup>16</sup> of gold and silver,<sup>17</sup> or by statues (מַצִּבּוֹת)<sup>18</sup> or pillars with an emblem of some deity,<sup>19</sup> by sacred stones or *Bactylia* (*Bactylia*) placed on the road and public thoroughfares and poured over with libations of wine and oil,<sup>20</sup> and by Memorial-stones<sup>21</sup> most likely provided with superstitious figures or emblems, on which the worshippers prostrated themselves;<sup>22</sup> till finally the various images themselves, and not the idols they represented, were by the ignorant multitude looked upon as powerful beings able to save or to ruin;<sup>23</sup> they were invoked with sacrifices and incense,<sup>24</sup> libations<sup>25</sup> and cake-offerings,<sup>26</sup> with prostrations and kisses;<sup>27</sup> they were honoured by processions and dan-

<sup>13</sup> Called כְּסָרִים, 2 Ki. XXIII. 5; Hos. X. 5; Zeph. I. 4; comp. 1 Ki. XVIII. 19.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Ki. XII. 32; XIII. 33; 2 Ki. XVII. 32; XXIII. 9, 20, probably with distinctive official garments (comp. 2 Ki. X. 22), those of Baal with red robes; comp. *Tertull.* De Pallio, c. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Hos. IV. 12; Jer. II. 27; X. 3, 4; Isai. XLIV. 12—17; etc.

<sup>16</sup> *Vatke*, l. c. p. 271.

<sup>17</sup> Isai. II. 20; XXXI. 7; etc.; comp. Judg. XVII. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Hos. X. 1; 1 Ki. XIV. 23; 2 Ki. XVII. 10; comp. XVIII. 4; XXIII. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. *Herod.* II. 10, τὰς δὲ στήλας . . . ἐν τῇ Ἰταλισταίῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὄριον ἰούσας, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνέοντα, καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. Gen. XXVIII. 18, 19; XXXI. 13, 45; XXXV. 14; comp. *Juven. Sat.* XVI. 38 (sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum); *Comm. on Gen.* pp. 523, 524; *Selden*, De Diis Syr. Synt. II. c. 1, p. 224; *Münter*, Rel. der Karth., pp. 72—75; *Creuzer*, Symb. IV. 639; *Nork*, Vergl. Mythol. pp. 234, 235; *Ewald*, Alterth. pp. 124, 234. The words 'כִּי בַחֲלֵקֵי נָחַל חֲלָקָה וְכִי' (Isai LVII. 6) appear to refer to the same custom; though a variety of other explanations has been proposed (comp. *Gesen.*, *Rosenm.*, *Knobel* and *Delit.* in loc.).

<sup>21</sup> מִצְבֵּי־חַיִּים or מִצְבֵּי־חַיִּים, Num. XXXIII. 52; Lev. XXVI. 1; comp. *Ezek.* VIII. 12. *Ebn Ezra* (on Lev. l. c.) remarks,

"this is the manner of worshipping Mercury" (מַרְקוּלִים), that is, by *Equal*, or, according to the Mishnah (*Sanh.* VII. 6), by throwing stones to the pile consecrated to him (הַזֶּה הָאֵשׁ לְמַרְקוּלִים) (וכִּי, comp. *Maimon.* De Noxiis VII. 1); *Targ. Onk.* and *Jonath.* בֵּית סְגֻרָהּ or בֵּית סְגֻרָהּ and אֵשׁ סְגֻרָהּ or אֵשׁ סְגֻרָהּ, *Targ. Jerus.* inaccurately סְגֻרָהּ and אֵשׁ סְגֻרָהּ, but Sept. λίθος σκοπός, hence *Saalschütz* (*Mos. Recht*, I. 384) "stone of contemplation", that is, a high stone for the observation of the stars (comp. *templum*), which is hardly probable.

<sup>22</sup> Lev. I. c., "neither shall you set up any memorial stone in your land to bow down upon it" (עֲלֶיהָ); comp. in general, *Spencer*, l. c. I. II. c. 22.

<sup>23</sup> Deut. IV. 28; Isai. II. 8; XLIV. 17; comp. *Hab.* II. 18, 19; *Ps.* CXV. 4—7; CXXXV. 15—17; 2 *Macc.* II. 2.

<sup>24</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 11; XXIII. 12; XXXII. 29; Isai. LXV. 3; Hos. IV. 13; Jer. III. 24; Zeph. I. 5; etc. etc.

<sup>25</sup> Jer. VII. 18; XIX. 13; XLIV. 17; etc.

<sup>26</sup> Jer. VII. 18 (כִּנּוּיִם); comp. Isai. LXV. 11.

<sup>27</sup> 1 Ki. XIX. 18; Hos. XIII. 2 (עָנָה לִי); that is, not merely by προσκύνησις equivalent with *adorare*, but literally by kissing; as *Cicero* (*Verr. Accus.* IV. 43 or 94) remarks with respect to the brazen image of Hercules in Agrigentum, that "its mouth

like the heaps in the valleys of the land

"The number of thy towns, o Judah, is the number of th  
like the number of the streets of Jerusalem you have set  
the abomination, altars to burn incense to Baal";<sup>13</sup> on hei  
often artificially constructed in the form of lofty cones,<sup>14</sup>  
even in valleys,<sup>15</sup> and provided with their proper altars,  
every high hill",<sup>17</sup> and on the roofs of houses, where  
temples<sup>18</sup> were built,<sup>19</sup> or tents were fixed and spread  
varied hangings and curtains,<sup>20</sup> in such vast number

and chin are a little worn away (attri-  
tius), because the people in addressing  
to it their prayers and thanks are ac-  
customed not only to worship but to  
kiss it" (non solum id venerari verum  
etiam osculari solent) — a classical  
parallel to the worn-off great toe of St.  
Peter's colossal statue in his church  
at Rome; comp. also Job XXXI. 27  
(וּחֶשֶׁק יָדַי לִפְּיָי).

<sup>1</sup> Comp. 1 Ki. XVIII. 26, where the  
dancing is, perhaps ironically, called  
"halting" (וַיִּפְסְחוּ).

<sup>2</sup> 1 Ki. XVIII. 28, see p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. XII. 16; comp. Josh. XXIII. 7.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Ki. I. 2; Jer. II. 8; Zech. X. 2;  
comp. Ezek. XXI. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Jer. V. 4, 5. <sup>6</sup> Jer. XLIV. 15, 17.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Chr. XXXVI. 14.

וּחֶשֶׁשׁ לְךָ רִמָּה בְּכָל (24  
(רַחֲיוּב), 31; though the word  
ceptibly took the general  
*altar* (Num. XXXIII. 52; e  
in itself an elevation o  
(comp. *Winer*, Real-W.L.  
l. c. I. II. c. 23).

<sup>17</sup> Hos. IV. 13; X. 1; 1  
Jer. II. 20; III. 6; VI. 13;  
VI. 3; XVIII. 11, 15; XX.  
IX. 12; 2 Sam. XV. 32  
XII. 31; XIV. 23; 2 Ki. X.  
4; XVII. 10, 32; XXI. 3  
13, 15; comp. Num. XX  
25, 29; XXXIII. 52; Jer  
comp. also Gen. XXII.  
Exod. III. 12; Ps. CXXI.

<sup>18</sup> בְּחַיֵּי בָמוֹת, 1 Ki. X  
XVII. 29, 32; XXIII. 29.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Ki. X. 10; 2 Chr. XXXVI. 14.

God of the Hebrews was described by the Aramaeans as "a god of the mountains and not a god of the valleys",<sup>21</sup> because the celestials were supposed to live on high mountains,<sup>22</sup> and to attend better to prayers addressed to them from an eminence;<sup>23</sup> "under every green tree", in groves and in gardens,<sup>24</sup> "because its shadow is pleasant",<sup>25</sup> or because the mysterious darkness of groves and forests impressed a childlike imagination with awe and marked them as the fit abodes of the deity;<sup>26</sup> on the corn-floors, where at harvest-time homage was paid to the gods of fertility, especially Ashtarte, by abusing her priestesses<sup>27</sup> for money and presents;<sup>28</sup> nay idols were revered in the very Temple of Jerusalem which was defiled by detestable images of every description,<sup>29</sup> by altars erected in both Courts to Baal, Ashera, and all the "host of heaven",<sup>30</sup> and by carriages and horses there kept and consecrated to the Sun,<sup>31</sup> and the sanctity of which was so recklessly despised that within its precincts the Hebrews erected houses of prostitute priests,<sup>32</sup> where the

Ezek. XVI. 16. It is, therefore, unnecessary to read in 2 Ki. I. c. כְּנָרִים for כְּרִים (*Ewald*, *Gesch.* III. 367).

<sup>21</sup> 1 Ki. XX. 23, 28.

<sup>22</sup> Comp. the *Albordsh* or "Mountain of Meeting" (הַר מוֹעֵד) of the Babylonians (*Isai.* XIV. 13), the *Meru* of the Hindoos, the *Tireh* of the Parsees, the *Kulku* of the Chinese, the *Caf* of the Arabians, the *Olympus* of the Greeks, etc. (see *Comm.* on *Gen.* p. 21).

<sup>23</sup> Comp. *Lucian*, *Syr. Dea* c. 18; see also *Herod.* I. 131; *Xenoph.* *Memor.* III. viii. 10 (ναοὶς γὰρ μὴν καὶ βωμοὶς χάραν ἔσθ' εἶναι προπεδιστάτην ἥτις ἐμφανεστάτη οὖσα ἀστιβεστάτη εἴη); *Gesen.* *Thes.* p. 185; Preface to *Gramberg's Relig. Idcen* I. pp. XIX—XXI. In *Tacit.* *Ann.* XIII. 57 not heights but places yielding salt are declared to be divine (comp. *supra* Sect. IX. 1).

<sup>24</sup> 1 Ki. XIV. 23; 2 Ki. XVI. 4; XVII. 10; *Isai.* I. 29; LXVI. 17; *Jer.* II. 20; III. 6, 13; *Ezek.* VI. 13; comp. *Gen.* XII. 6, 7; XIII. 18; XXI. 33; and *supra* pp. 17, 18; *Tacit.* *Germ.* 9, 39, 40; *Curt.* IV. 7 or 31; *Diod. Sic.* XVII. 50. The heathen temples were commonly surrounded by sacred groves convenient also, if not necessary, for the sacrificial meals; hence ἄλσος is both grove

and temple; comp. *Strab.* IX. ii. 33, p. 412 (ἄλσῃ καλοῦντες τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς); XIII. i. 65, p. 613; *Deut.* XVI. 21 (לֹא חָטַע לְךָ אֲשֶׁרָה כָּל־עֵץ מִצֵּל מִזֶּכֶּחַ יְדֵיהָ (אלהֶיךָ); see *Münter*, I. c. p. 10; *Hallmann*, I. c. p. 134. <sup>25</sup> *Hos.* IV. 13.

<sup>26</sup> *Proceritas silvae*, says *Seneca*, et secretum loci et admiratio umbræ in aperto tam densae atque continuæ fidem numinis facit (quoted by *Bauer*, *Gottesd. Verf.* II. 5).

<sup>27</sup> קְדִישֹׁת, *Hos.* IX. 1; comp. IV. 14, where קְדִישֹׁת (properly "dedicated women") is employed as a synonym of נְזִינִים.

<sup>28</sup> Which enlightened writers termed הֶזְנִין (Deut. XXIII. 19; Mic. I. 7; comp. *Ezek.* XVI. 31, 34; *Hos.* IX. 1); comp. *Spencer*, *Legg. Ritt.* II. cc. 35, 36.

<sup>29</sup> See p. 19 note 11.

<sup>30</sup> 2 Ki. XXI. 5; XXIII. 4, 12.

<sup>31</sup> 2 Ki. XXX. 11.

<sup>32</sup> קְדִישֹׁת, scorta virilia; 1 Ki. XIV. 24; XV. 12; XXII. 47; rendered by the English version "sodomites", by Luther "Hurer", by De Wette "Buhler" (*Vulg. effeminati*), which translations however express only one side of the notion; the wages of their shame are called מְזִיזָה "the reward of a dog" (*Deut.* XXIII. 19), a term indicative of the utmost contempt (comp. 1 Sam. XVII. 43; XXIV.

women wove tents for Ashtarte.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the prophets might justly declare that the whole land was polluted, and that the ground devoted to sanctity had become an abomination.<sup>2</sup>

Nor did the Hebrews remain strangers to the belief in demons and spectres; they professed their faith in the existence of SHEDIM (שְׁדִים),<sup>3</sup> that is,<sup>4</sup> *lords or masters*, implying various kinds of foreign deities or evil spirits,<sup>5</sup> and to them they offered not only sacrifices,<sup>6</sup> but slaughtered their children;<sup>7</sup> they attributed reality to the LILITH (לִילִית), a night-spectre (לִיל) dwelling in desolate ruins,<sup>8</sup> and, according to eastern legends, rushing forth in the dead of the night, in the form of a beautiful woman to seize children and to tear them to pieces.<sup>9</sup>

Besides, SOOTH-SAYING of every variety and description prevailed among the people from early ages up to the times of the Roman empire, when Jews wandered through the western provinces in quest of a modest livelihood by the practice of the art.<sup>10</sup> Their wise men or wizzards<sup>11</sup>

15; 2 Sam. III. 8; IX. 8; XVI. 9; 2 Ki. VIII. 13; Prov. XXVI. 11); comp. *Spencer*, l. c.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 7, see *supra*; comp. 1 Ki. XV. 12; XXII. 47; Deut. XXIII. 18, 19; those בְּחֵי הַקְדָּשִׁים probably correspond with the בְּכֹהֵן בְּנֵי of the Babylonians (see *supra* p. 360).

<sup>2</sup> Jer. II. 7, and the entire chapter, etc.

<sup>3</sup> From the root שָׁדַח to govern, to rule.

<sup>4</sup> Like שְׁדִים; comp. Arab. سيد, ساي.

<sup>5</sup> Sept. δαιμόνια, Vulg. daemonia.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. XXXII. 17. <sup>7</sup> Ps. CVI. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Isai. XXXIV. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. among the Greeks Ἐμπουσα (with the epithets δροσκελὶς and δροσκώλη), Λάμια, δροκένταυροι (*Aristoph. Ran.* 293; *Eccles.* 1056; *Vesp.* 1177; *Diod. Sic.* XX. 41; *Demosth.* De Coron. c. 130, p. 270; *Horat. Ars Poet.* 340 (in Isai. XXXIV. 14, the Sept. renders both שְׁדִים and לִילִית by δροκένταυροι, the Vulg. the former by onocentauri, the latter by lamia, Luther Feldteufel and Kobold); among the Romans Striges (*Ovid, Fast.* VI. 131—140; *Plin. H. N.* XI. 39 or 95; *Tibull.* I. v. 52; *Petron.* CXXXIV. 1); among the Arabs the Ghuls (الغول); see *Bochart, Hieroz.* II. pp. 831—840; *Buxtorf,*

*Lex. Talm.* pp. 1140, 1141; *Eisenmenger, Entdeckt. Judenth.* II. pp. 413—426, 434, 452; *Gesenius* on Isai. XIII. 21, 22 and XXXIV. 14 (l. 2. pp. 465—468, 915—920); *Braun*, l. c. I. 124, 354; II. 144, 164; comp. also עֲלִיקָה (Prov. XXX. 15), probably *leech*, and then, like vampire, denoting a female monster, a sucker of blood, and therefore deemed identical with Ghul, as *Kamus* interprets the one by the other; comp. *Bochart*, l. c. p. 869.

<sup>10</sup> *Juven.* VI. 542—547; comp. *Plut. Vit. Marii* c. 17 (καὶ γὰρ τινὰ Σίφραν γυναικα, Μάρθαν δρομα, μαρτυρεῖσθαι λεγόμενην κτλ.); *Acts* XVI. 16; see also VIII. 9; XIII. 6—8; *Joseph. Antiqq.* VIII. ii. 5.

<sup>11</sup> יְדְעָנִים (from יָדַע, possessors of hidden knowledge; *Ewald, Lehrbuch* § 3 c, "Vielwissenwollende"; compare in Lat. sagus, saga, sagana; *Cic. De Divin.* I. 31, sagire enim sentire acute est... id est futura ante sentire; Sept. τερατοσκόπος), Lev. XIX. 31; XX. 6; Deut. XVIII. 11; 1 Sam. XXVIII. 3, 9; though יְדְעָנִים is also a daemon living and working in a man, Lev. XX. 27. The Mishnah (*Sanhedr.* VII. 7) explains untenably יְדְעָנִים זֶה הַמְדַּבֵּר בְּפִי (comp. *Rashi* in loc.).



practised DIVINATION<sup>12</sup> to predict the future, especially by *rhabdomancy* (*ῥαβδομαντεία*) by means of *rods* or *wands*,<sup>13</sup> of which two were placed upright, and then allowed to fall on the ground; the direction in which they fell involved the omen; or a rod was on one side stripped of the bark and thrown into the air; if in coming down, first the covered and then the bare side appeared uppermost, the augury was happy; if in the reverse order, unlucky.<sup>14</sup> They were addicted to ENCHANTMENT<sup>15</sup> by spells muttered in a mysterious whisper,<sup>16</sup> to WITCHCRAFT<sup>17</sup> and to

<sup>12</sup>  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  or  $\text{וְרָאָה־בְּחֶזֶק}$ , Sept. *μαντεία*, Num. XXII. 7, 23; Deut. XVIII. 10; 2 Ki. XVII. 17; Isai. III. 2; XLIV. 25; Jer. XXIX. 8, XXVII. 9, Ezek. XIII. 6; and still in Zechar. X. 2. In Jer. XXIX. 8 and Ezek. XIII. 6 at least,  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  plainly means to practise *divination*, not *sorcery*; in the former passage it is coupled with prophets and dreams, the latter says distinctly "they see vanity  $\text{וְרָאָה־בְּחֶזֶק}$   $\text{וְרָאָה}$ "; although in Num. XXII. 7 it seems rather to refer to sorcery (comp. ver. 6; 1 Sam. XXVIII. 8); so that the root is evidently comprehensive and generic in sense.

<sup>13</sup> Hos. IV. 12, "My people ask counsel at their wood, and their staff teaches them."

<sup>14</sup> Comp. also *Herod.* IV. 67; *Tacit.* Germ. 10; *Rosenm.* on Hos. IV. 12. The king of Babylon is related (Ezek. XXI. 26—29) to have sought oracles by "shaking the arrows" ( $\text{וְרָאָה־בְּחֶזֶק}$ , Sept. *ἀναβράσαι ῥαβδία* i. e. *βελομαντεία*) and by "inspection of the liver" ( $\text{וְרָאָה־בְּחֶזֶק}$ , *ἡπατοσκοπία*, *Herodian.* VIII. iii. 7; *Philostrat.* Apollon. VIII. vii. 15—"the liver is the true tripos of all mantic art"—; *Arrian*, VII. 18; *Cic.* De Divin. II. 13; or *ἡπατοσκοπία*, extispicia, haruspicia from *harviga* victim; comp. *Aeschyl.* Prometh. 493—499; *Herod.* IX. 38; *Diod. Sic.* I. 73; II. 29; *Strabo*, III. iii. 6, p. 154; *Cic.* L c. 12—17; *Juven.* VI. 549—551); see *Movers*, *Opferwes. der Karth.* pp. 65, 66; and in general, *Spencer* L c. I. II. cc. 16, 17; *Carpzov*, App. Crit. pp. 104—107; *Rosenmüll.* Morgenl. IV. 333—337;

see also *supra* p. 313; and on divining by a cup (*κυλισκομαντεία*), see Comm. on Gen. p. 673.

<sup>15</sup>  $\text{וְרָאָה}$ , Num. XXIII. 23; Deut. XVIII. 10; from  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  to *whisper* (2 Ki. XVII. 17; XXI. 6).

<sup>16</sup> Isai. VIII. 19; XXIX. 4 (Sept. *οὐκ ὁμιλήσεται*; in Isai. VIII, *τοὺς κεκολεγούντας, οἱ ἀπο τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν*) comp. *γόητας* (2 Tim. III. 13; see *Herod.* VII. 191; *Hor.* Sat. I. viii. 25), *κατάδειν, ἐκφάδειν, ἐκφάδη, ἐκφάδες*, incantare, excantare, esp. carmen (*Hor.* Epod. V. 45 sqq.; XVII. 4—6; *Tibull.* I. ii. 43—46; *Lucan.* Phars. VI. 439, 452; *Tacit.* Ann. II. 28; *Plin.* H. N. XXVIII. 3 or 6; comp. *Theocrit.* II. 17 sqq.; *Virg.* Ecl. VIII. 67 sqq.); it is with less probability traced to  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  *serpent*, so that it would be *ὄφιομαντεία*, divination by the movements of serpents (comp. Gen. XLIV. 5); though  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  which is a synonym of  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  (Isai. III. 3, *נבון לחש*), being derived of  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  to *whisper* or *mutter* (whence  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  enchanter), seems to have been predominantly used with regard to the enchantment of serpents (Jer. VIII. 17; Eccl. X. 11); comp. also  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  whisperers (from  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  to *murmur*, or to *utter gentle sounds*; Isai. XIX. 3), that is, *necromancers*. In Num. XXIV. 1,  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  seems to be *inspiration* generally (comp. XXIII. 3, 15), it may be, induced by magical artifices.

<sup>17</sup>  $\text{וְרָאָה}$ , 2 Ki. IX. 22; 2 Chr. XXXIII. 6; Mic. V. 11; and even Mal. III. 5; hence  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  (Exod. VII. 11; Deut. XVIII. 10; Dan. II. 2) or  $\text{וְרָאָה}$  (Jer.

MAGIC,<sup>1</sup> to an extent not inferior to any of the eastern nations;<sup>2</sup> they indulged in INCANTATIONS<sup>3</sup> by which venomous serpents were supposed to be rendered harmless and obedient,<sup>4</sup> and very largely in NECROMANCY<sup>5</sup> often practiced while "sitting on graves",<sup>6</sup> by means of a person<sup>7</sup> who was considered to be prophetically inspired by a daemon;<sup>8</sup> as in the very instructive instance of the "witch of Endor", who first learnt by the rising of Samuel's shade, that her guest was the king,<sup>9</sup> and when

XXVII. 9) *one who exercises witchcraft*, from כַּשְׁפָּא nearly synonymous with with שִׁחַרְשִׁי, to mutter magical speeches (the same root signifying in Syriac *to pray* or *worship*), not from the Arabic stem used of eclipses of the sun which it was supposed the כַּשְׁפִּים had the power to call forth; Sept. φάρμακα, φαρμακεύεσθαι, and φαρμακός, so that כַּשְׁפִּים would mean enchantments brought about by means of herbs.

1 חֲרָשִׁים (Isai. III. 3, חֲכָם חֲרָשִׁים), properly artifices, from חָרַץ *to devise*. Another term for magician is עוֹנֵן (Isai. II. 6; LVII. 3; Jer. XXVII. 9; 2 Ki. XXI. 6) or קְעוֹנָן (Deut. XVIII. 10; Mic. V. 11), which is hardly, as has been supposed, connected with עָן, so that it would mean *one who fascinates with the eye* (comp. Virg. Ecl. III. 103; Plin. H. N. VII. 2; Gell. IX. 4), nor with עָנָן cloud, as if it meant divining from the course of the clouds (comp. Hengstenb. Gesch. Bileams, p. 123) or the phenomena of heaven (comp. Jer. X. 2).

2 Isai. II. 6; Mic. V. 11.

3 חֲבָר or חֲבָרִים (from חָבַר *to bind*, properly to make a knot while pronouncing incantations, Germ. Nestelknüpfen, French nouer l'aiguillette; comp. Virg. Ecl. VIII. 76—78, necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores... Veneris dic vincula necto); Deut. XVIII. 11; Isai. XLVII. 9, 12; Ps. LVIII. 5, 6.

4 Jer. VIII. 17; Eccl. X. 11. The serpents were by the Psylli goaded to bite at a cloth, whereby they lost their poison and became for a time weak, and often motionless (comp. Bochart, Hieroz. II. 384—394; Rosenm.

Morgenl. IV. pp. 55—76; De Wette on Ps. I. c.

5 אֹחַב (of uncertain etymology; comp. Saalschütz, Mos. Recht, I. 517, 518; Hoelemann, Bibelstudien, I. pp. 160—163), properly the *spirit* of divination (Lev. XX. 27; 1 Sam. XXVIII. 7 אֹחַב; ver. 8 אֹחַב; קָסָם בְּאֹחַב), then the *person* possessing that spirit or practicing divination by its help (1 Sam. XXVIII. 9; Isai. VIII. 19; XIX. 3; Lev. XIX. 31; XX. 6; in Deut. XVIII. 11; 2 Ki. XXI. 6; Isai. XXIX. 4; 1 Chr. X. 13; 2 Chr. XXXIII. 6, it is uncertain whether the spirit or the person is meant), signifying originally ventriloquist, then necromancer (Sept. ἑγγαστρομύθος, νεκρόμαρτις, νεκρόμαρτις).

6 Isai. LXV. 4, הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּקִבְרֵיהֶם; comp. Hor. Epod. XVII. 47; Sat. I. viii. 20—29; Ovid, Heroid. VI. 89, 90 (per tumulos errat, etc.); Lucan, Phars. VI. 511, 512 (desertaque busta incolit, et tumulos expulsis obtinet umbris).

7 Lev. XIX. 31; XX. 6; 1 Sam. XXVIII. 3, 9; comp. 2 Ki. XXI. 6; Isai. VIII. 19; XXIX. 4; 1 Chr. X. 13; 2 Chr. XXXIII. 6; the Mishnah (Sanhedr. VII. 7) explains strangely אֹחַב זֶה פִּיטוֹם (πνεῦμα πύθων Acts XVI. 16) הַמְדַּבֵּר (see Rashi in loc.).

8 Comp. Lev. XX. 27; 1 Sam. XXVIII. 7, 8; hence אֹחַב or אֹחַבִּים (Isai. VIII. 19) is equivalent to אֹחַבִּים; but as the consultation of the dead took place by the agency of an אֹחַב, it was possible to enumerate as two distinct things אֹחַבִּים וְדוֹרֵשׁ אֹחַבִּים (Deut. XVIII. 11), since both the one and the other were "asked."

9 1 Sam. XXVIII. 12.

asked by the latter what she saw, she replied "I see a god rising (אלהים ראיני עלים) out of the earth",<sup>10</sup> whose "appearance" she then described as that of "an old man wrapped in a mantle",<sup>11</sup> probably the "hairy garment" (אֶפְרָה שֶׁעַר) ordinarily worn by seers.<sup>12</sup> And their prophets (נְבִיאִים), adopting that distinctive garment of the class "for deception",<sup>13</sup> misled the multitude by vain and fictitious DREAMS,<sup>14</sup> which were often sought by sleeping on tombs, in sacred caves or edifices,<sup>15</sup> generally on the hides of sacrificed animals,<sup>16</sup> and by FALSE PREDICTIONS, whether pronounced in the name of Jehovah<sup>17</sup> or of heathen gods.<sup>18</sup> Most of these frauds and delusions were successfully carried on not only by men but by women, especially witchcraft,<sup>19</sup> prophecy,<sup>20</sup> and necromancy;<sup>21</sup> and they were coupled with all the absurd and superstitious rites associated with them among the heathen nations; as, for instance, the false prophetesses "fastened cushions to all the joints of their hands, and laid pillows on their heads", a sign of the utmost luxury and effeminacy.<sup>22</sup>

And all these idolatrous practices flourished from the earliest periods of Israel's history to the latest; during their sojourn in Egypt<sup>23</sup> and during their wanderings in the desert under Moses;<sup>24</sup> in the time of the

<sup>10</sup> Ver. 13.

<sup>11</sup> Ver. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Zech. XIII. 4; comp. *Hom. Od. XI. 24sqq.*; *Cic. Tusc. l. 16 or 37*; *Dion Cass. LXXVII. 15*; *Herodian. IV. xii. 4*; *Spencer, l. c. l. ii. c. 15.*

<sup>13</sup> Zech. XIII. 4, לְמַעַן כֹּחֵשׁ; comp. 2 Ki. X. 22, לְבוֹשׁ לְכָל עֲבָרֵי הַבֶּעַל.

<sup>14</sup> Jer. XXIII. 25, 27, 28, 32; XXIX. 8; Zech. X. 2; etc.; comp., however, Num. XII. 6; Joel III. 1; 1 Sam. XXVIII. 6.

<sup>15</sup> כְּנִצּוּרִים יִלְיָנוּ (Isai. LXV. 4), that is, by *ἐγκύβησις* or incubatio; *Herod. IV. 172*; comp. *Diod. Sic. l. 53*; *Strabo, VI. iii. 9*; *XI. vii. 1*; *XVI. ii. 35*; *Cic. Divin. l. 43 or 96* (somniandi causa incubabant, quia vera quiculis oracula ducebant); *Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. c. 14* (ὑπνομαρτεῦον); *Mela l. 8* (Augilae manes tantum deos putant; per eos dejerant; eos, ut oracula, consulunt; precatique, quae volunt, ubi tumultis incubuere, pro responsis ferunt somnia).

<sup>16</sup> *Virg. Aen. VII. 85—95*, Sacerdos Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit; Multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris, Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum Colloquio; comp.

*Hieron. in Isai. XLV. "ubi (sc. in delubris idolorum) stratis pellibus hostiarum incubare soliti sunt, ut somniis futura cognoscerent; quod in fano Aesculapii usque hodie error celebrat Ethnicorum."*

<sup>17</sup> Mic. III. 11; Jer. XXIII. 25, 30—32; XXIX. 9; Ezek. XIII. 16—18; even Zech. XIII. 2—4; etc. <sup>18</sup> Jer. II. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. מְכַשֶּׁפֶת witch, *Exod. XXII. 17.*

<sup>20</sup> Ezek. XIII. 17, 18.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. אִשָּׁה כֹּהֵנִית, 1 Sam. XXVIII. 7; see vers. 7—19.

<sup>22</sup> Ezek. XIII. 17, 18; *Mart. III. lxxxii. 5—7*; comp. 1 Ki. XIX. 18; 2 Ki. XXIII. 7; Hos. XIII. 2; Zeph. I. 9; Ezek. VIII. 16, 17; see *Douglaci, Anal. Sacr. pp. 279, 280*; and in general, *Goodwin, Moses et Aaron, studio J. H. Hotting. Lib. IV. pp. 646—752*; *Colquhoun, History of Magic, Witchcraft, and Animal Magnetism*; *Hoelemann, Bibelstudien, l. pp. 154—175.*

<sup>23</sup> Josh. XXIV. 14; Ezek. XX. 7, 8; XXIII. 3, 8; see p. 24 note 6.

<sup>24</sup> Num. XXV. 1—9; Am. V. 25, 26;

Judges and the Kings, both in Judah and in Ephraim; even under the latest sovereigns of Judah, under Joahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, who succeeded the pious and ardent reformer Josiah;<sup>1</sup> indeed in the long line of Judah's kings, four only, Asa, Joshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah were active in promoting the service of Jehovah; a few others adhered to it themselves, but displayed no zeal for its diffusion; while all the rest were sunk in heathen aberrations, which were kept up in the Babylonian exile and after the return to Palestine,<sup>2</sup> so that even when Jeremiah reproved his obstinate brethren who had forced him to accompany them to Egypt, they contumaciously answered, "We will not hearken to thee; but we will...burn incense to the Queen of Heaven, and pour out drink-offerings to her, as we have done, we, and our fathers, our kings, and our princes, in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem; for then had we abundance of food, and were prosperous, and saw no evil: but since we left off to burn incense to the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings to her, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by famine."<sup>3</sup> So deeply were pagan notions ingrained in the minds of the people, and so fatal to a healthful morality were the effects of those perversities! And yet have we reason to believe that the records preserved to us in the Hebrew canon are far from complete with respect to the idolatry of the Israelites. For instance, the worship of the *brazen serpent* (נֶחֱשֶׁת נְחָשׁ), certainly very old and incessantly carried on,<sup>4</sup> is mentioned for the first time together with the account of its abolition by Hezekiah.<sup>5</sup> Again, the author of the Books of Kings states that Josiah "defiled" and thus rendered unfit for the further worship of Moloch "the Topheth in the valley of the children of Hinnom";<sup>6</sup> yet he had never stated by whom the valley had been consecrated for that purpose.<sup>7</sup> It may, therefore, be safely supposed that paganism pre-

Ezek. XX. 24; comp. Exod. XXXII. 1—6; Num. XXI. 8, 9; XVIII. 4; see *supra* p. 365; comp. also G. Unruh, *Der Zug der Israeliten aus Aegypten nach Canaan*, pp. 89—120, where the most hazardous combinations are ventured, in Nork's extravagant method of etymological mythology.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 32, 37; XXIV. 9, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *supra passim*; esp. Judg. II. 2; 1 Ki. XXI. 25, 26; XXII. 53, 54; 2 Ki. XVII. 7—23; Am. II. 4; Mic. I. 5, 7; VI. 16; Isai. II. 6, 8; Jer. II. 4 *sqq*; VI. 10; VII. 9; XLIV. (administering

an elaborate and severe reproof to the Jews who had settled in Egypt); Ezek. VI. 4—6; XIV. 1—8; XX. 5—44 (reviewing the obstinate and continual idolatry of the Hebrews from the earliest periods up to the prophet's time); XLIII. 7—9; Zechar. XIII. 2—4.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. XLIV. 17, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Num. XXI. 4—9; see *supra* p. 365.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Ki. XVIII. 4; comp. Gramberg, *Rel. Id. I.* p. 515. <sup>6</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 10.

<sup>7</sup> It was perhaps so consecrated by Manasseh.

vailed among the Israelites in various other forms besides those described or hinted at in the Scriptures, which of course refer to idolatry but incidentally, without aiming at a systematic and complete account of its multifarious practices.

Let us, then, in a few rapid outlines, survey the history of Hebrew idolatry. Up to Solomon's reign, Baal and Ashtarte only are mentioned as Canaanite divinities; but a large portion of the people were addicted to their service at least from the earlier time of the Judges. By Samuel's influence, their images were indeed removed,<sup>8</sup> and the religious reform seems to have extended up to the northern boundaries of the land;<sup>9</sup> but his measures remained without enduring consequences. Then Saul is related to have banished from his dominions the sooth-sayers and wizzards;<sup>10</sup> but this course would have been impossible without completely extirpating idolatry, which yet immediately afterwards is found in full blossom. Moreover, Solomon, besides consolidating the old, sanctioned or established various new forms of idol worship. Induced by his heathen wives, he built on the heights before Jerusalem temples for the Phoenician Ashtarte, with whose service probably that of Baal was coupled, for Chemosh of Moab, for Moloch or Milcom of Ammon,<sup>11</sup> for the gods of the Egyptians, the Edomites, and Hittites.<sup>12</sup> In the empire of Israel, Jehu indeed caused a general slaughter of the priests of Baal;<sup>13</sup> but we find, shortly before its termination, besides the older *cultus* of Baal, Ashtarte, and Moloch, also the adoration of the Sun<sup>14</sup> and all the heavenly hosts;<sup>15</sup> and the colonists, who were transplanted from Assyria into Samaria, imported with them numerous native superstitions which tainted the faint remnants of the service of Jehovah.<sup>16</sup> In the empire of Judah, the pious king Amaziah is related to have brought to Jerusalem Edomite idols, to have adopted their worship, and honoured them with incense on their proper altars.<sup>17</sup> Ahaz, devoted to Baal and Ashtarte and burning his son to Moloch, removed from its usual place in the Court of the Temple the brazen altar hallowed by age, and set up in

<sup>8</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 3, 4. It is difficult to see the grounds for Ewald's assertion that "the worship of Baal was only introduced by the kings of the house of Omri, and that it existed, in both empires, hardly half a century" (*Alterth.* p. 236); comp. Judg. II. 11, 13; III. 7; etc.; see *supra* p. 357.

<sup>9</sup> Judg. XVIII. 31; comp. *Ewald*, *Alterth.* p. 233.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. XXVIII. 3.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 5—7; 2 Ki. XXIII. 13, 14.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 1, 8. It is no more than an ingenious combination to assert that the erection of heathen altars by Solomon was a result of his praiseworthy toleration of foreign religions, since "in a great world-empire toleration of all forms of worship is indispensable" (*Ewald*, *Gesch.* III. 100).

<sup>13</sup> 2 Ki. X. 18—28. <sup>14</sup> Isai. XVII. 8.

<sup>15</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 17; see *supra* p. 361.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 29—33.

<sup>17</sup> 2 Chr. XXV. 14.

wove curtains for her service,<sup>7</sup> nay he seems to have entire from the Court the old and sacred altar of Jehovah,<sup>8</sup> and he erected in both Courts altars of the stars, made access to the whole people,<sup>9</sup> while at the entrance he placed the chariot dedicated to the Sun:<sup>10</sup> the sidereal worship, principally practiced on the roofs of houses, took the strongest hold upon the nation, and the perpetual warnings of subsequent teachers.<sup>11</sup> The exertions of Josiah were unable to eradicate pagan abominations soon returned and were embraced with the old zeal. The Asharte was probably erected again in the inner Court;<sup>12</sup> the precincts of the Temple women mourned the death of Tammuz, the Sun and the signs of the Zodiac were revered, and honours were paid to them;<sup>13</sup> and most of these idolatries were not only maintained but deemed indispensable for prosperity, by the exiled Jews.

Thus it is manifest that the history of Hebrew idolatry runs parallel with the growth of the purer religion of Jehovah; the former, the development of the latter cannot be rightly understood or appreciated. The cosmical creeds and the ethical creeds entered into an obstinate struggle for many centuries. Heathen elements of every variety could not be kept aloof; they could still less be kept out if they were modified, and it may be refined, so as not to conflict with the fundamental truths of a monotheistic system, they were not without reluctance even by the better and profounder teachers.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Ki. XVI. 3, 4, 12—16; see p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Ki. XXI. 5; XXIII.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Ewald. Gesch.* III. 323, 324.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 11.

aware that the contrast lived and rooted deep in the consciousness of the nation, that it was manifest even in the worship at the central Temple, but that it was capable of being, in some manner, harmonised, and perhaps gradually removed. In this active and vehement warfare, extended for at least a millenium, between the sensual and spiritual forms of religion lies the chief and most absorbing interest of the Biblical records — an interest of which it is utterly deprived by that mechanical and unhistorical view which assumes a pure and perfect religious system proclaimed at an early age, and, though exposed to heathen inroads, always safe and certain of victory because embodying the highest possible wisdom of man, if not supernaturally communicated by God.

### XXIII. HUMAN SACRIFICES AMONG THE HEBREWS.

CAN it after the preceding sketch be surprising to find the custom of human sacrifices prevailing among the Hebrews during protracted epochs? It would indeed be almost unaccountable if just that custom had been singled out by them for rejection among the numerous heathen rites which they eagerly embraced,<sup>16</sup> since, from a fatal confusion of religious ideas, human victims were regarded as the most meritorious and most acceptable of all offerings. Now we learn that the Hebrews "burnt their sons and their daughters in the fire",<sup>17</sup> or "offered them as burnt-offerings",<sup>18</sup> or "made them to pass through the fire."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Deut. XII. 30, 31.

<sup>17</sup> Jer. VII. 31 (לשרף את-בניהם ואהד); (בנוהיהם באש); comp. ver. 32; XIX. 5; 2 Chr. XXVIII. 3 (ויכער אהד-בניו באש); see also 2 Ki. XVII. 31.

<sup>18</sup> Jer. XIX. 5 (עלות לבעל); comp. ver. 6; 2 Ki. III. 27.

<sup>19</sup> (Deut. XVIII. 10; 2 Ki. XVI. 3; XVII. 17; XXI. 6; XXIII. 10; 2 Chr. XXXIII. 6; Ezek. XX. 31; etc.; comp. 2 Sam. XII. 31) or simply ויעבירו (Jer. XXXII. 35; Ezek. XVI. 21; XX. 26; Lev. XVIII. 21), that is, "they made them pass" through the hands of the idol, in order to let them fall into its blazing interior (see p. 366); for the act of laying the child into the hands of Moloch's statue, was a distinct and separate rite; comp. *Mishn. Sanh. VII. 7*, ולא העביר באש, מסר למולך. העביר באש ולא מסר למולך וכי. The term העביר or העביר באש admits indeed, in itself, the sense of drawing

the body rapidly through the fire, without materially injuring it (comp. Num. XXXI. 23); and it has been so understood by many antiquarians, who suppose that the custom was merely intended as a means of purification or lustration (comp. Sept. Deut. XVIII. 10, οὐχ ἐνδοθεῖσθαις ἐν πυρὶ περιπαθεῖσθαι τὸν υἱὸν ἐν πυρὶ; Vulg. qui lustret filium suum aut filiam, ducens per ignem; comp. Sept. 2 Ki. XVI. 3; Ezek. XXIII. 37; Vulg. Lev. XVIII. 21, ut consecratur; etc.; *Talm. Sanh. 64b*; *Rashi* on Lev. XVIII. 21 — comp. however, *Nachmanid.* on Lev. XVIII. 21; *Abarban.* on Deut. XVIII. 10 — *Maimon. Mor. Nev. III. 37*; see also *Ovid, Fast. IV. 727, 781, 782*; etc.), or as a fire-ordeal analogous to that of walking on red-hot coals, employed in remote times (comp. *Soph. Antig. 265*, πῦρ δαίμων; *Hclivd. X. 5—10*; etc.), and still known in the Middle Ages (see



But our estimation of the culture of the Hebrews must, in a great measure, depend upon the question *to what deities* they offered human sacrifices. It is indeed true, that, in most cases, they presented them in honour of *Moloch*<sup>1</sup> and *Baal*,<sup>2</sup> described as the "idols of Canaan"<sup>3</sup> or their "abominations",<sup>4</sup> or "evil demons",<sup>5</sup> and in the Assyrian period, perhaps imitating the colonists settled in Samaria, in honour of Adrammelech and

*Maimon. Mor. Nev.* III. 38; *Beyer*, Additament. ad Selden De Diis Syris, p. 257; *Münter*, Rel. der Karthager, p. 19; *Spencer*, Legg. Ritt. II. xiii. 2—4, pp. 363—370; *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. I. 308—311; *Gesen.* Thesaur. p. 985; *Braun*, l. c. I. 350, 351). But in the connexion in which that expression occurs, it is most unquestionably equivalent to *burning the children*; in 2 Chr. XXVIII. 3, וַיִּבְעֶר is substituted for הָעֵבִיר used in the parallel passage 2 Ki. XVI. 3 (as on the other hand, the Syr. and Chald. translations, the Sept. and Vulg. render in 2 Chr. XXVIII. 3 וַיִּבְעֶר by וַיַּעֲבֹר); in Ezek. XXXIII. 37 הָעֵבִיר for לֶאֱכֹלָה (comp. XVI. 20); and a number of passages is clear and conclusive; compare Deut. XII. 31 (אֲדֹכְנִידֵם יִשְׂרָאֵל); Jer. VII. 31; XIX. 5 (לִשְׂרָף אֲדֹכְנִידֵם); Ps. CVI. 37 (וַיִּזְכְּחוּ אֲדֹכְנִיָּהֶם לִשְׂרָפִים); Wisd. XII. 5, 6 (τέκνον τε σονίας ἀνιλεήμονας . . . καὶ ἀνθέντας γονεῖς ψυχὴν ἀποθηθήτων); XIV. 23 (τεκνοτόρους τελετάς). The fact that Ahaz was succeeded by his son Hezekiah (2 Ki. XVI. 20), although he is reported to "have made his son to pass through the fire" (ver. 3), proves nothing, as he probably had several sons. — From some expressions it might appear that the victims were first slaughtered before they were burnt (Ezek. XVI. 20 וַיִּזְכְּחוּ; ver. 21 וַיִּשְׂחָטוּ; XXIII. 39 וַיִּשְׂחָטוּ; Isai. LVII. 5 שְׂחָטִי יְלָדִים), which would somewhat diminish the atrocity of the proceeding; but the phrases, too vague to warrant *any safe conclusion*, are possibly no

more than a poetical paraphrase for sacrificing generally.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Ki. XVI. 3; XVII. 17; XXI. 6; XXIII. 10; Jer. VII. 31; XIX. 5, 6; XXXII. 35; Isai. LVII. 5; Ezek. XVI. 20; XX. 31; Ps. CVI. 37, 38; Wisd. XII. 5, 6; XIV. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. XIX. 5, וּבְנוּ אֲדֹכְנִיּוֹת הַבַּעַל לִשְׂרָף אֲדֹכְנִידֵם כֹּאֲשֶׁ עָלְמוֹ לַבַּעַל; this passage is too clear to admit of any doubt; compare *Pliny*, Hist. Nat. XXXVI. 5, ad quem (Herculem, i. e. Baal, see *supra* p. 358) Poeni omnibus annis humana sacrificaverant victima. The words in Jer. XXXII. 35 "and they built the high places of Baal which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, so as to cause their sons and their daughters to pass (into the fire) to Moloch", mean they arranged the heights of Baal so as to render them fit for the rites of Moloch; it is therefore unnecessary to understand Baal here as Moloch, either because the former word was by mistake or inadvertency employed for the latter (*Gramberg*, Rel. I. 457), or because Moloch and Baal are identical (*Abarbanel* on Deut. XVIII. 10 שְׁנֵי הַשְּׂמוֹת הֵיוּ לוֹ סֶלֶךְ וּבַעַל וּשְׁנֵיהֶם קָרְבָּנִים כְּרִבְנָתָם; *Goodwin*, Mos. et Aar. IV. ii. 2, 3; comp. also *Creuzer*, Symb. II. 446), or because Baal means in general idol (*Ewald*, Alterth. p. 235) or ruler like מֶלֶךְ (comp. *De Wette*, Archaeol. § 235 a; *Rosenm.* Schol. ad Jer. XIX. 5).

<sup>3</sup> עֲצָבֵי כְנָעַן, Ps. CVI. 38; comp. Deut. XII. 31.

<sup>4</sup> גִּלּוּלִיָּהֶם, Ezek. XXIII. 37, 39; XVI. 36; XX. 31.

<sup>5</sup> שְׂרִיִּם, Ps. CVI. 37.

Anammelech.<sup>6</sup> Yet we have at least two clear and unquestionable instances of human sacrifices offered to *Jehovah*. The first is the immolation of Jephthah's daughter.<sup>7</sup> A calm examination of the Biblical account proves that the subject is unmistakable and admits of no doubt whatever. After Jephthah had been graced by the "spirit of Jehovah" (רוח יהוה),<sup>8</sup> and had set out on his expedition against the Ammonites, "he vowed a vow to the Lord (יהוה), and said, If Thou shalt indeed deliver the children of Ammon into my hands, then it shall be, that whoever comes forth (וְיֵצֵא אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא) of the door of my house to meet me (לִקְרָאתִי), when I return in peace from the children of Ammon," shall surely be Jehovah's and I will offer him up for a burnt-offering" (תִּקְרַעְלִיהָ עֹלָה);<sup>10</sup> and when he returned victorious, and his daughter, his only child, went out to welcome him, he was indeed overpowered by grief; he rent his garments, and exclaimed, "Thou hast brought me very low and art the cause of my misery"; for he does not seem to have considered the probability of just his daughter coming out to meet him, but to have expected to see first a slave of his household; but with creditable ingenuousness he declared, "I have opened my mouth to Jehovah, and I cannot go back";<sup>11</sup> he neither thought of substitution nor of redemption;<sup>12</sup> and his daughter herself pronounced that view not only as justified but as conclusive and imperative; for she replied, "My father, thou hast opened thy mouth to Jehovah, therefore do to me according to that which has proceeded out of thy mouth";<sup>13</sup> she only asked for a delay of two months, in order to bewail her short and

<sup>6</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 31; see p. 367.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. XI. 30, 31, 34—40.

<sup>8</sup> L. c. ver. 29.

<sup>9</sup> It is on the whole indifferent whether the *first* who would meet him is meant or not; though the Hebrew text is indistinct, the former alternative is probable from the context, since Jephthah certainly intended no more than *one* sacrifice, and to take אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא in a collective sense ("eine Heerde Vieh", *Ewald*, *Gesch.* II. 399) is unwarranted; hence Josephus (*Ant.* V. vii. 10) already expresses the passage, πᾶν ὅ,τι καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ συντύχῃ; Vulg. quicumque primus fuerit egressus; Augustin. (*De Civ. D.* I. 21) quod ei redeunti . . . primitus occurrisset; and similarly nearly all later writers.

<sup>10</sup> Vers. 30, 31.

<sup>11</sup> Ver. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Even according to the Levitical law, the daughter could not have been redeemed; she was not a mere נָר (Lev. XXVII. 2—8), but נָרָם which irrevocably belonged to God (*ibid.* vers. 26, 29); the words נָר וְנָרָם (Judg. XI. 30) being general and comprehensive in import (*comp.* Num. XXI. 2). Therefore, the fiction that the daughter fell a victim to the pride of Jephthah and of the High-priest, neither of whom could be induced to do the first step towards her redemption, falls to the ground as unbiblical (*comp. Targ.* on ver. 39, "if Jephthah had asked the priest Phinehas, the latter would have redeemed her by money"; see also *Midr. Rabb.* LX. 5, בֶּן דָּן לָרֵן אֲכָרָה, (דְּגַעְרָה דְּהִיא).

<sup>13</sup> Ver. 36.

unwedded life, together with her companions; the reprieve was granted; Jephthah's intention of sacrificing his daughter was publicly known for two full months; no priest, no prophet, no elder, no magistrate interfered or even remonstrated,<sup>1</sup> and at the end of the stipulated time, the father "did with her according to the vow which he had vowed";<sup>2</sup> the act of immolation is alluded to rather than described, because a detailed record of the horrid act was shunned by the theocratic historian.<sup>3</sup> The event gave rise to a popular custom annually observed by the maidens of Israel:<sup>4</sup> Jephthah's deed evidently met with universal approbation; it was regarded as praiseworthy piety; and indeed he could not have ventured to make his vow, had not human victims offered to Jehovah been deemed particularly meritorious in his time; otherwise he must have apprehended to provoke by it the wrath of God, rather than procure His assistance. Nothing can be clearer or more decided. Therefore Josephus<sup>5</sup> admitted the literal truth of the story, though he naturally added reprovingly that Jephthah "presented an offering neither lawful nor pleasing to God";<sup>6</sup> in a similar manner the subject was viewed by the Talmud<sup>7</sup> and the Fathers of the Church;<sup>8</sup> and Luther, honest and keen-sighted, but helplessly harassed between his conviction and the tradition of the Church, observed in a marginal note, "It is assumed that he did not sacrifice her; but the text stands clear."<sup>9</sup> It may be that Jephthah, the offspring of an illegitimate connexion, expelled from his father's house, reared in the east of the Jordan where the relations with the Tabernacle and the religious observances of Israel were lax and feeble, and depraved by the society of frivolous and reckless outlaws,

<sup>1</sup> It is an evasion to say, that the priests were unable to use force against the powerful and famous leader (so *Rosenmüller*, Schol. in loc. p. 246; *Munk*, Palestine, p. 240, sans que personne ôsat y mettre obstacle); their authority, supported by a Divine law, would have been willingly respected by the agonised father.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 39.

<sup>3</sup> The conclusions, therefore, drawn from this circumstance by Kimchi a. o. (לא אמר ויעלה עולה), are untenable. A similar reserve in the preliminary measures was not necessary in the narrative of Isaac's sacrifice (Gen. XXII), because there the immolation itself did not take place.

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 40. According to a question-

able account of Epiphany, a festival in honour of Jephthah's daughter was even in his time celebrated at Neapolis or Shechem (Hæres. 55, 78; comp. *Cassel*, in Herzog's Real-Encycl. VI. 476).

<sup>5</sup> Ant. V. vii. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Θύσας τὴν παῖδα ἀλοκαύτωσεν, οὕτε νόμιμον οὕτε τῷ Θεῷ ἀγαπασμένη θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν.

<sup>7</sup> Talm. Taan. 4a; comp. *Midr. Rabb.* LX. 5; *Kohel. Rabb.* on Eccl. IV. 17 (הכסיל אינו יודע להפריש בין טר לטר) (מן מן סיפוח); *Talk. Shm.* on Jer. VII. 31, p. 61b.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. their opinions recounted in *Nicol. Serarius*, Comment. in libr. Josuae, Judic. etc. 1609, pp. 321 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> Man will, er habe sie nicht geopfert, aber der Text stehet da klar.

though described as a man of sturdy honesty and piety,<sup>10</sup> might have been induced to believe that a vow common and prized among many nations, was an act of piety among the Israelites also, if made in honour of their national god Jehovah, though such fundamental error is not easily explicable in a man so thoroughly familiar with Hebrew history and Hebrew law as Jephthah is represented to have been:<sup>11</sup> but the fact stands indisputable that human sacrifices offered to Jehovah were possible among the Hebrews long after the time of Moses, without meeting a check or censure from the teachers and leaders of the nation — a fact for which the sad political confusion that prevailed in the period of the Judges is insufficient to account.

Thus the vow of Jephthah is in many respects parallel to that of Idomeneus who, imperilled by a violent storm at sea on his return from Troy, pledged himself to sacrifice to Poseidon the first living being he should meet on his safe arrival in his Cretan home, and accordingly sacrificed his son.<sup>12</sup> Nor are other, though less complete, analogies wanting in classical literature: an oracle commanded Alexander the Great to sacrifice "the first he should meet after passing through the gate" of a certain town,<sup>13</sup> although by the shrewdness of the ass-driver whom Alexander met first, he was readily induced not to kill this person but his donkey;<sup>14</sup> and — at least according to one version — Agamemnon vowed to devote to Diana "the most beautiful offspring in his kingdom,"<sup>15</sup> and therefore believed it his duty to sacrifice to the goddess his daughter Iphigenia.<sup>16</sup>

Very numerous apologetic devices have been propounded in ancient and modern times, but they are, without any exception, repudiated by the plain laws of a sound exegesis. It has been fancifully supposed that, when Jephthah uttered the vow, he had in mind his dog, the animal most likely to await with impatience the return of the absent master — but the dog, an unclean animal, is unfit for sacrifice; or that he thought of a beast of his flocks or herds — but that could hardly be expected to come "out of his house." The Hebrew words in fact abso-

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Hebr. XI. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Judg. XI. 15—27, 35, 36.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 331.

<sup>13</sup> Sorte monitus ut eum qui sibi porta egresso primus occurrisset, interfici juberet; *Val. Max.* VII. iii. 1 ext.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. also many similar German legends, in *Müllenhof*, Sagen, pp. 384, 385, 395; *Sommer*, Sagen, pp. 87, 131; *Grimm*, Deutsche Myth. p. 973; *W'olf*, Deutsche Sagen, pp. 417 sqq.

<sup>15</sup> "Ο,τι γὰρ ἐνιαντὸς τέκος κάλλιστον εὖξω φασγόνῳ θύοισιν θεῶ, *Eurip.* Iphig. Taur. 20, 21; quod in suo regno pulcherrimum natum esset illo anno, *Cic.* De Offic. III. 25 or 95.

<sup>16</sup> Some, as Capellus (*Diatriba de voto Jephtae*, Salm. 1693) and Ewald (*Gesch.* II. 400), go so far as to suppose an historical affinity between the three names Iphigenia (Jephti-genia), Idomeneus, and Jiftah.

lutely exclude any animal whatever;<sup>1</sup> they admit none but a human being, who alone can be described as going out of the house to meet somebody;<sup>2</sup> for though the restrictive usage of the East binds girls generally to the seclusion of the house, it seems to have been a common custom for Hebrew women to proceed and meet returning conquerors with music and rejoicing;<sup>3</sup> and the sacrifice of one animal, an extremely poor offering after a most signal and most important success, would certainly not have been promised by a previous vow solemnly pronounced. Again, it has been supposed that Jephthah's daughter, though killed according to the law of "devoted" persons (חֵרֶם), was not actually sacrificed to God,<sup>4</sup> but dedicated to His service at the Sanctuary, by means of a kind of nazariteship, and under the supervision of the High-priest;<sup>5</sup> or that she was destined to isolation and seclusion,<sup>6</sup> or to perpetual virginity which was considered "a living death."<sup>7</sup> But all these opinions are arbitrary evasions utterly opposed to the tenour of the Hebrew text. Jephthah had distinctly promised "a burnt-offering."<sup>8</sup> Vows of celibacy were entirely unknown among the Hebrews. In Jephthah's time, the Tabernacle was at Shiloh, in the land of the Ephraimites, against whom he was engaged in deadly warfare, and to whose hands therefore he was not likely to entrust his daughter.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An explanation first proposed by David Kimchi.

<sup>2</sup> So Sept. ὁ ἐκπορευόμενος ὃς ἂν ἐξέλθῃ; Vulg. quicumque primus fuerit egressus; *Augustin.* Quaest. XLIX in Jud. (ubi procul dubio nihil aliud quam hominem cogitavit); De Civ. Dei I. 21; *Rosenm.* Schol. in Jud. p. 278; *Hengstenb.* Auth. d. Pent. II. 129, 130; *Bertheau* in loc.; *Hävernicks*, Einleit. in den Pentat. p. 500; *Keil*, Comm. p. 293; etc.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. XVIII. 6; see also Exod. XV. 20.

<sup>4</sup> So Capellus (l. c.), Dathe, Jahn, Eckermann, Hävernicks; comp. Num. XXXI. 40 (וּמִכֶּסֶם לַיהוָה שְׁנִים וְשָׁלֹשִׁים); see against this view *Hengstenberg*, Auth. des Pent. II. 127, 128.

<sup>5</sup> Clericus, Whiston (Translat. of Joseph. p. 119); *Hengstenberg*, Cassel, E. Gerlach (Zeitschr. von Rudelb. und Guer. 1859, pp. 417 sqq.); O. v. Gerlach (in loc.); Reincke (Beiträge, I. 425 sqq.); Auberlen (Stud. und Krit. 1860, pp. 540

—543); *Keil* (in loc. p. 300); comp. 1 Sam. I. 28 (הַשְׂאֵלְחֶיהָ לַיהוָה); Exod. XXVIII. 8; *Strabo*, V. iv. 12 (children were dedicated to Mars, that is, to his service).

<sup>6</sup> David Kimchi, Ralbag, Abarbanel.

<sup>7</sup> Benson, Maltby, Saalschütz (Archaeol. I. 232), Clericus, Grotius, a. o.

<sup>8</sup> עֹלָה, ver. 31, not חֵרֶם generally; comp. *Keil* in loc. p. 295.

<sup>9</sup> As has been justly remarked by Michaelis (Mos. R. III. § 145, pp. 12—15; notes in loc. pp. 123—125), who, on the whole, correctly understands the narrative under discussion; comp. also *Sulp. Sever.* I. 51 (mori non recusans), and the notes in G. Horn's edition, pp. 132, 133; *Calmet*, Dictionnaire, and Introduct. to Judg.; *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. I. 302; *Vatke*, l. c. p. 275; *Rosenm.* Schol. in loc. (although his unsettled principles of criticism betray him into a remark entirely destroying the historical importance of the narrative, see *supra* p. 384, note 1); *Munk*,

Jephthah's grief and despair<sup>10</sup> are explicable only on the supposition of his daughter's actual death; had she been dedicated to the service of Jehovah, the satisfaction he must have felt at the holiness of her office and of her future life would have almost counter-balanced his pain at her childlessness, especially as her offspring would not have borne his name. Moreover, it is even doubtful, whether dedicated women were obliged to remain single; the example of Samuel proves at least that no such restriction was imposed upon dedicated *men*. The daughter herself laments expressly and strongly "her virginity", as Antigone and others did under similar circumstances,<sup>11</sup> because, in harmony with Eastern views on the mission of women, she mourned partly the misfortune and partly the disgrace of her childlessness. But both the misfortune and the disgrace were so fully outweighed by the glory of her obedience to the claims of the paternal vow, that the maidens of Israel praised the fate of the *sacrificed* virgin, and perpetuated its honour and distinction by annual festivals.<sup>12</sup> If she was not to suffer death, why did she demand

Palestine, p. 240 (le texte ne permet pas de douter que Jephté n'ait réellement offert sa fille en holocauste); *Studer*, Buch d. Richter erklärt, pp. 290 *sqq.*; *Winer*, Real-W. I. 541; *Hoffmann* in Ersch und Gruber's Encycl. II. xv. 249; *Kitto* in loc. (though he prefers to leave the question undecided); *Bertheau* in loc.; *Ewald*, Alterth. p. 76; Gesch. II. 400 (die des Helden würdige Tochter geht in den Opfertod durch des Vaters Hand), and he adds with decision, "the timid view of modern writers that Jephthah did not really sacrifice his daughter, deserves no refutation" (though in another place, Alterth. p. 87, he ventures himself the questionable remark, that Jephthah might have retracted his vow by expiating it through a trespass-offering, if he had not been "too proud" to do it—which view involves several grave misconceptions); *Bunsen* in loc. (Bibelwerk, II. p. 75, es ist klar, dass Jephthah seine Tochter Gott zu Ehren schlachtete, und dann als Opfer verbrannte); comp. also *Kurtz*, Luther. Zeitschr. 1853, pp. 209 *sqq.*; etc. etc.

<sup>10</sup> Ver. 35.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Soph.* Antig. 810—816

(ἀλλὰ μὲν ὁ παγκοίτας Αἰδὰς ζῶσαν Ἀγλαὴν Ἀχέροντος ἀκτᾶν, οὐθ' ὑμεναίων ἔγκληρον, οὐτ' ἐκινύμφειός πώ μί τις ὕμνος ὕμνησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀχέροντι συμφύσω); Oed. Tyr. 1501, 1502; Electr. 961, 962, 1183 (φεῦ τῆς ἀνύμφου δυσμόρου τε σῆς τροφῆς); *Eurip.* Hecuba 416 (ἄνυμφος, ἀνυμέναιος ὦν μ' ἐχρῆν τυχεῖν); *Lucret.* I. 98, 99 (on Iphigenia, sed casta inceste, nubendi tempore in ipso, hostia etc.); comp. *Dion Cass.* LV. 22 (ἐπειδὴ τε οὐ ῥαδίως οἱ πάντες εὐγενεῖς τὰς θυγατέρας ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἑοτίας ἱερατείας ἐπεδέδωσαν); *Sueton.* Aug. 31 (ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent).

<sup>12</sup> For ΠΑΝΤΕΛ is not *to bewail* or *lament* (so again *Fürst*, Hebr. Handwörterb. II. p. 535, in lauten Klagen betrauern; Sept. θρηνηῖν, Chald. ܡܢܠܢܠ, Luther, Engl. Vers., Michael etc.), but *to praise* Judg. V. 11 (וַיִּתְּנוּ לַיהוָה שִׁירָה "there they praise the blessings of the Lord"); comp. *Soph.* Ant. 817—822, where the chorus similarly consoles Antigone, οὐκοῦν κλεινὴ καὶ ἔπαινον ἔχουσ' ἐς τόδ' ἀπέρχου κεύθεος νεύων κτλ.; also *Eurip.* Hippol. 1428, 1429, αἰεὶ δὲ μνησσομένης αἰεὶ δὲ παρθένων ἵσταται μέγιστα νότα ἀντι-



a delay of two months for bewailing her unmarried state, which she would have been free to do during the rest of her life?<sup>1</sup> The passages that have been adduced to prove the metaphorical use of the words "offering up for a burnt-offering" in the sense of dedicating to the service of God,<sup>2</sup> are inconclusive, as they occur either in poetical compositions or in writings of a very late date when prayer, good works, and other pious exercises, were figuratively described as substitutes for the sacrificial service then impossible.<sup>3</sup> The words "and she knew no man" (ver. 39), which once more depict the heroic death of the pure virgin with quiet pathos and emphasis, are asserted to form "the subject of the vow", and therefore to mean, she devoted herself to God or to His sanctity<sup>4</sup> — but celibacy and sanctity were in the Hebrew Scriptures nowhere equivalent or correlative terms, and were never understood as such by the Israelites to whose life and notions the idea of the celibacy of women was utterly abhorrent.<sup>5</sup> Again, it has been contended that the narrative is designed to point out the complete contrast that existed between the institutions of the Ammonites and those of the Israelites; therefore, as human sacrifices were sanctioned among the former, they cannot be supposed among the latter<sup>6</sup> — a systematic contrast which no unbiassed reader of the narrative has yet discovered. Or it is averred that the pious Jephthah was not to be punished but to be enlightened; in making the vow he thought of some external possession; he was to learn that man must be ready to surrender his blood, the dearest treasure of his heart:<sup>7</sup> but the plain story, evidently communicated as historical, could not have been employed by the author as the vehicle

νυμὸς πρὸς κτλ.; and *Paus.* II. xxxii. 1; Engl. Vers. rehearse (comp. Aram. נָחַן and נָחַן to repeat, Arab. ثَنَى II. iv. x; comp. *Gesen.* Thesaur. p. 1511); *Sulp. Sever.* (l. c.) renders feebly and erroneously, ut aequales suas prius videret; Engl. Vers. marg. to talk with. The forms נָחַן and נָחַן in Ps. VIII. 2 and Prov. XXXI. 31, belong to the root נָחַן.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Rosenmüller* Schol. in loc. p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Hos. XIV. 3; Isai. XXXIV. 6; Ps. XL. 7—9; LI. 19; CXIX. 108; Sir. XXXV. 1, 2; Wisd. III. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 61, 62. The remarks of Hengstenberg (l. c. II. 137, 138) designed to prove the contrary, are untenable; *Keil* (l. c. p. 300) confesses

that it is impossible to find entirely corresponding parallels in the O. T.

<sup>4</sup> *Cassel*, l. c. p. 475, "sie lebte der Weihe Gottes."

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 2 Sam. XX. 3; see also *Talm. Sotah* 22a (בְּחֻלָּה צְלִינִית . . . הָרִי אֵלֶּי מִבְּלֵי עוֹלָם).

<sup>6</sup> *Cassel*, *Buch der Richter und Ruth*, in loc.

<sup>7</sup> *Cassel*, in *Herzog*, l. c. p. 469, and in general pp. 468—478; *Buch der Richter und Ruth*, pp. 107—114; he is closely followed by *Keil* (*Comment.* pp. 292—301), who also believes that the literal acceptance of the narrative is impossible from insuperable difficulties (p. 206), and that the spiritual interpretation is demanded "almost imperatively" (p. 300); but like his



of an abstruse doctrine, much less as the text of an edifying discourse. Indeed the propounder of the last mentioned singularities, confounding again by far-fetched subtleties what preceding writers had set into a clearer light, cannot be expected to furnish satisfactory arguments; his observations, involving a *petitio principii*, move in a circle; "the fact", he says, "that Jephthah is not released from the sacrifice, but has actually to fulfil his vow, is a manifest proof that no bloody sacrifice is meant; this would attribute to God the impossible intention of demanding a child's sacrifice in the manner of idols"; what is here assumed as an axiom — viz. that human sacrifices were never sacrificed to Jehovah — is just the very question under dispute. Others again have recommended the translation, "whatsoever comes forth of the doors of my house to meet me...shall surely be the Lord's, or I will offer it up (וְהָעֹלֹתָיִם) for a burnt-offering";<sup>8</sup> that is, if a human being, he or she shall be devoted to the Lord's service; if an animal fit for sacrifice, it shall be presented as a burnt-offering. Never has an elliptical expression like this been heard of in any language; it is certainly rejected by the spirit of Hebrew; and yet it does not include or provide for a third contingency — if an *unclean*, or a clean but *faulty* animal were to meet Jephthah: thus another and a strong reason is afforded to prove that he could have had in his mind a human being only. Equally objectionable are the translations, "that shall belong to the Lord, and I will (besides) offer to Him a burnt-offering"; and "or I will offer to Him a burnt-offering;"<sup>9</sup> for they are excluded by the grammatical construction of the words.<sup>10</sup> — Of the many other apologetic artifices suggested by a misplaced zeal, and revealing by their singularity the hopelessness of the struggle, it may suffice to quote one more. Jephthah, it is supposed, had indeed vaguely imagined that his only daughter would hasten to welcome him, but he had yet secretly hoped that "God would

predecessor he starts from dogmatic premises, "it is inconceivable that God should have selected for the performance of His work a man capable of vowing a human sacrifice" (p. 298) — after which all arguments are indeed superfluous.

<sup>8</sup> So Kimchi, Ralbag, Grotius, Glasius, Drusius, Waterland, Dodd, Wesley, a. o.; the Engl. Version has *and* in the text, and *or* in the margin; comp. Gram. §. 107. 1c; Rosenm. Schol. in loc. pp. 279, 280; *Winer*, Real-Wört. I. 541 note 5; *Bertheau* in loc.

<sup>9</sup> Randolph, J. S. Keddell (a dissertation on the Vow of Jephthah, London, 1840, pp. 32 *sqq.*).

<sup>10</sup> The suffix in וְהָעֹלֹתָיִם disclaims the meaning *to Him*; and in similar phrases the simple accusative עֹלָה is at least as frequently employed as לְעֹלָה (1 Sam. VI. 14; VII. 9; 2 Ki. III. 27; Ezek. XLIII. 27; Job XLII. 8; Judg. VI. 26), in accordance with the usage of Hebrew syntax (comp. Gram. § 102. 5, and CII. 5); see on the other hand, Gen. XXII. 2, 13; Lev. XX. 6, XXII. 18; etc.

not demand from him so great a sacrifice, and would so direct things that, what was most improbable in itself, would come to pass, and that not she but one of his most devoted slaves would come to meet him" <sup>1</sup> — a subtle casuistry which, in utter dissonance with the character and culture of a Jephthah, covets the merit of heroic piety, but in truth involves hypocrisy and cowardice.

We have dwelt at such length on the history of Jephthah's vow, because the conclusions which it suggests are of the highest importance. From the tenour of the narrative it is manifest that the deed was no isolated case, but that human sacrifices were on emergencies of peculiar moment habitually offered to God, and expected to secure His aid. One instance like that of Jephthah not only justifies but necessitates the inference of a general custom. Pious men slaughtered human victims not to Moloch nor to any other foreign deity, but to the national God Jehovah. The intended sacrifice of Isaac clearly points to the same inference, although that story is designed to teach the Hebrews an important lesson on the true spirit of sacrifice. <sup>2</sup> Again, it is not sufficient to concede that, in the time of the Judges, the "Mosaic Law" was little known and not strictly observed, as is admitted even by orthodox writers; it can, at that period, absolutely not have existed at all; had it existed, a God-fearing leader could not have uttered a vow cursed as an abomination in the Pentateuch; and had he uttered it, he would have been prevented by the appointed guardians of that code from publicly executing the impious and detestable act. <sup>3</sup>

The second recorded instance of human sacrifices killed in honour of Jehovah, forms a remarkable incident in the life of David. <sup>4</sup> It has above been proved that this distinguished monarch held images of Jehovah to be entirely inoffensive, and considered them a lawful means of ascertaining the future. <sup>5</sup> But he advanced another and most serious step in his misconception of the attributes of a Divine being. For when famine distressed the land and he had been informed by an oracle, <sup>6</sup> that God's anger was roused on account of Saul's unjust and cruel slaughter of the Gibeonites, to whom protection had been guaranteed

<sup>1</sup> *Hengstenberg*, l. c. p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> See Sect. XXV.

<sup>3</sup> The remarks of Hävernicks (Einleit. in den Pentat. pp. 501, 502) to prove the reverse, are extremely feeble; his embarrassment compels him to suppose that the vow of Jephthah was "not altogether anti-mosaic"; for however rash, it was inevitably to be fulfilled: but if a High-priest had weighed,

in the one scale, the neglect of a heedless pledge, and in the other the atrocity of a child-murder in honour of Jehovah, to which side would the balance have turned?

<sup>4</sup> 2 Sam. XXI. 1—14.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 353, 354.

<sup>6</sup> *Jos. Ant.* VII. xii. 1, τῶν δὲ προφητῶν ἀπόντων; others, he sought God by prayer.

by Joshua,<sup>7</sup> he delivered up to the men of Gibeon, on their request, seven descendants of Saul — “seven being the holy number suitable at the performance of a godly work”<sup>8</sup> — “to hang them up to Jehovah”, or “before Jehovah”:<sup>9</sup> and when thus “atonement” had been wrought,<sup>10</sup> Jehovah’s wrath was appeased, and the famine ceased. This story gives rise to very serious reflections. We dismiss with a passing allusion a few points not directly connected with the present enquiry. If *Saul* had committed a misdeed, why did David allow the punishment of his *descendants*, whereas the Pentateuch plainly teaches, “The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor shall the children be put to death for the fathers; every man shall be put to death for his own sin”?<sup>11</sup> And why had the whole nation to suffer the direst misery for a treachery of which the king alone bore the responsibility? It is here not the place to remark on the deep stain which the transaction casts upon David’s character, who readily seized so terrible an expedient for ridding himself of the surviving and dangerous scions of the preceding dynasty, whom he was pledged by the most solemn oaths to spare and to protect,<sup>12</sup> while he saved none but the lame, harmless, and unwarlike Mephibosheth. Nor is it necessary to examine, whether

<sup>7</sup> Ver. 2; Josh. IX. 15, 19, 20; comp. on the other hand, Deut. VII. 2, 24.

<sup>8</sup> So observes Keil (in loc. p. 334)!

<sup>9</sup> והוקענום ליהוה, ver. 6; ויקעו לפני יהוה, ver. 9; comp. Num. XXV. 4; Deut. XXI. 22, 23; the latter injunction not to allow the corpse of a hanged person to remain on the gallows over night — is at variance with our narrative (ver. 10), but it can have no force for the *Gibeonites*; Sept. ἐξηλάσωμεν (expose to the sun; comp. Num. XXV. 4 שָׁמַר הָאֱלֹהִים אֹתָם אֶת כָּל הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מְשֻׁלָּמִים לַיהוָה); Vulg. crucifigamus eos Domino (coram Domino).

<sup>10</sup> Comp. כָּבַד הַכֹּהֵן, ver. 3; Sept. ἐν τίνι ἐξιλάσθαι; Vulg. quod erit vestri piaculum? Joseph. (l. c.) vaguely τίνος βούλονται τυχεῖν, and, evidently anxious to cover the deed of David, he concludes παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰαβαωνῖται τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὡς ἐβούλετο ἐκόλασαν.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. XXIV. 16; 2 Ki. XIV. 6; 2 Chr. XXV. 4; Num. XXXV. 33 (וְלֹא יָמוּת לְדָם כִּי אִם בְּדָם שָׁפוּךְ); see p. 297; comp., however, p. 296

note 4. The supposition that Saul’s *whole family* participated in the execution of the crime (*Clericus* in loc. ver. 1, *Libr. Hist.* p. 341), is futile, since his *grand-children* cannot be proved to have been implicated in the act; the remark of the same writer (p. 342) retains therefore its full force and application, “certa enim et constans est haec justitiae regula innocentes pro noxiis sine iniquitate poenas dare nullo modo posse.” Keil (in loc. p. 334), utterly ignoring the whole difficulty, merely remarks “weil nach dem Gesetze die Blutschuld nur durch das Blut des Schuldigen (sic) gesühnt werden konnte.”

<sup>12</sup> 1 Sam. XXIV. 22, 23; comp. XX. 15, 42; see also *Grotius*, *De jure Belli et Pacis*, cap. XXII. num. 14. It is certainly too much to assert that “such a suspicion is disproved by all the other acts of David” (*Thenius* in loc. p. 231); his proceeding against Uriah alone is sufficient to show that his nature was not incapable at once of cunning and heartless cruelty.

Saul was really guilty of the alleged attack upon the Gibeonites, or whether he was merely charged with it by the oracle as a pretext for the inhuman retribution;<sup>1</sup> it is not mentioned at all in the Hebrew records;<sup>2</sup> and if it yet took place, it was probably too trifling an affair to deserve the historian's notice. But it particularly concerns us to observe that the whole matter was, in the first instance, referred to Jehovah;<sup>3</sup> that David was plainly informed of the intention of the Gibeonites of "hanging up" the seven persons "before Jehovah" as an "atonement";<sup>4</sup> that he willingly surrendered them for that atrocity;<sup>5</sup> that he evidently expected from that act a cessation of the famine; and that this calamity is reported to have really disappeared in consequence of the offering.<sup>6</sup> The sacrifice was indeed performed by the Gibeonites, but it was performed with the knowledge and consent of David. Thus human offerings were presented to Jehovah, not, as in the case of Jephthah, in a time of political or religious anarchy, but after the establishment of a strong monarchical government; nor countenanced by an untutored outlaw, but by one of the most cultivated minds that adorned the history and literature of the Israelites. It is of little consequence whether the narrative is literally historical, or whether it has been framed by the author of the second Book of Samuel, who utters no word of reprobation, in accordance with an old tradition;<sup>7</sup> the latter alternative would be more significant still; for as the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Charles Foysey*, Is every statement in the Bible about our Heavenly Father strictly true? Sermon, 3rd. ed. pp. 16—21, containing a manly and forcible protest against "the unrighteous and unholy ways and works" ascribed to God in this narrative and that concerning the pestilence caused by David's numbering the people (2 Sam. XXIV. 1 *sqq.*; 1 Chr. XXI. 1 *sqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> It is an idle conjecture that the massacre of the priests and people at Nob ordered by Saul (1 Sam. XXII. 18, 19) included that of the Gibeonites who served at the sanctuary as menials (Josh. IX. 21, 23, 27; comp. *Talm.* Bab. Kam. 119 a; *Saad.* and *Abarban.* in loc.; *Clericus*, l. c. p. 340), for Saul is stated to have persecuted the Gibeonites "throughout the whole territory of Israel" (ver. 5, כָּל־גִּבּוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל); or that Saul, "seeing the offence he had given by sparing the

Amalekites, sought to atone for it by destroying the Gibeonites" (Kitto, Philippon), a confusion of ideas which we are not justified in attributing to that unhappy king; comp. Deut. VII. 2, 24; see also *Thenius*, in loc. and *Talm.* Yevam. 79 a, (מִיִּפְּיִם וְלֹא פִּיִּסְנֵהוּ).

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 1, וַיִּבְקֶשׁ דָּוִד אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה, וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה.

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 3—6.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 6, וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲנִי אֲחֹן; jussu nempe Dei, qui eos reos esse norat, adds *Clericus* (p. 342) on his own authority.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 14, וַיִּעָתֶר אֱלֹהִים לְאַרְץ אֲחֵרִיכָן.

<sup>7</sup> It has been justly observed, "We have here evidently a mythical conception before us" or "a mythical notion of the divine government of the world" (*Philippon*, in loc. p. 468); but unless the proper inferences be drawn, it avails little to point out such

Books of Samuel were composed at a very late period,<sup>8</sup> they would argue the prevalence of most objectionable notions during many subsequent ages.<sup>9</sup>

No case of a human sacrifice offered to Jehovah is chronicled later than the time of David; but this absence of express testimony does not prove absence of the practice, since the Hebrew Scriptures are far from complete in their record of public and private worship.<sup>10</sup> The more explicit are the statements of the Bible with regard to human victims slaughtered in honour of Moloch. This idol, probably worshipped by the Hebrews from early times and even in the desert under the eyes of Moses,<sup>11</sup> and provided with a formal service by Solomon,<sup>12</sup> received constant sacrifices by all sections of the nation, both in the empire of Israel and of Judah.<sup>13</sup>

Under one of Solomon's immediate successors a remarkable event took place well calculated to prove the pre-eminent efficacy attributed to human offerings. Mesha, the king of Moab, was besieged in Kir-haraset, and hopelessly pressed by the joint armies of Israel, Judah, and Edom, the two former being led by the kings Jehoram and Jehoshaphat: in this critical position "he took his eldest son that should have succeeded him on the throne, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall", that is, publicly in the sight of the besieging army;<sup>14</sup> after which — so continues the historian — "a great wrath came upon the Israelites,"<sup>15</sup> and they departed from him, and returned to their own land."<sup>16</sup> It is uncertain whether the king of Moab slaughtered the sacrifice to his own national deity Chemosh, or, as is indeed less probable, to

pregnant premises; for the attempt at bringing into a causal connection bad harvests and the supposed misdeed of a king long defunct, implies indeed "a mythical conception."

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *De Helle*, Einleit. I. § 180; *Davidson*, Introduct. I. 523—529; a. o.

<sup>9</sup> On the chiefs of the people "hung up to the Lord against the sun" in the time of Moses by God's command (Num. XXV 4), and about Samuel, who "hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal" (1 Sam. XV. 33), see Sect. XXV.  
<sup>10</sup> See p. 378.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Am. V. 26; see p. 365. This opinion is for instance maintained and defended by the learned Vitranga (*Obs. Sacr.* pp. 266, 267), and it is ad-

mitted even by Öhler (in *Herzog's Real-Encycl.* XVI. 621), although from his biassed and uncritical point of view he supports his remarks by a reference to Lev. XVIII. 21 and XX. 2—5 — which passages have a very different scope (see Sect. XXIV; on Ezek. XX. 25 and 26, see Sect. XXV).

<sup>12</sup> 1 Ki. XI. 5, 7; see p. 365.

<sup>13</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 17, 19; comp. Jer. XXXII. 30, 32; Hos. XIII. 2 (see *Rosenmüller*, Schol. in loc.); see also Mic. VI. 7.

<sup>14</sup> *Joseph. Ant.* IX. iii. 2, ἡνὶκα παῖς ἐνέσθαι τοῖς πολέμοις.

<sup>15</sup> וידע קצף גזל על-ישראל; comp. Eccl. V. 16, וקצף ורבה ...

<sup>16</sup> 2 Ki. III. 27.

Jehovah,<sup>1</sup> who had till then so effectually assisted the Hebrews, and whose favour he might, therefore, have been anxious to secure for himself; it may also be admitted that Jehoshaphat, the pious king of Judah,<sup>2</sup> had no decisive voice in the military councils, since he was only an ally of Jehoram, the idolatrous ruler of Israel,<sup>3</sup> and the chief originator of the war; and that he can, therefore, not be made responsible for the hasty and infatuated return of the army; and granted even that the Edomites, confederated with the Hebrews,<sup>4</sup> were particularly affected by the apprehended consequences of the king of Moab's deed: yet it remains an undeniable fact that the Israelites were terrified by the power, supposed to be irresistible, of the human sacrifice to such a degree, that they abandoned the certain prospects of victory, and retreated ignominiously, enraged at the extreme device of the heathen monarch, who had preferred to devote his heir<sup>5</sup> to the deity, rather than lose his land or independence. The words which we have rendered, "a great wrath came upon the Israelites",<sup>6</sup> neither mean, "and there was a great wrath (of God) against Israel", since they had *occasioned* the horror of the human sacrifice, that is, they were smitten by a plague or suffered a defeat,<sup>7</sup> which, if brought into causal connection with Mesha's sacrifice, would aggravate the superstitious conception of the historian; nor can they signify "and there was a great indignation (of the enemies) against Israel",<sup>8</sup> which had existed long before the sacrifice in utmost intensity;<sup>9</sup> they can, according to sound exegetical rules, only point to the consternation into which the sacrifice, designedly performed in public, threw the troubled Hebrews; and the efforts

<sup>1</sup> Josephus (τῷ Θεῷ), Ephr.Syr., Rashi. <sup>2</sup> 1 Ki. XXII. 2—51.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Ki. III. 2, 3, 13, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. ver. 26.

<sup>5</sup> It is entirely against the context to understand that he sacrificed the son of the king of *Edom* (so Engl. Version in the summary to the chapter; Michaelis, Übersetzung mit Anmerk. in loc., a. o.); the sortie of the Moabites is expressly stated to have been unsuccessful, and the words יָקַח אֶת־בְּנוֹ הַבְּכֹר וְהִנֵּחַ אֹתוֹ בְּיָדָם cannot possibly be translated, "yet he made his firstborn son a prisoner."

<sup>6</sup> וַיָּבֹא קֶצֶץ גְּדֹל עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Num. XVIII. 5; 2 Chr. XXIX. 8; 1 Macc. I. 64; *Hengstenb. Auth. des Pent. II. 148; Ghillany, Menschenopfer,*

pp. 569—572, see also p. 200; Keil (in loc. p. 229, "diese Gräueltat brachte über Israel ein schweres göttliches Gericht), although in writing this he seems to have forgotten that in his remarks on Judg. XI. 39, 40 (p. 298), he had adopted a different interpretation (that of Cassel, see *infra*).

<sup>8</sup> English Version and others.

<sup>9</sup> The Sept. renders inaccurately μεταμέλεια μέγας ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ (though it translates קָצַץ elsewhere, as Deut. XXIX. 27, Jer. XXXII. 37, by μεταμέλεια, which would have been more appropriate in our passage also); Vulg. indistinctly, indignatio magna in Israel; see also *F. Field, Otium Norvicense*, p. 1.



that have been lavishly made to avoid this conclusion are necessarily forced and futile.<sup>10</sup>

And as if to remove every doubt on the awful subject, the Hebrew annals mention acts similar to that of the king of Moab as having been performed by several subsequent kings of Judah themselves, perhaps even without that urgency of the occasion which stimulated the pagan monarch. For it is related that Ahaz, the king of Judah (B. C. 743—728), "caused his son to pass through the fire, in accordance with the abominations of the heathens";<sup>11</sup> and the same execrable deed is recorded of Manasseh, the son of the pious Hezekiah.<sup>12</sup> Indeed Manasseh seems to have established, as a new and special place for the regular and permanent service of Moloch, that Topheth (תֹּפֶת) in the valley of Hinnom which, up to the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign (B. C. 642—611), remained untouched.<sup>13</sup> And though the detestable worship was then temporarily interrupted, it was soon afterwards resumed in its accustomed form. For Jeremiah again had occasion to break forth in the complaint, "The disgrace (i. e. the disgraceful idols, תִּבְשָׁט) devoured the labours of our fathers from our youth, their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters; we lie down in our shame, and our confusion covers us; for we have sinned against the Lord our God, we and our fathers, from our youth *even to this day*."<sup>14</sup> Nay even Ezekiel, writing during the Babylonian exile, inveighed against his obdurate co-religionists, "Thus says the Lord God, Do you pollute yourselves after the manner of your fathers? . . . for when you offer your gifts, when you make your children to pass through the fire, you pollute yourselves with all your idols *even up to this day*;"<sup>15</sup> and the

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, those of Jewish expositors in *Philipppson's* Comment., those of modern critics in the *Exeget. Handbuch*, although in the latter work, Thenius also misinterprets the passage in paraphrasing, "the Israelites, filled with abhorrence at Mesha's deed, abandoned the advantages obtained, rather than remain longer in a country defiled by such abominations", and he is followed in this erroneous view by later expositors, as Cassel (in *Herzog's Real-Encycl.* VI. 472, "die Gräuel des Kinderopfers waren ein Gegenstand des Schreckens und des Abscheu's), a. o.; but the sentiments thus attributed to the immoderate idol-worshipper Jehoram, are against historical proba-

bility, or rather evidence, as will at once be demonstrated.

<sup>11</sup> וְגַם אֶחָדָם הָעֵבִיר בְּאֵשׁ כְּחַעֲבוֹת 2 Ki. XVI. 3; 2 Chr. XXVIII. 3.

<sup>12</sup> 2 Ki. XXI. 6, וְהָעֵבִיר אֶחָדָם בְּאֵשׁ, the Chronist, true to his usual bias, attributes to the untheocratic Manasseh the sacrifice of several sons (אֶחָדָם, 2 Chr. XXXIII. 6).

<sup>13</sup> Comp. 2 Ki. XXIII. 10; Jer. VII. 31; XIX. 6, 14; see p. 366.

<sup>14</sup> Jer. III. 24, 25; comp. VII. 31, 32; וּמִלֹּא אֶחָדָם קִוּם הַזֶּה דָּם) XIX. 2—6 לְשֶׁרֶף אֶחָדָם בְּאֵשׁ עֲלוֹת וְנָקִים (לְבַעַל), 13, 14; XXXII. 35 (לְעֵבִיר אֶחָד). (בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶחָדָם קִוּוּ לְמֹלֶךְ).

<sup>15</sup> Ezek. XX. 30, 31; comp. KVL. 29, 21, 36.



same prophet reproached the people that blood was in their hands, for they burnt the very children whom they had born to their abominable idols "for food"; and when they had committed such revolting impiety, they had the hardihood to enter the Temple of Jehovah, and to profane it by their presence.<sup>1</sup> The hundred and sixth Psalm, composed in the captivity during the dispersion of the people,<sup>2</sup> and offering a brief survey of the people's destinies with reference to their religious career, confesses in general, that the Hebrews "sacrificed their sons and their daughters to the demons (דִּמְיוֹנִים), and shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and daughters, whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan, so that the land was polluted with blood."<sup>3</sup> And even the second Isaiah, who wrote at Babylon in the latter part of the exile, exclaimed, "Are you not children of iniquity, a seed of falsehood who are inflamed for the idols under every green tree, who slay the children in the valleys,<sup>4</sup> under the cliffs of the rocks?"<sup>5</sup>

It is, therefore, undoubted that human sacrifices were offered by the Hebrews from the earliest time up to the Babylonian period, both in honour of Jehovah and of heathen deities, not only by depraved idolators but sometimes even by pious servants of God; they probably ceased to be presented to Jehovah not much before they ceased to be presented at all; for being prized as deeds of singular piety, they were efficiently opposed and ultimately abolished only when the notions of piety itself were purified and refined. This was accomplished mainly by the diffusion and growing authority of the Pentateuch and the increased zeal of devoted reformers and leaders. Then at last Jehovah was conceived and taught in a manner more compatible with the attributes of an omnipotent and eternal spirit, the Creator and Ruler of the Universe, and then that religious system was finally developed, which bears the distinctive name of Mosaic or Hebrew, and which is fundamentally different from that of the other ancient nations.

This will be more obvious, if we briefly state

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. XXIII. 37, 39. This passage which merely denounces the duplicity, so often rebuked, of combining the most nefarious practices with a deceitful worship of Jehovah (see p. 51), has been understood, by a very extraordinary process of reasoning, to prove that it was customary among the Israelites to repair, on every Sabbath which is the day of Saturn, to the Topheth in the valley of Hinnom, there to offer human sacrifices, and then to come into the Temple, where, "a part of the

ashes was strewn before the statue of Moloch, while the bones of the victims were preserved in the Ark of the Covenant" (see *Ghillany*, *Menschenopfer*, pp. 221, 355—358; *Movers*, *Phoen. l.* 357) — a combination as remarkable as it is groundless.

<sup>2</sup> See Ver. 47.      <sup>3</sup> Vers. 37, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Probably in imitation of the same hideous worship in the valley of Hinnom, to which they had been accustomed in Palestine.

<sup>5</sup> Isai. LVII. 5.

## XXIV. THE VIEWS OF THE PENTATEUCH AND THE HEBREW PROPHETS ON IDOLATRY AND HUMAN SACRIFICES.

THE idols were designated by names which alone are almost sufficient to prove in what light they were regarded by the more discerning minds among the Israelites. They received appellations expressive either of scornful contempt or of vehement abhorrence; for they were called, on the one hand, NONENTITIES,<sup>6</sup> that is, *gods that are no-gods*,<sup>7</sup> powerless and mute,<sup>8</sup> empty and unreal shadows (וְהָיָה) that cannot help nor save,<sup>9</sup> while Jehovah (יהוה) is the only One that *is* or *exists* for ever,<sup>10</sup> or VANITIES,<sup>11</sup> lying and deceitful,<sup>12</sup> because the work of human hands,<sup>13</sup> made of metal or wood,<sup>14</sup> or BLOCKS and TRUNKS,<sup>15</sup> whereas Jehovah is man's "strength and fortress, and refuge",<sup>16</sup> or the "rock of help";<sup>17</sup> and on the other hand, they were termed ABOMINATIONS,<sup>18</sup> or DETESTATIONS;<sup>19</sup> and they were, together with those who manufactured them, derided by the prophets with the bitterest and most taunting sarcasm, in passages which belong to the most exquisite compositions of the whole canon.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, terms like "Jehovah is the God of gods",<sup>21</sup> or "awful above all gods",<sup>22</sup> or "the highest God",<sup>23</sup> or "none is like

<sup>6</sup> אֱלִילִים, Lev. XIX. 4; XXVI. 1; Isai. II. 8, 18, 20; 1 Chr. XVI. 26; Ps. XCVI. 5; XCVII. 7; comp. 1 Cor. VIII. 4, οὐδὲν εἰδωλὸν ἐν κόσμῳ; see also X. 19; Isai. XLIX. 1, "the nonentities of Egypt tremble before Jehovah"; see XXI. 9.

<sup>7</sup> אֱלֹהִים לֹא אֱלֹהִים, Jer. XVI. 20; V. 7; or *no-deity* (לֹא-אֱלֹהִים), Deut. XXXII. 21.

<sup>8</sup> אֱלִילִים אֱלִים, Hab. II. 18.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Sam. XII. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Exod. III. 14, אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה.

<sup>11</sup> הַבָּלִים, Deut. XXXII. 21; 1 Ki. XVI. 13, 26; 2 Ki. XVII. 15 (וַיִּלְכּוּ); Jer. II. 5; LI. 18.

<sup>12</sup> הַבָּלִי שָׁוְיָה, Jon. II. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Hence also called עֲצָבִים, from עָצַב, to work, to fashion; Jer. X. 3, חֲקוֹת הָעַמִּים הַבֵּל הוּא כִּי עֵץ מִיֶּעָר כָּרְתוּ מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי חָרָשׁ בַּמַּעֲצָר.

<sup>14</sup> Jer. X. 2, 8, 15; LI. 18.

<sup>15</sup> גִּלְגָּלִים, Lev. XXVI. 30; Deut. XXIX. 16; 2 Ki. XVII. 12; XXI. 21; Ezek. VI. 4, 6; XIV. 6; XVI. 36; XX. 7, 8, 39; XXIII. 39; XXX. 13; etc. — Sept. ἄνε-

τήδευμα, διανόημα, or ἐνθυμήματα (fiction or invention); Chald. אֲרִיִּיִּם (nothingness).

<sup>16</sup> Jer. XVI. 19; comp. X. 6, 7.

<sup>17</sup> צוֹר יִשְׁעָה, Deut. XXXII. 15; comp. Acts XIV. 15, τὰ μάταια, in opposition to τὸν θεὸν ζῶντα.

<sup>18</sup> תִּבְעָבוֹת, Deut. XXXII. 16; 2 Ki. XXIII. 13; Ezek. XI. 21; etc.

<sup>19</sup> תִּקְצִיץ, Hos. IX. 10; Deut. XXIX. 16; Jer. IV. 1; Ezek. V. 11; XX. 7, 8; 1 Ki. XI. 5, 7; 2 Ki. XXIII. 24; comp. Comm. on Exod. pp. 103, 104. On סִפְלָצוֹת (1 Ki. XV. 13; 2 Chr. XV. 16) properly *terror* comp. Ewald, Gesch. III. 182, 183.

<sup>20</sup> Isai. XLIV. 9—19; XL. 19, 20; XLI. 6, 7; XLV. 16, 20; XLVI. 6, 7; Jer. X. 3—5; etc.; comp. Hor. Sat. I. viii. 1—7 (Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum, etc.).

<sup>21</sup> אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהִים, Deut. X. 17.

<sup>22</sup> עֶלְיוֹן אֱלֹהִים, Ps. XCVI. 4.

<sup>23</sup> אֱלֹהִים עֶלְיוֹן or אֵל עֶלְיוֹן, Gen. XIV. 18—22; Ps. VII. 15; IX. 3; XLV. 3, LVII. 3; etc.

Thee among the gods",<sup>1</sup> wherever they occur in later writings, do not involve a recognition of other deities, but mean simply that Jehovah, the acknowledged God of the Hebrews, is mightier than the beings whom other nations consider as gods, and from whom they expect help and deliverance.<sup>2</sup> It is indeed probable that those terms point to a time when the veneration of the Hebrews was divided between Jehovah and other deities as between rival gods, and when the latter were not yet looked upon as "nonentities"; thus Jephthah, in his message to the king of the Ammonites,<sup>3</sup> attributed to their god Chemosh power to procure for them victory and conquest, in the same manner as Jehovah assists the Hebrews;<sup>4</sup> for the absolute sovereignty of Jehovah was a notion gradually arrived at by severe intellectual struggles. But when the victory was gained at last, Jehovah was so exclusively worshipped as the Lord of all nature and all mankind, that He was described not only as the source of light but also of darkness, nor only as the author of "peace" but also of "evil",<sup>5</sup> lest a temptation be left of adopting a good and an evil principle in the world, after the manner of the Persian, Egyptian, and other heathen creeds. Then it was that all divinities besides Him were designated as *strange*<sup>6</sup> or simply as *other gods*,<sup>7</sup> though the Hebrew pantheon was constantly enlarged by *new* deities that had not been revered in preceding generations.<sup>8</sup> To express the intimacy and holiness of the relation that was to exist between Jehovah and the Hebrews, it was often represented by the figure of a matrimonial alliance — God as the husband or father, Israel as the wife or the children, as the son or firstborn son; every deviation from His precepts was conjugal faithlessness or "fornication";<sup>9</sup> God was supposed to send to His undutiful people "a letter of divorce";<sup>10</sup> and in many other points that simile was carried out with elaborate minuteness;<sup>11</sup> or Israel was described as God's people or inheritance, His peculiar nation or treasure,

<sup>1</sup> אֵין כִּמֹּךְ בָּאֱלֹהִים, Ex. XV. 11; Ps. LXXXVI. 8; comp. XCV. 3; XCVII. 7, 9; etc.; Spinoza, Tr. theol. pol. II. 37, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. 2 Ki. XIX. 15—19; Dan. II. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. XI. 15 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 24, "Dost thou not take possession of that which Chemosh thy god gives thee to possess? so whomsoever Jehovah our God drives out before us, them will we possess"; comp. also 2 Ki. V. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Isai. XLV. 7, אֲנִי יְהוָה עוֹשֶׂה כָּל־אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין עוֹד, אֱלֹהִים; comp. ver. 5, וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים; etc.

<sup>6</sup> זָרִים; Deut. XXXII. 16; Ps. XLIV. 21; LXXXI. 10; Jer. VIII. 19 (הַבְּלִי נָכַר); Deut. XXXI. 16; Josh. XXIV. 23.

<sup>7</sup> אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים; Exod. XX. 3; Deut. VI. 14; XI. 16; XXX. 17; etc.

<sup>8</sup> זָרִים, Deut. XXXII. 17; comp. Judg. V. 8.

<sup>9</sup> חֲזוֹנוֹת, וְנִינִים, וְנִינִים; Exod. XXXIV. 15; Lev. XVII. 7; Num. XIV. 33; Judg. VII. 27; Hos. I. 2; II. 4, 7, 21, 22; IV. 12; V. 7; Isai. I. 21; Jer. II. 2, 25; LI. 5; etc.

<sup>10</sup> סֵפֶר כְּרִיתוֹת, Jer. III. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Ezek. XVI. XXIII.

His chosen ones or His flock.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile the notions of theocracy were developed and practically applied in the organisation of the state. Then Jehovah was conceived not merely as the God, but as the king of the people, and then a leaning towards other deities was not only treachery but treason. A public curse was to be pronounced against those who revered idols in secret.<sup>13</sup> The mere attempt at seducing others to unlawful worship, though the attempt was made with a brother, a son or a daughter, a beloved wife or a friend, was to be visited with lapidation,<sup>14</sup> even if it were supported by dreams and prophecies, by real and undeniable miracles.<sup>15</sup> A town that had been induced to adopt idolatrous rites, was to be destroyed, both men and beasts together with all property; it was to remain "an eternal heap of ruins, never to be rebuilt."<sup>16</sup> Prostration before idols or swearing by their divinity was a heinous crime;<sup>17</sup> their very names should not be familiarly uttered.<sup>18</sup> Idolatry itself became synonymous with "iniquity" (רָעָה).<sup>19</sup> As, therefore, idol-worship in whatever form implied revolt against Jehovah's absolute supremacy, it was interdicted on penalty of death for individuals,<sup>20</sup> and of excision and dispersion for the nation.<sup>21</sup> It was menaced with the most fearful woes and troubles, especially in the Books of Deuteronomy and Leviticus, which were completed at a time when public calamities and national disasters could fitly be represented as the Divine retaliation for hardened disobedience: not only were those general terms which had almost become conventional in portraying Divine retaliation, employed to pronounce that all nature will be visited by the curse of God — that ample seed would yield scanty produce, and the trees bear no fruit, since the locust, the cricket, and the vermin, blast and mildew would destroy the vintage and the harvest; that the sky would be like brass, and the earth like iron; that sand and dust would descend instead of rain and dew; that man and beast would be afflicted with barrenness; that pestilence would rage with every fearful and incurable disease, and the minds of men be overwhelmed by confusion, anguish and madness —; but it was distinctly declared, that the land of the Hebrews would be deluged by foreign

<sup>12</sup> On these and other metaphors see Comm. on Exod. pp. 332, 333.

<sup>13</sup> Deut. XXVII. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Deut. XIII. 7—12; XVII. 2—7.

<sup>15</sup> Vera. 2—6.

<sup>16</sup> Deut. XIII. 13—15.

<sup>17</sup> Exod. XX. 5; XXIII. 24; Deut. V. 9; Josh. XXIII. 7; etc.

<sup>18</sup> Exod. XXIII. 13.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Sam. XV. 23; Isai. LXVI. 3; comp. רָעָה for רָעָה, see p. 358.

<sup>20</sup> Exod. XXII. 19; Deut. XVII. 2—7; XIII. 2—6; XII. 29—31; see Comm. on Exod. p. 427.

<sup>21</sup> Deut. VI. 14, 15; VIII. 19, 20; XXX. 17, 18; XXXI. 16—18; comp. Josh. XXIII. 7, 16; XXIV. 14, 15; 1 Ki. IX. 6—9.

hosts whom "God should bring from afar, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flies, and whose tongue they would not understand"; that they would suffer the most terrible sieges, when, in helplessness and despair, they would "eat of the fruit of their own bodies, the flesh of their sons and their daughters", and refuse to grant a share of the horrid food even to their nearest and most beloved kinsmen; that their corpses would lie unburied and unheeded; and that then the land would be occupied by the relentless enemy, who would seize their houses and vineyards, their flocks and herds, carry away their wives, their sons, and daughters, their kings and chiefs into a strange country, there to suffer distress and want and ignominy, and to be scattered among all nations, from one end of the earth to the other, yea to be sold again into Egypt as bondmen, though despised and rejected even for the meanest services, till their name became a horror and a by-word among all nations:<sup>1</sup> all this was sure to befall them if they swerved from Jehovah and His precepts;<sup>2</sup> and all transgressors were warned not to indulge in the delusion of being exempted from the awful chastisements of idolatry.<sup>3</sup> So faithfully did the authors of the Pentateuch describe, as eye-witnesses, the fearful misfortunes that crushed Israel and Judah in the Assyrian and Babylonian periods.

But it is not enough to acknowledge Jehovah as the only God;<sup>4</sup> He must be adored under no visible form whatever, not by any image (פֶּסֶל), figure (תְּמוּנָה), or likeness (תְּבִלִּית), whether of man or woman, of beast or bird, of fish or reptile;<sup>5</sup> because, according to the writer's account, the people, when communing with God at mount Horeb, had only heard a voice, but seen no figure.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, nearly all the manifold forms of idolatry which prevailed among the Hebrews in the author's times, or had been practised by them in former periods, were individually interdicted — the worship of the heavenly bodies, of sun, moon and stars,<sup>7</sup> of Ashtarte<sup>8</sup> with her licentious service,<sup>9</sup> and of the animals held sacred by the Egyptians,<sup>10</sup> the worship on "high places",<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deut. XXVIII. 15—68; Levit. XXVI. 14—43.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. vers. 15, 20, 45, 47, 48; comp. also Deut. IV. 25—27; VI. 14, 15; VIII. 19, 20; XI. 16, 17; XXX. 17, 18; 1 Ki. IX. 6—9.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. XIX. 16—21.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. XX. 3; Deut. V. 7; comp. Isai. XLII. 8; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. IV. 16—18; comp. ver. 25; V. 28; Exod. XX. 4; Isai. XL. 18; XLVI. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. IV. 12, 15; comp. Exod. XX. 18—21.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. IV. 19; XVII. 3; Lev. XXVI. 30 (חַמְסִיִּים, see p. 361); see also Jer. X. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. XVI. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. XIX. 29; Deut. XXIII. 18, 19; comp. 1 Ki. XXII. 47; 2 Ki. XXIII. 7 (אֲחָז, קִרְשָׁה and קִרְשִׁים, סִכּוֹחַ בָּנוֹת), see p. 360.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. XVII. 7 (שְׂעִירִים); comp. XVIII. 3; Deut. XXXII. 17; see p. 368.

<sup>11</sup> בָּמֹת, Lev. XXVI. 30; comp. Ezek. VI. 3; XX. 29.

and the erection of altars and images, statues and memorial stones, for idolatrous purposes,<sup>12</sup> while their absolute destruction, wherever they should be found,<sup>13</sup> was commanded with such uncompromising severity that not even the gold or silver with which they were made or adorned, was allowed to be used, but was to be detested like a curse and an abomination;<sup>14</sup> nay the Canaanite tribes themselves were to be extirpated, and all alliances with them scrupulously shunned, lest they should seduce the Hebrews to adopt their gods and their superstitions.<sup>15</sup> The Pentateuch forbids incisions and other mutilations of the body customary among heathens;<sup>16</sup> it brands divination and enchantment, witchcraft and magic, incantation and necromancy,<sup>17</sup> which arts, if practiced secretly, are menaced with excision (כַּרְחַל), if publicly, are to be punished with death by stoning,<sup>18</sup> since they belong to those abominations (רְעוּבָה), on account of which the tribes of Canaan had been doomed to perdition,<sup>19</sup> and which would preclude the Israelite from being "perfect with his God."<sup>20</sup> But it denounces the heinousness of human sacrifices with a vehemence of indignation which proves at once how deeply they were detested by the enlightened, and how inveterately they were upheld by the mass of the Israelites. It ordains that any man, whether a stranger or a Hebrew, who offers up his child to Moloch, shall be stoned to death, for "he has defiled the Sanctuary of the Lord and His holy name"; it adds that, if anyone encourages, were it only by his silence, such deeds of horror, God threatens, "I will set My face against that man, and against his family, and will cut him off and all that go astray after him, from among

<sup>12</sup> מִשְׁכִּיתוֹ, Exod. XX. 23; Lev. XIX. 4; XXVI. 1; Deut. XVI. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Exod. XXIII. 24; XXXIV. 13; Num. XXXIII. 52; Deut. VII. 5; XII. 2, 3; comp. Isai. XXVII. 9; 2 Ki. XVIII. 4; XXIII. 24.

<sup>14</sup> Deut. VII. 25, 26; comp. Isai. XXX. 22: a trace of the gradual growth of this severity is preserved in 1 Chr. XIV. 12, "the Philistines left there their gods, and David commanded and they were burnt in fire"; whereas the second Book of Samuel (V. 21) has instead of the last words, "and David and his men carried them away", וַיִּשְׂאֵם דָּוִד וְאֲנָשָׁיו, the modification of the Chronist being made in his usual unhistorical spirit: it is remarkable that the authorised English version injudiciously follows the Chronist, since

it renders in Samuel also, *and David and his men burnt them*, a translation which the verb נִשְׂאָם repudiates.

<sup>15</sup> Exod. XXIII. 32, 33; Deuter. VII. 2—4, 24; XX. 16—18; comp. Exod. XVII. 14; 1 Sam. XV. 2, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. XIX. 28; XXI. 5; Deut. XIV. 1.

<sup>17</sup> נִחֵשׁ and קִסָּם in Num. XXIII. 23; Deut. XVIII. 10; comp. Lev. XIX. 26; 1 Sam. XV. 23; יִדְעָנִים and אֲבוֹתָם in Lev. XIX. 31; מִכְשָׁפִי and מִכְשָׁפָה in Exod. XXII. 17; Deut. XVIII. 10; מַעוֹן and חֹבֶר חֹבֶר in Deut. XVIII. 10, 11; see also *supra* pp. 375, 376.

<sup>18</sup> Lev. XX. 6, 27; 1 Sam. XXVIII. 3, 9; 2 Ki. XXIII. 24.

<sup>19</sup> Deut. XVIII. 10, 11; comp. 2 Ki. XXIII. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Deut. XVIII. 13; רָאִים וְהָיָה עִם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ.

their people"<sup>1</sup> — an addition which renders it evident that, on the part of the people, an indulgent connivance at the rites of Moloch was to be apprehended; and it repeats the same injunction with sustained emphasis;<sup>2</sup> while the prophets inveigh against the revolting practice with implacable bitterness, and predict, as an inevitable punishment, death and pestilence, affliction and mourning, and general desolation,<sup>3</sup> famine in sieges and disaster in battles,<sup>4</sup> subjection and ignominy.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, in spite of the perpetual and decided prevalence of idolatry, there always existed among the Hebrews a small band of clear-sighted men, who by a fine intuition were capable of forming purer notions, and often proclaimed them at the peril of their lives; they were the "holy seed" that was to grow into a towering tree; they were the spark that was to light the torch of progress; for long epochs their voice was heard in isolated accents only, or in prophetic speech, such as the requirements of the moment called forth; till at last their doctrines were laid down in a collected code, if not systematically, at least comprehensively, enjoined with earnestness and authority, and, if necessary, shielded by the arm of worldly power. Therefore, while other nations remained sunk in superstition and disappeared tracelessly as soon as they had lost their national independence, the Hebrews, from the beginning endowed with the germ of intellectual advancement,<sup>6</sup> flourished and developed their true strength in exile and persecution. By adopting the canon of the Scriptures, compiled and sanctioned by their spiritual leaders, they were familiarised with the ideas that had so long been preached in vain, and which found a welcome support in the influence of the almost Puritanical spirit of the Persian religion suffering no image or representation of its deities. Then the task could be undertaken, so consistently accomplished in the Books of Chronicles three or four generations after Zerubbabel,<sup>7</sup> of composing the anterior history of the Israelites from a Levitical point of view, of treating it in accordance with the principles set forth in the Pentateuch, and of colouring, nay of modifying the narrative of the events by a constant regard to the observance or neglect of the "Mosaic Law." A later work, the Book of Daniel, written in the second century before the present era, and carrying the thread down to the last years of the reign

<sup>1</sup> Lev. XX. 2—5.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XVIII. 21; Deut. XII. 31; XVIII. 10; comp. *Philo*, De Vict. c. 14, τὸν δὲ ἱερὸν βωμὸν οὐ θέμις αἵματι ἀνθρώπου μαινεσθαι; see *Hengstenb. Auth. des Pent.* II. 144, 145.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. VII. 31—34.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. XIX. 1—13; XXXII. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. XVI. 36 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Judg. V. 2—5; VI. 8; 1 Sam. II. 27.

<sup>7</sup> See 1 Chr. III. 19—24; some count five, others even nine generations (comp. *Zunz*, *Gottesd. Vorträge*, p. 31).



of Antiochus Epiphanes, represents the complete triumph of the worship of Jehovah over that of all idols, and describes how even heathen kings, lost in the grossest superstitions, are forced to acknowledge the grandeur and the supremacy of the God of Israel, and to command His service within their dominions.<sup>8</sup> And this glorious and fondly cherished hope is finally realised in the Books of the Maccabees, especially the first, which record the exploits of the champions of Israel's faith, and the persecution and partial annihilation of idolatry, and which disclose the firm hold which the Pentateuch, hallowed by the authority of the name of Moses, had then already gained upon the thoughts and the lives of the Jews.<sup>9</sup>

### XXV. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE HUMAN SACRIFICES OF THE HEBREWS.

AS the extent to which human sacrifices prevailed among the ancient Hebrews, has often been much exaggerated, and as they have even been represented to have obtained legislative sanction, it may be expedient briefly to examine the arguments that have been adduced in support of this view; and we believe that an unbiassed enquiry will lead to no other result than that at which we have arrived by a historical analysis of the idolatries that generally predominated in Israel.

It is indeed admitted on all hands that "the Old Testament nowhere literally authorises human sacrifices"; that in fact not many clear cases are mentioned;<sup>10</sup> but this absence of positive proof is attributed to "the reformers after the exile", who allowed few traces of objectionable customs to remain in the sacred Books.<sup>11</sup> So, for instance, it is ordained in Deuteronomy, that all the firstling males of the herd and the flock shall be sanctified to God and eaten every year in the town of the national Temple;<sup>12</sup> this command is asserted to have originally included the sacrificing and eating of the firstborn sons also, but to have been suppressed at the "revision" of the Book by the "reforming party."<sup>13</sup> Few will attach value to such hazards. It lies at present beyond the reach of criticism to ascertain, what, if anything, has been blotted out from the Hebrew records in their original form. Yet great ingenuity has been displayed in defending what is hardly more than a bold paradox, and an unexpected array of arguments has been put forth which require impartial scrutiny. — "There were religious institutions among the Hebrews very clearly proving that, before the Babylonian exile, human sacrifices were employed, in the service of the national God, not only occasionally and in isolated instances, but that they were offered regularly and

<sup>8</sup> Compare, among other passages, Dan. II. 47; III. 28—30; IV. 31—34; V. 23; VI. 11, 26—28.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. 1 Macc. II. 17—25; IV. 43; V. 68; X. 83, 84; XIII. 47, 48. On the Talmudical teaching with regard to idolatry, see *Hamburger, Geist der*

*Hagada*, pp. 14—20, and *Real-Encycl. für Bibel und Talm.* pp. 13—19.

<sup>10</sup> *Ghillany, Die Menschenopfer der alten Hebräer*, Nürnberg 1842, pp. 31, 492, 518.

<sup>11</sup> *L. c.* p. 492.

<sup>12</sup> Deut. XV. 19, 20.

<sup>13</sup> *Ghillany, l. c.* p. 649.

in large numbers."<sup>1</sup> This is the text of long and minute discussions which we cannot indeed here follow in all their intricacies, but of which we shall introduce the most striking features, in order to attempt a refutation. The task, though uncongenial, may not be unprofitable, because the views which we shall endeavour to combat, imply a complete distortion of Biblical theology, though they number among their adherents some of the most learned and most acute critics.

I. "It is impossible to determine how far the custom of slaughtering the *firstborn children* reaches back into the past; but Moses has surely prescribed this sacrifice of the firstborn as a law of Jehovah."<sup>2</sup> How, *surely*? By what proof has this conjecture been substantiated? We can find none beyond the bare assertion. It is even added that Moses commanded the firstborn sons to be *burnt* to Jehovah; this is inferred from the alleged fact that the Egyptian king Amasis, who lived at least nine centuries after Moses, ordered three wax-tapers to be burnt daily in the Temple of Heliopolis, instead of the three men who had previously been sacrificed;<sup>3</sup> but not wax-tapers but wax-images were by Amasis substituted for the men.<sup>4</sup> It is contended that, during the wanderings in the desert, "the firstborn were regularly killed" at the bidding of Moses and as far as his authority could enforce the law:<sup>5</sup> but from the only sources we possess on the subject, we know that Moses neglected even the circumcision of his own son,<sup>6</sup> and allowed the whole nation to neglect it during the time of his leadership.<sup>7</sup> It is supposed that the people commenced to free themselves from the worship of Moloch in the period of the Judges; that from the time of the completion of the Temple, the parents were permitted to choose between the sacrifice and the redemption of their children; that, lastly, although from the building of the second Temple to the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans, sacrificing was interdicted, and redemption or circumcision alone allowed, yet the firstborn had to undergo a "baptism of fire", which consisted in drawing the child over or through the flames of the burning victim that was offered in his stead.<sup>8</sup> We seek in vain for a single argument in corroboration of this detailed theory,<sup>9</sup> unless it be based upon the erroneous acceptance of a Hebrew term.<sup>10</sup>

It is impossible to deny that the firstborn sons were frequently sacrificed, not only by idolatrous Israelites in honour of foreign gods, as Moloch and Baal, but by pious men in honour of Jehovah;<sup>11</sup> but the Pentateuch, the embodiment of the more enlightened and advanced creed of the Hebrews, distinctly commanded the redemption of the firstborn.<sup>12</sup> Yet here again "the reformers after the exile" are vaguely taxed with corruption of the original words, and substitution of their own severer views for those of the elder historian.<sup>13</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> L. c. p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> L. c. p. 505.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra* p. 347 note 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Porph. Abst.* II. 55, ἐθύοντο δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ἀντ' ὧν κηρίων ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ἀμωσις τοὺς ἱσους ἐπιτίθεισθαι.

<sup>5</sup> L. c. p. 506.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. IV. 24—26. <sup>7</sup> Josh. V. 6, 7.

<sup>8</sup> L. c. pp. 503—510.

<sup>9</sup> רַב־עֲוֹן, see p. 381. <sup>10</sup> See p. 390.

<sup>11</sup> Exod. XIII. 2, 13; see Comm. in loc.

<sup>12</sup> *Ghillany*, l. c. pp. 495, 497—499,

a deduction which may fairly be taken as a specimen of that author's baseless argumentation combining unscrupulous boldness of assertion and inaccuracy of information or statement: considering such and many other arguments, we can hardly be surprised that Öhler speaks of the "toll gewordene Kritik eines Ghillany" (in Herzog's Real-Encycl. XVI. p. 621). Kindred to Ghillany's work is that of G. Fr.

firstborn, as the chief of the household, was so indispensable to its efficient management, that he was even relieved from the priestly functions naturally devolving upon him. From the time that the theocratic organisation existed and was recognised, the eldest sons were unquestionably redeemed. Occasionally the precept is indeed stated in general terms, as, "Sanctify to Me all the firstborn, whatsoever opens the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and beast, it is Mine",<sup>13</sup> or "The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give to Me";<sup>14</sup> but it is with sufficient distinctness defined by the context;<sup>15</sup> and a fair interpretation renders misconception impossible. It is even probable that the laws just quoted were designed to counteract the prevailing horrors of Moloch by substituting a religious devotion of the life of the firstborn for their immolation in honour of the deity; and that therefore the terms of those precepts were advisedly chosen so as to recall to the reader's mind that intended substitution;<sup>16</sup> but the injunction itself is distinct and unequivocal, and read in connection with other and corresponding commands, renders it indubitable that the Pentateuch disclaimed human sacrifices as utterly abhorrent to the attributes of Jehovah. There is no foundation for the opinion that the sacrifice of firstborn children was, at any period, regulated by a law or a binding custom; and it is at least generally allowed, that in the time of Micah, in the eighth century, it was not compulsory, but existed as a self-imposed act of piety.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, all later passages must be construed accordingly. A few figurative expressions, as "Israel is the firstborn son of God",<sup>18</sup> or "the firstfruit of His increase",<sup>19</sup> have been urged as a proof of the singular eagerness with which Jehovah, "the king, Saturn or Melech of the Israelites", claimed their firstborn children.<sup>20</sup> It is needless to offer a retort. — Ezekiel thus reproves the people in the name of God, "Moreover, thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast born to Me, and hast sacrificed them to the heathen gods for food."<sup>21</sup> From these terms it has been concluded that Jehovah was believed to require the children of the Israelites in the same manner as Moloch demanded them; but the prophet, on the contrary, declares that the children were intended to *live* for Jehovah and His service instead of being nefariously sacrificed to idols. In view of these unmistakable testimonies, a contrary meaning ought not to be attached to an uncertain passage of the same prophet, "And I gave them also statutes that were not good,<sup>22</sup> and judgements whereby they should not live; and I polluted them in their own gifts when they caused to pass through the fire all that opens the womb."<sup>23</sup> This passage can not imply a permission, much less an injunction, to offer the

Daumer, *Der Feuer- und Molochdienst der alten Hebräer, als urväterlicher, legaler, orthodoxer Cultus der Nation historisch-kritisch nachgewiesen*, Braunschweig 1842 (comp. *Ghillany*, l. c. p. 231, note 3), the leading view of which Lengerke (*Kanaan* p. 250) characterises as a conception which "an Abgeschmacktheit und Unkritik ihres Gleichen sucht"; while Kurtz (*Geschichte des Alten Bundes*, pp. 204, 205) charges Daumer with "unerhörte Frechheit und Brutalität", a "verbrann-

tes Gehirn", and "Plumpheit und Dummheit." <sup>13</sup> Exod. XIII. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Exod. XXII. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Exod. XIII. 12, 13.

<sup>16</sup> וְהֵעֲבֵרְתָּ כָּל־פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם לַיהוָה, *ibid.* ver. 12; for הֵעֲבִיר is the peculiar word for offering to Moloch, see p. 381.

<sup>17</sup> Micah VI. 6, 7; comp. *infra*.

<sup>18</sup> Exod. IV. 22.

<sup>19</sup> רֵאשִׁית תְּבוּאָתָהּ, Jer. II. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ghillany*, l. c. p. 504.

<sup>21</sup> Ezek. XVI. 20. <sup>22</sup> חֻקִּים לֹא טוֹבִים.

<sup>23</sup> Ezek. XX. 25, 26.

firstborn children as sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> It can only mean that the "statutes" given to the Israelites did not prove or turn out to be good or beneficial for them, since they became occasions for transgression and disobedience; and that the "judgments" enjoined by the Law, called forth death and destruction, since the firstborn children were offered and burnt to idols.<sup>2</sup> Immediately afterwards, Ezekiel calls the gods to whom such disgraceful sacrifices were presented, detestations (שְׂקִיזִים) and blocks (גְּזֵלִים), by which the Hebrews contaminated themselves;<sup>3</sup> he certainly does not refer to Jehovah; and Jeremiah observes distinctly and repeatedly, the Israelites "have built the high places of Baal to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings to Baal, *which I did not command nor speak of, nor did it enter into My mind.*"<sup>4</sup> The same conclusion is suggested by a much debated passage in Micah.<sup>5</sup> The prophet, after having rebuked the people for neglecting their duties to God, introduces them exclaiming, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before Him with burnt-offerings, with calves a year old? will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with myriads of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" The people, guided by imperfect notions of Divine worship, ask whether the Deity would be pleased and conciliated by abundant drink- and burnt-offerings and by the sacrifice of children, at that time evidently deemed the chief acts of pious devotion; but the prophet replies in terms so pre-eminently distinguished for spiritual purity that they have been considered to comprise the whole circle of religious duties, "God has disclosed to thee, o man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of thee, but to act justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God"? So far, therefore, from sanctioning the abomination of human sacrifices, he attaches but subordinate value to sacrifices in general and to every external form of worship, and insists above all upon piety of the heart and rectitude of life.<sup>6</sup> Though the people shared for many ages the idolatries

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Ghillany*, l. c. pp. 79, 387, 500, comp. p. 399; *Hitzig*, Exeget. Handbuch, Ezek. p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> It is therefore not even necessary to understand that God *permitted* the practice of all iniquities of idolatry and superstition by the Hebrew nation, and thus, according to a frequent Hebraism, *caused* it; comp. Exod. IV. 21 (and Comm. on Exod. p. 78); VII. 3; X. 1, 20, 27; XI. 10; Josh. XI. 20; especially Isai. VI. 10; LXIII. 17; Rom. I. 24, 28; 2 Thess. II. 11, 12; Acts VII. 42. — The interpretation of Spencer (De Legg. Ritt. l. viii. 2), "eos una cum victimis eorum pollutos habui et declaravi", is untenable for many reasons, among which it is sufficient to point to the erroneous separation of the 25th from the 26th verse, so that the meaning of "*the statutes that were not good*" is not

at all explained; comp. also *Vitringa*, Obs. Sacr. lib. II. c. 1, pp. 262—266.

<sup>3</sup> Vers. 30, 31.

<sup>4</sup> Jerem. XIX. 5; comp. VII. 31; XXXII. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Mic. VI. 6, 7; comp. *Ghillany*, l. c. pp. 502, 503; *Fatke*, l. c. I. 276; *Hitzig*, Exeg. Handb., Klein. Prophet., p. 212.

<sup>6</sup> It has been supposed that the question of the people exhibits, with a tinge of irony, their irritation and bitterness at the perpetual rebukes of God through His prophets, whom nothing seemed able to satisfy; that that indignant disposition explains and justifies the exaggerations of "thousands of rams" and "myriads of rivers of oil"; and that therefore the offering of the firstborn, mentioned in the same spirit of hyperbole, was merely an oratorical illustration impossible or inconceivable in

of heathens, they were constantly warned against them by those noble teachers who insisted upon the service of Jehovah in sincerity; for the nature of Jehovah is not identical with that of Saturn or Moloch, and the religious views of a Samuel or an Isaiah were not identical with those of a priest of Baal or of Chemosh. It is therefore difficult to repress a feeling of surprise at the blunt assertion, "The sacrifice of the firstborn was a chief dogma of the ancient Hebrews, the only strong bond of union between Jehovah and His people, the foundation on which all the hopes of the Israelites were built"<sup>7</sup>—in support of which paradox no passage could have been quoted with less propriety than the glowing promise which God made to Abraham after his last and greatest trial.<sup>8</sup>

II. The *Passover* is presumed to have been adopted by the Hebrews from the Phoenicians in Solomon's time, and to have been retained in the same form down to the reign of Josiah; it is stated to coincide with an annual festival of atonement solemnised by the Phoenicians, in honour of Saturn, with human victims whose blood was meant to win the favour of the god for the ensuing year.<sup>9</sup> But a *regular* or *annual* festival of that description is very doubtful, even among the Phoenicians;<sup>10</sup> as regards the Hebrews, there is no trace of it whatever. No less precarious is another theory on the same subject. It is asserted that the Passover was of *Egyptian* origin; that it was kept, at the beginning of April, as a harvest-feast in honour of the Sun, and was designed to celebrate his triumph over the winter, whence firstfruits and firstborn sons were offered to the god, and houses, trees, and animals were dyed red, the colour of fire and the sun: in harmony with these customs, it is supposed, the door-posts of the houses of the Hebrews were marked with blood, which was besides a symbol of expiation, since Jehovah, when he saw it, declared Himself satisfied; while the name Pesach (פֶּסַח) is believed to denote either the *sallation* of the priests of Baal,<sup>11</sup> or the *burning* or *passing through* the fire!<sup>12</sup> Indeed a long tissue of irrelevant conjectures. For we are here not concerned about the probable origin of the Hebrew Passover and its possible connection with festivals of other ancient nations, but about its character *such as it is described in the Pentateuch* and the other acknowledged writings of the Hebrews. And in these accounts, it is impossible to discover any astrological or other pagan element.<sup>13</sup> We can, therefore, only smile at the following wild and fantastical view set forth as a final result: "At the time of the first Temple, a man was killed on Passover for each division of the Israelites; his blood was mixed with the bread, instead of leaven, and this bread was eaten in the conviction that it possessed a peculiar power of expiation; then the corpse of the victim was roasted, and every Israelite was obliged to eat a small piece of the flesh, for the expiation of his sins."<sup>14</sup> But the smile of incredulity is changed into feelings

reality: but no irony or exaggeration is manifest in the first part of the question, "shall I come before Thee with burnt-offerings, with calves a year old"? and no irritation whatever is visible in the prophet's mild and calm reply, which would have been necessarily coloured by the tenour of the question. <sup>7</sup> *Ghillany*, l. c. p. 506.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. XXII. 16, 17; see *infra*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ghillany*, l. c. pp. 510 *sqq.*

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Plin.* Hist. Nat. XXXVI. 4; *Euseb.* In laud. Const. M. c. 13; *Praep. Ev.* IV. 16; *Porph.* De Abst. II. 54.

<sup>11</sup> With reference to 1 Ki. XVIII. 26.

<sup>12</sup> Like עֶבֶר, דְּעֵבֶר; *Ghillany*, l. c. pp. 510—518; *Buhlen*, Genesis, Einl. p. CXL; *Nork*, Bibl. Mythol. II. 408.

<sup>13</sup> See Comm. on Exod. pp. 164, 165.

<sup>14</sup> L. c. p. 516.

hints at the necessity of reforms in the regulations of that festival were the abuses that had to be removed? "Human sacrifice answer.<sup>3</sup> And why? Because the reform could neither relate to nor to sacrifices offered to heathen gods. It is needless to say. Yet it is admitted that the change might have referred to the sacrifice of pork, since pigs were frequently sacrificed instead of men — a similarity in the taste of pork and human flesh! — an opinion impossible to criticise with seriousness.<sup>4</sup>

III. *Human sacrifices offered as vows.* In Leviticus<sup>5</sup> it is said that if a man shall make a vow to Jehovah, the soul shall belong to thy estimation; and thy estimation shall be of the male from twenty to sixty years old, fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary. It is asserted that this law implies the permission granted to a man of vowing his slave, his child, or himself to Jehovah; that the people occupying a position analogous to that of the hieroduli at the sanctuaries,<sup>6</sup> were obliged, at the pleasure of the priests, to perform the services of the Temple, but, whenever human sacrifices were required in default of other victims, were killed to Jehovah; it is admitted that, in some times, redemption was indeed allowed, but was, on importunate refusal, refused. Here again a lofty fabric has been reared on no other basis than fancy: the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures does not offer any such vows; the Gibeonites, though destined for servants of the Temple, were so scrupulously protected that an alleged onslaught on them had never been made; have caused a protracted famine and required a fearful expiation. Jephthah stands in no connection whatever with the laws of the Leviticus, and it is difficult to understand how that horrid custom can be reconciled with the Psalm breathing the gentlest meekness;<sup>9</sup> for the words, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His pious men",<sup>10</sup> are strangely interpreted as implying that the sufferer had been rescued from his danger, because he had dedicated his father's son to Jehovah. — On no more solid ground

while later their hair, most highly prized, was commonly accepted as a substitute!<sup>13</sup>

The Pentateuch enjoins, "No devoted thing (נִדְבָח) that a man shall devote to the Lord, of all that he has, both of man and beast . . . shall be sold or redeemed; every devoted thing is most holy to the Lord; none devoted, who shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death."<sup>14</sup> This law has been confidently asserted to ordain human sacrifices.<sup>15</sup> However, like all similar precepts or vows,<sup>16</sup> it implies merely, that every thing so devoted shall be destroyed; the extirpation of the men, as a rule heathen enemies in Canaan, or Hebrew idolators,<sup>17</sup> is indeed referred to a command of Jehovah, but it is not intended as a *sacrifice* to Him.<sup>18</sup> Whether such command is justifiable before the tribunal of humanity, whether it is derived from old customs shared by the Israelites with other ancient nations<sup>19</sup> and dating from the earliest times of barbarism, or whether it can be palliated by the supposed necessity for removing every possible cause of seduction to idolatry<sup>20</sup> — these questions do not here occupy us; thus much is certain that the *Cherem*, however cruel and ruthless, was no "grand human sacrifice vowed beforehand to Jehovah, in order to secure His assistance in impending struggles", and wherever it concerned human beings, it applied to none but malefactors, religious offenders, or political foes in open warfare.

IV. *Circumcision* is stated to have been a mitigated form of castration, which again was a milder substitute for human sacrifices originally presented to Jehovah, "the consecration of a member being accepted for the entire body."<sup>21</sup> The rite of circumcision, where it was not dictated by sanitary motives, was connected with the worship of the generative powers of men and nature; it bore nowhere the remotest relation to human sacrifices.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>13</sup> L. c. pp. 572—575.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. XXVII. 28, 29.

<sup>15</sup> L. c. pp. 575—592.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Exod. XXII. 19; Num. XXI. 1—3; XXXI. 7—10, 17; Deut. II. 33, 34; III. 6; XIII. 7—18; XX. 13—17; Josh. II. 10; VI. 17—19; VII. 11, 12, 24; VIII. 2, 8, 24, 26; X. 28—41; XI. 14; Judg. I. 17; XXI. 11; 1 Sam. XV. 3, 8, 9; XXVII. 9; Mic. IV. 13; Mal. III. 4; sec, however, Deut. II. 35; III. 7; Josh. VIII. 2; X. 28, 40; 1 Sam. XV. 8, 9, 14 *sqq.*; Zech. XIV. 11; Ezra X. 8; also 1 Ki. XX. 31.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Ewald*, *Alterth.* pp. 81—85.

<sup>18</sup> Öhler (L. c. p. 622) observes justly with reference to 1 Sam. XV. 21 and 33, "The cherem which is a *removal* from before Jehovah, is directly opposed to a sacrifice in the stricter sense, which is a *gift* offered on the altar"; though he is inclined to class the cherem with "sacrifices in a wider

sense" because "performed for the glorification of Divine retribution"; but what is utterly destroyed with no other object than the destruction itself, can in no sense be called a sacrifice. The expressions in Isai. XXXIV. 5, 6 are poetical and figurative, "My sword shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of My curse (וְרֵעִי), to judgment . . . for the Lord has a sacrifice (זֶבַח) in Bozrah, and a great slaughter (טֹבַח) in the land of Idumea"; so also in Isai. XLVI. 10, כִּי זֶבַח לְאֲרָנִי . . . בְּאֶרֶץ צֹפֹן.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. *Caes.* Bell. Gall. VI. 17; *Diod. Sic.* V. 32; *Tac. Ann.* XIII. 57.

<sup>20</sup> See pp. 399 *sqq.*

<sup>21</sup> L. c. p. 596; comp. *Meiners*, De circumcisionis origine et causis, in the *Comment. Soc. Gott.* XIV. p. 207; *Böttiger*, *Ideen zur Kunstmythologie*, p. 375; *Fatke*, *Rel. des A. T.* I. 382.

<sup>22</sup> See *Comm. on Gen.* pp. 386—392.



“early times” the enemies were really flayed and devoured,<sup>6</sup> our present enquiry relates to the age of the composition of and not to “early times” indefinitely; other passages refer to *heathens*;<sup>7</sup> and others to the *wicked* among the Israelites who against Jehovah;<sup>8</sup> while none of them has any affinity whatever

VI. And finally, the ancient Hebrews are again and again bloodthirsty and barbarous religion, on the following ground. *Testament* regards the symbolical partaking of the flesh and as an emblem of expiation and remission of sins. Now, it is asked the idea of a Messiah arise who was destined for a sacrifice might be an atonement for the world, and that a morsel from the draught from his blood might efface the sins of individuals?<sup>9</sup> It is maintained, originated in the religion of the Jews, and resulted from the human sacrifices killed of old at Passover. It is true that gradually developed among the Hebrews that pious men might, or suffering, avert the dangers and obliterate the sins of others. The Messiah foreshadowed in the Old Testament was to fulfil his mission by death nor suffering, but was expected to live in triumph and to restore the worldly greatness of the house of David, as we have seen in the preceding section.<sup>12</sup> The Christian ideas of a “son of God” in and of incarnation are so utterly un-Hebrew that they are not even late a work as the apocryphal Book of Enoch;<sup>13</sup> and they were very different religious systems and spheres of thought.

A few cases are recorded to the effect that the Israelites distressing famine and desperate siege ate human flesh:<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> XIV. 9.

<sup>2</sup> כי לחמנו הם.

<sup>3</sup> Mic. III. 2, 3; Ps. X

<sup>8</sup> As in most languages metaphors are found like “a consuming fire”; “a devouring sword”, etc.; comp. Isai. I.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Zech. XI. 9; V. x. 4.

<sup>10</sup> L. c. n. 643. “dass

warrant the conclusion that the practice existed as a general custom? It is extremely precarious, to argue, "a nation that abominates the eating of human flesh, will detest it even in the calamity of a siege; it will surrender or die."<sup>15</sup> Jewish contemporaries denounced, with mingled grief and abhorrence, the enormities engendered by maddening despair;<sup>16</sup> the same excesses were occasioned, by similar troubles, in much later times, and among nations that have never been accused of cannibalism; and some passages in the Pentateuch,<sup>17</sup> though partially based on experience, are rhetorical and emphatic descriptions of fearful tribulations threatened to follow the neglect of the Law, and unavoidably leading to repulsive atrocities. A further proof, if one be needed, to show that similar occurrences were appalling exceptions among the Israelites, looked upon as the direst chastisement of reckless iniquity, is involved in the following words of Ezekiel, "I will do to thee *that which I have not done*, and *like which I will not do any more* . . . The fathers shall eat the sons in the midst of thee, and the sons shall eat their fathers; and I will execute judgment in thee and the whole remnant of thee will I scatter into all the winds."<sup>18</sup> As regards the alleged atrocities of the Jews during their sedition under Trajan (A. C. 116), we have no means of ascertaining how far they are based on truth;<sup>19</sup> they are by Eusebius<sup>20</sup> not mentioned at all; moreover, acts stimulated by the combined sting of political hatred and religious fanaticism, cannot be regarded as tests of the ordinary laws and practices of a nation. We are indeed unwilling to admit that "the religion of the Hebrews did not, in the times before the Babylonian exile, differ from that of the Phoenician tribes",<sup>21</sup> because it *tended*, from very early periods, towards a more refined spiritualism, which was incessantly taught by noble-minded and gifted men;<sup>22</sup> nor is it, on the other hand, our object to disprove that the Israelites were free from the idolatries prevalent among their neighbours; but we desire to show that these idolatries and barbarities, though partially not even rejected by worshippers of Jehovah, and freely permitted in His name and in His honour, have never been sanctioned in the Pentateuch, that code which embodies the latest stages of the Hebrew mind, and forms therefore the most perfect exponent of its aims. We do not wish to defend the *practices* of the Hebrews but their *doctrines*, not their *history* but their *matured theology*.

<sup>15</sup> L. c. p. 644.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. 2 Ki. VI. 30, 31; *Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. x. 5.*

<sup>17</sup> Deut. XXVIII. 53—55, 57; Lev. XXVI. 29.

<sup>18</sup> Ezek. V. 9, 10. — Ps. CVI. 34—39 states only that the Israelites *killed* their children to the idols, not that they *ate* them. In Ezek. XVI. 20 (וְחֹכְחִים לֶהֱם לֶאֱכֹל) and XXIII. 37 (הַעֲבִירֵם לֶהֱם לֶאֱכֹל), the words לֶאֱכֹל *to eat* and לֶאֱכֹלָה *for food*, do not refer to the Israelites, as if they had eaten their human victims, but to the gods to whom they were slaughtered, especially to Moloch who consumed

the bodies by fire (see *supra* p. 381). But the inference, "if the gods ate human flesh, those who sacrificed to them, probably ate of it also" (comp. *Plin. H. N. VIII. 2*; see p. 324 note 3), is an untenable process of logic.

<sup>19</sup> *Dion Cass. LXVIII. 32*, τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφθίμερον, καὶ ταῖς τε σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσθίουσιντο καὶ τὰ ἔντερά ἀνέδουσιντο ἐφ' ἃς αἱματι φλέουσιντο καὶ τὰ ἀπολέμματα ἐνεδύοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μέσους ἀπὸ κορυφῆς διέπριον.

<sup>20</sup> *Hist. Eccl. IV. 2*, comp. 6.

<sup>21</sup> L. c. p. 617.

<sup>22</sup> See p. 402.

the command is prominently presented as a *miracle* of Abraham, extraordinary a nature that it appeared unparalleled and almost and that obedient submission to it merited and obtained the promises of a glorious future.<sup>1</sup> It must, therefore, be concluded the author of the beautiful narrative but also the people for whom had discarded the sacrifice of children as an ordinary custom. In is devoid of significance and point, except on the presumption ship of Moloch had, at the time of its composition, virtually ceased must, therefore, be placed much later than is usually supposed. moreover, to enjoin, that *Jehovah* requires no such sacrifices in pretence, not even for sealing the most devoted and most ardent; is satisfied with the heart and faith of His worshippers, and that with splendid rewards those who show cheerful *readiness* to do what they most love and prize: the author desired to point out that it was understood and acted upon even in the patriarch's time, although he is in opposition to the entire history of his nation, since the very thing which died was only the growth of his own more enlightened age. Some have indeed discovered that the narrative in its first form, concluded with the sacrifice of Isaac, for which the later revisors substituted a ram instead; so, though it is impossible, on that conjecture, to understand the lineage of Jacob and the genealogy of the Hebrew tribes;<sup>2</sup> the story remains, that *Jehovah* has no delight in human victims,

<sup>1</sup> See Sect. XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. XXII. 1—19.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Gillany*, l. c. pp. 660—678; *Fatke*, Rel. des A. T. p. 276; *Gramberg*, Rel. Ideen, l. 97; etc.

<sup>4</sup> See Sect. XXIII.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 1.

free consent to the sacrifice of Abraham and Isaac first; that if God should permit that if God should permit actually slain, he would raise him again from the dead (XI. 17—19); and 3. that

quently they may have been slaughtered by the Israelites previous to the writer's time.<sup>9</sup>

2. The account of Eliezer's circumcision<sup>10</sup> is not without obscurity and difficulty. It has, therefore, been eagerly employed in support of favourite theories. It is supposed to involve the fact that Moses killed his son Eliezer in honour of Jehovah as an expiatory offering for his deliverance from a severe illness, during which he had vowed that sacrifice, without after his recovery accomplishing it<sup>11</sup> — a conception rendered impossible by the plain grammatical interpretation of the text; for the words, "and she (Zipporah) put it (the foreskin) at his feet and said, Thou art indeed a bridegroom of blood to me" (ver. 25), do not refer to Moses but to Eliezer, who can, therefore, not have been killed previously.<sup>12</sup>

3. It may suffice simply to mention the other instances of human sacrifices, that have been suspected in the Hebrew Scriptures; to state is to refute them. The massacre of 3000 Hebrews by the Levites, after the worship of the golden calf,<sup>13</sup> is said to have been "a great human hecatomb to celebrate the legislation of Jehovah."<sup>14</sup> — The death of Nadab and Abihu, who were killed by heaven-sent fire, because "they offered strange fire before the Lord",<sup>15</sup> is supposed to conceal the fact that Aaron killed his two firstborn sons as a sanctification of the Law, or as a proof of his devotion to its injunctions, or in order to conciliate the favour of Jehovah for the military expeditions that were then impending<sup>16</sup> — a cruel *embarras de richesse* in the motives. — The scouts who had been sent to Palestine to explore the land, and on their return spread discouraging reports, "died by a plague before the Lord":<sup>17</sup> this is explained to mean that they were sacrificed to Jehovah, in order to *cheer* the people, and to inspire them for the approaching attack.<sup>18</sup> — The chiefs who, as the representatives of the people, suffered the death of crucifixion as a *punishment* for the general worship of Baal-Peor in the time of Moses,<sup>19</sup> are asserted to have been offered up to Jehovah as a sacrifice of *atone-*

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Ewald*, Geschichte, I. 433, 434 (the story teaches "dass Jahveh das Menschenopfer nicht wolle; dass das Gegentheil einmal denkbar, also versuchbar war, ist gewiss"); *Winer*, Real-Wört. I. 13; *Bertheau*, Zur Gesch. der Israeliten, p. 224 (who, however, leaves the path of historical conception by attributing the command to a "Trübung von Abraham's Gottesbewusstsein"); *Kurtz*, Geschichte des Alten Bundes, § 65 (pp. 203—213), and in Herzog's Real-Encycl. I. 74—76 (though of course estimating the matter from his usual dogmatic point of view); *Knobel* on Genes. XXII. pp. 172, 173. Unsatisfactory are Hengstenberg's remarks on the subject (Auth. des Pent. II. 139 sqq.): "God is no man that He should repent"; therefore, after having once given the command of the sacri-

fice (ver. 2), He could later not retract it (ver. 12); or Abraham's trial lay merely in the *ambiguity* of the command (comp. *Lange*, Leben Jesu, I. 120; Posit. Dogmat. pp. 823 sqq.); or that a trial like Abraham's is possible only in a state of childlike and undeveloped faith — all which views are against the tenour of the narrative; comp. also *F. D. Maurice*, The Doctrine of Sacrifice, Sermon. III; *Colenso*, Abraham's Sacrifice, pp. 5—7.

<sup>10</sup> Exod. IV. 24—26.

<sup>11</sup> *Gillany*, l. c. pp. 693—687.

<sup>12</sup> See Comm. on Exod. p. 81.

<sup>13</sup> Exod. XXXII. 26—29.

<sup>14</sup> L. c. pp. 697—694.

<sup>15</sup> Lev. X. 1, 2. <sup>16</sup> L. c. pp. 694—699.

<sup>17</sup> Num. XIV. 36—38.

<sup>18</sup> L. c. pp. 699—705.

<sup>19</sup> Num. XXV. 3—6.

moyses offered themselves as holocausts for the atonement of the people, in imitation of a custom prevalent among various ancient tribes, priests, kings and generals, after having performed their offices for a certain period, sacrificed themselves voluntarily for the public weal.<sup>8</sup> — the defeat of his army, is asserted to have crucified the king of Agag as a voluntary sacrifice to Jehovah or the sun,<sup>9</sup> simply because he made him die without killing him at once on the battle-field.<sup>10</sup> In the same manner Agag is contended to have, at Gilgal, offered to God Agag, the king of the Amalekites;<sup>11</sup> but the "cutting in pieces before the Lord"<sup>12</sup> does not imply immolation in the stricter sense; the Amalekites were by Divine command exterminated;<sup>13</sup> hence, their king was "killed before Jehovah", that is, before the Ark of the Covenant, which accompanied Saul on his war against the Philistines. The act of Samuel bears therefore chiefly a political character, and is inseparable from that unsparing mercilessness from which warfare was, in those times, inseparable.<sup>14</sup> — When Saul was ready to kill his son Jonathan, Samuel had pointed him out as the cause of the Divine displeasure, the purpose of the king's intention with vehemence, and "rescued Jonathan from the hands of his father to die":<sup>15</sup> these words have been understood to intimate that Agag sacrificed instead of Jonathan;<sup>16</sup> but though the Hebrew term (קָדַם) "to redeem",<sup>17</sup> it means as frequently "to deliver" or "to release". David intended to bring the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem; when it was touched it was killed by Jehovah, to David's deepest grief;<sup>18</sup> this fact involves the fact that Uzzah was immolated to Jehovah as

<sup>1</sup> L. c. pp. 705—708; *Fatke*, Theol. des A. T. I. 355.

<sup>2</sup> וְקָדַם אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. XXI. 1—10; see p. 391.

<sup>4</sup> Num. I. c. ver. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 2 Sam. XXI. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Num. XX. 22—28; XXXIII. 38.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. XXXII. 49, 50; XXXIV. 1—6; comp. Num. XXVII. 12, 13.

<sup>12</sup> אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. XV. 2, 3; XVII. 14; Deut. VII. 2, 3.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 30 note 1.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. 2 Sam. XII. 1.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Sam. XIV. 45, וְהָיָה יִתְנַחֵם וְלֹא־יָמָּוֶת.

<sup>17</sup> *Ewald*, Gesch. II. p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Ewald*, VIII. 12, 13.

offering, as many other Israelites were slain in a kindred spirit at various stages of the procession.<sup>21</sup> — David killed two thirds of the captive Moabites,<sup>22</sup> and acted similarly, though more cruelly, towards the subjugated Ammonites:<sup>23</sup> all these *slaughtered enemies* are supposed to have been intended for a sacrifice to Jehovah.<sup>24</sup> — The statement that Elijah slew the priests of Baal at the brook Kishon,<sup>25</sup> and that Josiah killed all “the priests of the high places” on their altars,<sup>26</sup> are averred to mean that the priests were offered as a sacrifice to Jehovah,<sup>27</sup> whereas the spirit of the narratives concerning Elijah and Josiah is that of a pure monotheism; the priests were, in the former case, obviously put to death on account of their merciless massacre of the Hebrew prophets, which act may indeed, in a certain sense, be considered as a glorification of God; if Elijah had intended “to sacrifice” the priests of Baal, he would have done so, not at the brook Kishon, but on the altar of Jehovah which he had erected, and on which the miracle of the heavenly fire had just been wrought before the eyes of the assembled people. — The account that the kings Ahab and Manasseh burnt their sons,<sup>28</sup> is asserted to signify that they sacrificed them to Jehovah,<sup>29</sup> simply because the text does not mention the name of a deity, whereas, in the one instance, the Bible adds immediately, “according to the abominations of the heathen whom the Lord cast out from before the children of Israel”; and Manasseh is described as an inveterate idolator, who cancelled the religious reforms of his pious father.<sup>30</sup> But more extraordinary even than all these hazardous conceits is the following insinuation which can hardly be termed otherwise than malicious and mischievous. It is indeed conceded that the Pentateuch “energetically opposes the abomination of human sacrifices”; but it is added — on what authority we cannot conceive — that the Pentateuch “was not by all Hebrews held to be binding; and that, besides, the Jews have secret traditions, professedly handed down from Moses, which may be supposed to refer to and to recommend the primeval custom of human sacrifices, and to enjoin at least the periodical slaughtering of human victims”;<sup>31</sup> then allusion is made to the absurd fable, sufficiently refuted by Josephus,<sup>32</sup> of a Greek captive said to have been found by Antiochus Epiphanes in the Temple, and to have been destined as a sacrifice by the Jews, that, by eating his entrails, they might be confirmed in their hatred against the Greeks; and it is lightly observed, “what Josephus remarks in disparagement of this account, has little weight; he himself was possibly unaware of this secret law; and so it must be remembered in all recent accusations that not all the Jews are ac-

<sup>21</sup> L. c. p. 767—770.

<sup>22</sup> 2 Sam. VIII. 1, 2.

<sup>23</sup> 2 Sam. XII. 31. Even if the reading **והעביר אחת במלך**, and not the Keri **במלך**, were correct, the sense of the passage would not be “he caused them to pass through their statues of Moloch”, as the feminine suffix cannot follow after the masculine pronoun **אחת**. But **במלך** is probably the genuine reading, and the words signify “and he made them pass through (or put them into) the brickkiln” (Engl.

Vers.); and so render nearly all the ancient translations (Sept. *καὶ περιέγαγεν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ πλεοδίου*; Vulg. *et traduxit in tyrolaterum*; Luther, *und verbrannte sie in Ziegelöfen*; etc.).

<sup>24</sup> L. c. pp. 770, 771.

<sup>25</sup> **וישחטם**, 1 Ki. XVIII. 40.

<sup>26</sup> **והחבד**, 2 Ki. XXIII. 20.

<sup>27</sup> L. c. pp. 784—786, 789.

<sup>28</sup> 2 Ki. XVI. 3; XXI. 6.

<sup>29</sup> L. c. p. 758; comp. p. 783.

<sup>30</sup> 2 Ki. XXI. 2—9. <sup>31</sup> L. c. p. 794

<sup>32</sup> Contra Ap. II. 8.

quainted with the custom, but that it is possibly kept up among few only, as a most dangerous tradition."<sup>1</sup> Thus a wild imagination runs riot with unscrupulous accusers, and carries them beyond the pale of historical research into the sphere of heedless and iniquitous conjecture, into which it would be unprofitable to follow them, even if we could hope to learn how they, in our modern age, have arrived at the knowledge of startling facts which remained a secret to the Jewish priest Josephus at the time of the Temple.

## XXVL CONCLUSIONS AND GENERAL REMARKS ON THE THEOLOGY OF THE PAST AND THE FUTURE.

It would be a matter of regret to us if the preceding observations, misleading attentive and impartial readers, were understood by them to imply an unqualified vindication of the doctrines of the Hebrew prophets and the Pentateuch. Such an inference would be equally opposed to the tenour of our deductions and to truth. It has been our object fairly to contrast the purer views and precepts of a more enlightened class among the Hebrews with the idolatrous habits preserved by the bulk of the nation from the earliest to the latest time. But though we could not but represent the former as immeasurably superior, we have as yet found no occasion for pronouncing an opinion on their absolute truth. We now propose to enter upon this enquiry, which we regard as the chief object of this treatise, and to which all anterior sections were meant to be preparatory. We shall, at present, not enlarge upon the question of the date and age of the Pentateuch, though it might be almost conclusively settled from the facts already adduced;<sup>2</sup> but leaving this momentous point for future and special discussion, we shall confine ourselves to an examination of the theology of the Pentateuch and of those historians and prophets, whose writings embody the conceptions of the most advanced of the nation. It has too long been customary, even for liberal and acute critics, merely to comment on the *facts* contained in the Bible, and to weigh the degree of reliability they merit, while the *ideas* and the *teaching* have either been declared final for all times, or have at least been tacitly assumed as unimpeachable. The time, however, has arrived for abandoning this questionable course, for determining by a searching and calm enquiry the positive value of the notions current in the Scriptures, and for ascertaining by a candid estimate, how far they satisfy the modern mind and correspond with the philosophical and scientific results of the last centuries. This task will either show the entire sufficiency of the Bible for all our spiritual needs; or, if it lead to a different conclusion, it will prove an essential preliminary to constructing a system

<sup>1</sup> L. c. p. 546.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Sects. III, XV, XXIII.



of theology that shall be in harmony with our general modes and habits of thought, accord with the achievements of science and with the ordinary tenour of modern life, and which shall thus beneficently influence our conduct and progress.

In our age, we are accustomed to look upon every occurrence as the natural and inevitable consequence of human action, or of some other circumstance with which it is connected. We attempt to trace effects to adequate causes. Unchangeable laws regulate the life of individuals and nations, and prescribe the course to universal history. The gradual development of mankind is the necessary result of the abilities, energies, and passions inherent in men. The happiness of the individual depends, in a great measure, on his mental and physical organisation; it is the ordinary concomitant of healthful vigour of body and mind, as wretchedness is the usual fate of weakness and morbidness. Prosperity is the combined product of personal exertion and favourable opportunity. Man is, therefore, in some respects, a free agent, but in a much higher degree, he is a creature of necessity. The works which he produces result from the talents he possesses, and from the activity he is able or willing to display. They are prompted by that internal impulse which is inseparable from his idiosyncrasy. He is capable of improvement and advancement, as he is liable to retrogression and decline. He labours as his powers bid him; he succeeds according to the measure of his gifts or of his usefulness; and he finds his chief reward in the consciousness of having zealously cultivated and honestly employed his faculties.

If, with these notions which underlie our whole life, we turn to the Scriptures, we are at once struck by a different sphere of thought, a strange and unfamiliar spirit. Forced away from the circle of ideas which guide us in our daily pursuits and reflections, we are abruptly transferred to conceptions and views, which indeed occasionally touch a sympathetic chord, whether from their poetical and imaginative beauty or from the ineffaceable impressions of childhood, but which our maturer manhood finds it impossible to acknowledge and to adopt. The affection for a venerable tradition that may linger in our hearts, at last yields to the severer truths dictated by our intellects.

### 1. THE CREATION.

The Scriptures teach that the universe and all it contains, were called into existence in six days, by God's direct command. This Biblical cosmogony<sup>3</sup> is grand and sublime, but it is erroneous and

---

<sup>3</sup> Gen. I. 1—II. 4; it is unnecessary (Gen. II. 5—24), which is less distinct here to refer to the second account and impressive, and partly mythical

special ends, the eternal course of nature is unbroken, and performed. Yet the idea of miracles is absolutely opposed to the universe, as derived from a patient cultivation of the natural and historical sciences. It gains ground whenever men, understand their position as a subordinate though organic part, and consider themselves or their community as the chief end and general government.<sup>1</sup> For it rests virtually on the assumption that nature pays special regard to the deeds and destinies of single nations, and bestows aid and sympathy, or disapprobation and enmity, according to the pleasure of a ruling power. The whole economy is one and indivisible, embracing the whole of nature working in majestic impartiality for all worlds alike. The philosopher might justly use *miracles* and *ignorance* as convertible terms. I add the weighty words fraught with significant meaning: the principal difference between religion and superstition is that the former is founded upon wisdom, the latter upon ignorance, and I am convinced that herein lies the reason why the

(vers. 8—17) and partly allegorical (vers. 21—24); see Comm. on Gen. pp. 83 *sqq.*

<sup>1</sup> See the Treatise in Comm. on Genes. pp. 1—52; on the imperfect astronomical notions of the Bible, see *ibid.* pp. 19—28; and on the early interpretations of the "Mosaic" cosmogony and the manner in which they were

verunt, ut ipsi Deo dicantur causaque finalis, propter quod omnia creavit et continerentur. Quid sibi vult arrogat, quod nec deus ullum sanum habet § 34, utpote qui cetera naturam dirigere, propter quod versales, non autem

distinguished from other men not by an honourable life nor by love nor the other fruits of the holy ghost, but merely by an opinion; because, like all the rest, they fortify themselves only by miracles, that is by ignorance, which is the fountain of all wickedness, and thus convert faith, however true, into superstition."<sup>4</sup> How few are ready to admit the truth of these words even nearly two centuries after they were written! Ancient nations felt strongly the influence of the divine in nature; but as they had explored the latter but imperfectly, all remarkable or unusual phaenomena appeared to them as direct manifestations of the deity, or as miracles, which inspired them alike with terrifying awe and sublime veneration; and these feelings were the more powerful, the more vividly and freshly their minds were affected by all impressions and the more consistently they were accustomed to develop and to apply every new and great idea. The assumption to which we have alluded gave rise to the Roman fictions of *prodigia* or *portenta*, by which the gods were believed to announce impending calamities or important events<sup>5</sup> — the sky appearing in a blaze of fire<sup>6</sup> or flaming torches seen in the air;<sup>7</sup> spears or hands burning but not consumed;<sup>8</sup> men of fire attacking and fighting with each other;<sup>9</sup> flesh or worms, earth, stones or blood raining from heaven;<sup>10</sup> rivers flowing in blood;<sup>11</sup> human monstrosities born;<sup>12</sup> animals speaking,<sup>13</sup> mules

<sup>4</sup> Nempe, quia, ut omnes, solis miraculis, hoc est ignorantia, quae omnis malitiae fons est, se defendunt; atque adeo fidem, licet veram, in superstitionem vertunt; comp. also Epist. XXIII, miracula et ignorantiam pro aequipollentibus sumpsit, quia ii, qui Dei existentiam et religionem miraculis adstruere conantur, rem obscuram per aliam magis obscuram, et quam maxime ignorant, ostendere volunt etc.; and especially Tract. theolog. politicus, cap. VI, De miraculis.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Spinoza*, Tract. theol. polit. Praef. § 3, Si quid porro insolitum magna cum admiratione vident, id prodigium esse credunt, quod deorum aut summi numinis iram indicat, quodque adeo hostiis et votis non piare, nefas habent homines superstitioni obnoxii et religioni adversi; eumque ad modum infinita fingunt, et quasi tota natura cum ipsis insaniret, eandem miris modis interpretantur.

<sup>6</sup> *Liv.* III. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Liv.* XLIII. 13.

<sup>8</sup> *Liv.* l. c.; comp. *Val. Max.* I. viii. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Plut.* *Caes.* 63.

<sup>10</sup> *Liv.* III. 10; XXXV. 21; XXXVII. 3; XLIII. 13; *Plin.* H. N. II. 56 or 57.

<sup>11</sup> *Liv.* XXIV. 44.

<sup>12</sup> *Lucan*, *Phars.* I. 562 (Monstrosique hominum partus numeroque modoque Membrorum etc.); *Liv.* XXXV. 21 (puerum natum unimanum).

<sup>13</sup> *Lucan*, *Phars.* I. 561 (Tunc pecudum faciles humana ad murmura linguae); *Liv.* III. 10 (bovem locutam, cui rei priore anno fides non fuerat, creditum); XXXV. 21 (bovem locutum, ROMA CAVE TIBI . . . bovem cum cura servari aliquae haruspices jusserunt); XLIII. 13; *Plin.* *Hist. Nat.* VIII. 40 or 63 (canem locutum in prodigiis . . . et serpentem latrasse), 45 or 70 fin. (est frequens in prodigiis priscorum bovem locutum, quo nuntiato senatum sub divo haberi solitum).

and by incalculable ruin of thousands of worlds. On the Bible shows a gleam of the conviction of nature's bility. "He has established the heavens for ever and a law and they trespass it not";<sup>9</sup> "He said to the sea, thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud wave "I have placed the sand for the boundary of the sea by that it cannot pass it; and though its waves rage, it shall be still";<sup>11</sup> but such incidental admissions do not mate the spirit and tenour of the narratives. According to Bi the Divine will constantly changed the intrinsic prop which constitute their very character and essence. that the water of the Nile was converted into blood,<sup>1</sup> water was changed into wine, as at the marriage of C waves of the Red Sea were divided and stood upright

<sup>1</sup> *Liv.* XXXVII. 3; *Plin.* H. N. VIII. 44 or 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Liv.* XLIII. 13; comp. XXXV. 21 (capram sex hoedos uno foetu edidisse); *Plin.* H. N. VII. 3; X. 63 or 83; see also *Val. Max.* I. viii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Liv.* XLIII. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Plin.* H. N. XVI. 32 or 57.

<sup>5</sup> *Plin.* H. N. XXXVI. 18 or 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Lucan*, *Phars.* l. 568—570 (Compositis plenaegemuerunt ossibus urnae; Tunc fragor armorum magnaeque per avia voces Auditae nemorum, et venientes comminus umbrae); *Val. Max.*

("In Hierapolis, man the gods appear the manifestly, their ima move, and often loud in the temple after it h *Vopiscus*, Aurelian, c

<sup>9</sup> *Josh.* X. 12—1 XXXVIII. 8. As a pa command comp. *Hom* 245, Νύκτα μὲν ἐν παρθεῖν, Ἡὼ δ' αὖτε ῥέχρυσόθρονον κτλ.

<sup>10</sup> *Job.* XXXVIII. 11

<sup>11</sup> *Jer.* VI. 22; comp.

and the floods of the Jordan, struck by Elijah's mantle, opened a dry path;<sup>15</sup> that an axe, which had sunk to the bottom of the Jordan, rose to its surface by Elijah's will and swam there,<sup>16</sup> and that Christ walked on the water of the lake Genesareth;<sup>17</sup> that the men of Sodom or Bar-Jesus (Elymas) turned suddenly blind,<sup>18</sup> and blind men recovered their sight as suddenly;<sup>19</sup> that a staff became a serpent and a serpent a staff, a healthy hand was at once made leprous, and a leprous hand healthy;<sup>20</sup> that the earth opened its womb to engulf alive a number of offenders,<sup>21</sup> or the dead were revived or raised alive from the grave;<sup>22</sup> that Moses was forty days on Mount Sinai without requiring any food whatever,<sup>23</sup> or that a limited supply of flour and wine was practically unlimited and sufficed for the household of the widow of Zarephath a considerable time;<sup>24</sup> that every vessel which a prophet's wife could possibly procure, filled itself by Elisha's command with oil;<sup>25</sup> that twenty loaves of barley proved more than abundant for a hundred men,<sup>26</sup> or 4,000 men, beside women and children, were satisfied by seven loaves and a few little fishes, and left over seven baskets full of broken pieces;<sup>27</sup> that a fig-tree, covered with leaves and expected to bear fruit, instantaneously withered away;<sup>28</sup> that the ass of Balaam spoke,<sup>29</sup> a raven provided Elijah regularly with bread and meat,<sup>30</sup> and a whale preserved Jonah in its womb three days and three nights, and then threw him unhurt on the dry land:<sup>31</sup> if we read all this, we might be led to the perplexing belief that there is nothing stable and fixed in nature, were we not taught by science to regard undeviating uniformity as nature's

sea retreating when Alexander the Great marched against the Persians (comp. *Strab.* XIV. iii. 9, p. 666; *Arrian*, I. 26; *Appian*, *Bell. Civ.* II. 149; see, however, *Phil. Alex.* 17), and adds, *περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ὡς ἀμύμονος δεσφὶ διαλασσάντων*; comp. *Spinoza*, *Tract. theol. polit.* VI. 72. <sup>15</sup> 2 Ki. II. 8, 14.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Ki. VI. 6. <sup>17</sup> Mark VI. 48, 49.

<sup>18</sup> Genes. XIX. 11; Acts XIII. 6—11.

<sup>19</sup> Matth. IX. 28—30; XX. 32—34.

<sup>20</sup> Exod. IV. 2, 7; comp. 2 Ki. V. 27; Luke XVII. 12—14; Matth. VIII. 2, 3; see also IX. 20—22 (the woman who had an issue of blood for twelve years was instantly healed by touching the garment of Christ).

<sup>21</sup> Num. XVI. 20—33; comp. *Apollod.* III. ii. 2 (*αὐτῶν δὲ ἀπὸ χάριτος ἀπέβη*).

<sup>22</sup> John XI. 1—44 (on the resurrection of Lazarus); Matth. X. 18, 24, 25; comp. 1 Ki. XVII. 17—22; Acts IX. 40; see esp. Matth. XI. 5 (the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up).

<sup>23</sup> Exod. XXXIV. 25; comp. Matth. IV. 1, 2; Luke IV. 2.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Ki. XVII. 14—16.

<sup>25</sup> 2 Ki. IV. 3—6. <sup>26</sup> 2 Ki. IV. 42—44.

<sup>27</sup> Matth. XV. 32—35; comp. Mark VI. 36—44, where the numbers are 5000 men, 5 loaves, 2 fishes, and 12 baskets. <sup>28</sup> Matth. XXI. 19.

<sup>29</sup> Comp. *supra* p. 419, note 13.

<sup>30</sup> 1 Ki. XVII. 4, 6; comp. the legend in XIX. 5—7.

<sup>31</sup> Jon. II. 1, 11; comp. also Judg. VI. 26—40.

first principle. All reality is destroyed, and the things, deprived of their clearly defined character, lose their intrinsic value and absolute existence. "The miracle changes the serious code of nature into a merry book of fairy-tales; but for this reason, miracle itself deserves to be ranked no higher than a fairy-tale."<sup>1</sup> Disdaining, like fancy to which it is largely indebted,<sup>2</sup> the fetters of necessity, it capriciously confounds the qualities of matter, combines what is naturally incompatible and disjoins what is inseparable. Every miracle "paralyses reason";<sup>3</sup> for it checks the specific work of the latter, which consists in searching for laws and causes, and, by depriving it of the safe support of experience, renders it valueless even for pointing out the path of practical duty. The miracle attempts to sway nature, but not, like reason, by penetrating into its organism, but by misusing it for arbitrary ends; unrestrained by any limit and unshackled by any condition, it appears infinite and inexhaustible in power;<sup>4</sup> exercising an absolute rule over matter, and reminding man of his own inborn yearning, it is by unreflecting generations easily mistaken as divine. Hence the East is the home of miracles; because the East is most apt to confound fancy and reflection: these two faculties have indeed abstraction as a common element; but fancy sets at naught or renounces reality, while reflection judiciously preserves but spiritualizes it.

It is not only useless but objectionable to reduce the miracles by ingenious and strained interpretations, to the least possible number, or to explain them away altogether, by representing them merely as ordinary occurrences told in a marvellous or imaginative form. This has been done, among others, by Spinoza;<sup>5</sup> he asserted that the Bible contains nothing that is opposed to the rules of nature,<sup>6</sup> and he was thus

<sup>1</sup> *Feuerbach*, *Sämmtliche Werke*, I. p. 8; instances of miracles among the Greeks and Romans, see *ibid.* vol. IX. (*Ursprung der Götter*), pp. 259—263; comp. also *De Wette*, *Dogmatik*, II. § 24 a ("the common notion of miracles is contradictory in itself") and note *d.*

<sup>2</sup> "Imagination is much akin to miracle-loving faith", observes Bacon.

<sup>3</sup> *Kant*, *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, 2nd edit. pp. 120, 123.

<sup>4</sup> Aptly Plutarch observes, "What is in accordance with nature is regulated and nicely defined, because nature is order or its manifestation; but disorder . . . cannot be counted or cal-

culated, and what is at variance with nature is therefore indefinite and unlimited" (*Sympos.* VIII. ix. 3).

<sup>5</sup> *Tract. theol. polit.* VI. 39—51, e. g. *Quare non dubium est, quin omnia quae in Scriptura narrantur, naturaliter contigerint, et tamen ad Deum referuntur, quia Scripturae non est, res per causas naturales docere, sed tantum eas res narrare, quae imaginationem late occupant, idque eo methodo et stylo, qui melius inservit ad res magis admirandum, et consequenter ad devotionem in animis vulgi imprimendam* (§ 44; comp. § 49).

<sup>6</sup> *L. c.* §§ 52, 64, 69, 70; *Praef.* § 24; yet in VII. 9 he remarks that "the Scrip-

necessarily misled to explain, for instance, the prolonged day in Joshua's time by the supposition of a large quantity of ice happening to be in the upper region of the air,<sup>7</sup> and causing an unusually strong refraction of the solar rays,<sup>8</sup> and to propound the vague and untenable opinion that all Biblical accounts found to be in opposition to the laws of nature are "either poetical metaphors, or are related according to the opinions and prejudices of the writer,"<sup>9</sup> and have been inserted in the Scriptures by sacrilegious hands"<sup>10</sup> — principles which manifestly deprive the narratives of Scripture of all definite meaning and value. Equally questionable is the attempt at separating the "end and essence" of the revelations from the accessory notions associated with them, and of insisting upon the truth of the former, while relinquishing that of the latter,<sup>11</sup> an attempt which would open the floodgates to every variety of arbitrary distinction. Yet the same views have been adopted by later writers, and among them by Reimarus, the famous "fragmentist" of Wolfenbüttel, who by venturing "natural explanations" of what the authors of the Bible manifestly meant to describe as supernatural, was carried away to the most curious fancies, as for instance, that the thunder which accompanied the revelation on Mount Sinai was possibly produced by the sudden explosion of "a sort of gunpowder", while Moses communicated with Joshua, who was in the camp, by means of a speaking-trumpet.<sup>12</sup>

This observation has a wider scope still. It must create the utmost perplexity, if the results of philosophical thought are by strained expositions grafted upon the Scriptures, in the vain hope thereby to save the authority of the latter; thus Spinoza justly maintains that the ceremonies of the Old Testament contribute nothing to virtue or happiness, and that they therefore can form no part of a Divine Law;<sup>13</sup> but it is idle to assert that this is the view of the Old Testament itself, which enjoins moral and civil laws, religious doctrines, and ceremonies as equally binding and equally irrevocable; the attempt to prove the reverse is necessarily futile and unavailing.<sup>14</sup> Yet Spinoza severely denounces, in theory, the method which he himself repeatedly follows;

tures treat very frequently of things which cannot be deduced from principles of natural intelligence."

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Josh. X. 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Spinoza*, l. c. II, 27.

<sup>9</sup> Vel poetice dicta sunt, vel secundum scriptoris opiniones et praejudicia relata.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. §§ 50, 51; comp. 53—58, 59—63; VII. 3; VIII. 2; X. 28 (illas fabulas ab aliquo nugatore adjectas fuisse).

<sup>11</sup> L. c. II. 53—57, concludimus itaque, nos prophetis nihil aliud teneri credere praeter id quod finis et substantia est revelationis; in reliquis prout unicuique libet liberum est credere.

<sup>12</sup> See *D. F. Strauss*, Hermann Samuel Reimarus und seine Schutzschrift für vernünftige Verehrer Gottes, p. 108, and *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Tract. theol. pol. V. 2, 31.

<sup>14</sup> L. c. §§ 4 *sqq.*



individual conclusions; for as Scripture was once itself adapted to the capacity of the people, thus everyone is permitted to adapt it to his own views, if he sees that he thus is able to do so with the fuller consent of his conscience, in all matters of justice and love."<sup>5</sup> Who does not see that such principle, such absence of principle, renders all religious knowledge uncertain and fluctuating, and renounces beforehand all absolute truth?

It is equally unavailing to confine miracles to certain limits. Catholicism, in this respect more in accordance with the spirit of the Bible than Protestantism, which attempts an unsuccessful compromise between belief and reason, extends their operation beyond the limits of tradition, and supposes their constant and living manifesta-

---

<sup>1</sup> Mor. Nev. II. 25.

<sup>2</sup> L. c. VII. 87; comp. §§ 75—87; VIII. 27 (*quid cum illis agas qui nihil vident nisi quod lubet? Quid, inquam, hoc aliud est quam ipsam Scripturam negare et novam ex proprio cerebro cudere?*); X. 33—36; *Kant*, l. c. pp. 159—161 ("the moral philosophers among the Greeks and Romans understood how to interpret the grossest polytheism merely as symbolical manifestations of the one divine being"); comp. also Comm. on Genes. p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> L. c. X. 33—36. 42 nihil aliud

<sup>5</sup> L. c. XIV. 3; comp. §

<sup>6</sup> The bodies of the bones (comp. 2 Ki. XIII. 2) posed remnants of the (comp. 2 Ki. II. 8, 14; A. incessantly work miracle scapulary of the Carmelite cannon-balls, or makes them innocuously from the bodies; also *Kant*, l. c. pp. 118 *seqq.* remarks that the acknowledgment of the possibility of wonder poses the civil and political

the Biblical narrative contains not simply miracles, but is throughout framed in a miraculous spirit. It is entirely compiled on the assumption of a perpetual and immediate intervention of God in the natural course of events. That extraordinary "offering of jealousy", on which we have commented above,<sup>7</sup> and which is manifestly an ordeal involving the regular and miraculous interference of God, is alone sufficient to point out the wide chasm which separates the Biblical from the scientific notions beyond all possibility of agreement. Wonders are freely employed to remove difficulties, even where these might have been overcome by natural agencies. Whether Noah and his family are alone rescued amidst the universal destruction of all living creatures, or Lot is by special messengers of God saved from the calamities which overthrow his entire district; whether Pharaoh is, by unparalleled afflictions, forced to release the Hebrews, or the persons and the property of the latter remain untouched when appalling misfortunes befall the land; whether God personally guides and protects the patriarchs, or at once afflicts the women of Abimelech's household with barrenness because that king takes Sarah into his house;<sup>8</sup> whether He gives to the myriads of Israelites wandering in the desert food and water in abundance for forty years, or makes the Syrian army hear a noise of vast numbers of horses and chariots to delude them into the belief of large hosts approaching, in consequence of which they flee panic-stricken, leaving their whole camp behind them<sup>9</sup> — these and all the numerous traits of a similar kind defy all laws both of reason and experience, and substitute phantasmagoric playfulness for sober historiography to such a degree that even the attempt at harmonizing them with scientific results bespeaks the slothfulness of a mind equally unable to form an independent estimate of the antiquated past, and to keep pace with the growth of modern inquiry.<sup>10</sup> "By the direction of God", observes Spinoza,<sup>11</sup> "I understand the fixed and immutable order of nature or the concatenation of natural things. The general laws of nature, by which everything happens and is determined, are nothing but the eternal decrees of God, which ever involve eternal truth and necessity. Therefore, whether we say that everything happens according to the laws of nature, or that everything is ordained by the will and direction of God,

<sup>7</sup> Sect. XVI.<sup>8</sup> Gen. XX. 17, 18.<sup>9</sup> 2 Ki. VII. 6, 7; comp. vers. 1, 16; see *Liv.* XXIV. 44, "other illusions of the eyes and ears were credited as realities, an appearance as of ships had been seen in the river at Taracina, when there was none there."<sup>10</sup> Comp. *W. E. H. Lecky*, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, I. pp. 151—205, 306—314, 322.<sup>11</sup> *Tract. theol. polit.* III. 7, 8; comp. also § 9; IV. 10.

Naaman was healed from leprosy after bathing seven times in the Jordan;<sup>4</sup> and the ten plagues of Egypt are all based on natural causes of almost regular occurrence in that country:<sup>5</sup> but these, though affording to us valuable hints and explanations, were by the narrators not meant to remove the miraculous character of the events. They prove, on the contrary, that even where a natural explanation is suggested by tradition, it was rejected by many generations, and set aside in favour of the assumption of supernatural agencies. Yet, what natural basis can be discovered for that Miriam became suddenly "leprous like snow" because she had spoken slightly of Moses,<sup>6</sup> that a corpse which had been touched by Elisha, became alive and rose from the grave,<sup>7</sup> or that those who were cured, physical defects removed, and evil spirits expelled by touching the hand or the garment of Christ, or "an handkerchief" of the apostle Paul?<sup>8</sup> that a large number of fiery chariots appeared to rescue Elisha from his pursuers?<sup>9</sup> that fire came out of a rock by striking it with a staff, and consumed the cakes placed thereon by Gideon as an offering?<sup>10</sup> that the lioness became tame because it bore the guilty Jonah, and became tranquil as the ark, when the latter was removed from the ship?<sup>11</sup>

And yet the Bible itself lowers considerably the force of miracles by attributing the power of performing them to the Hebrews worshipping foreign gods,<sup>12</sup> and to heathens contending with the might of Jehovah, as in the instance of Balaam, but to the Jews working in opposition to Jehovah himself, as the magicians

The New Testament goes even farther; it supposes miracles to be performed by "false Christs and false prophets"<sup>14</sup> to such a degree "that if it were possible they might deceive the very elect";<sup>15</sup> the enemy of the Church, represented under the form of a beast rising out of the earth, "did great wonders, made fire come down from heaven, and thereby deceived many men";<sup>16</sup> and "the spirits of the devils", which betray the kings of the earth and of the whole world, work miracles.<sup>17</sup> Wonders, therefore, neither testify to the greatness of God,<sup>18</sup> nor to the purity or truth of doctrines. It is, moreover, extremely difficult to distinguish between a true and a false miracle; all criteria that have been fixed, are either indefinite or fallacious.<sup>19</sup>

The inference to be drawn from these facts is as decisive as it is significant. Can a gift that an idol is able to bestow, have any value or reality? Can those powers be supernatural which a Hebrew prophet shares with a priest of Baal?

Miracles are both impossible and incredible — impossible because against the established laws of the universe, and incredible because those set forth by tradition, are palpable inventions of unhistoric ages.

The belief in miracles may, in certain periods, not be without advantage and importance; it emanates from a spiritual elevation, perhaps from a moral impulse; it may serve to strengthen the religion of the heart and to sanction those doctrines which the mind recognises as true and eternal; it may thus prove a material aid to a genuine faith; but it can, at best, only be a means to that end; it loses its usefulness, when it loses the connection with the mind; it becomes injurious and dangerous and leads to mechanical ritualism or fanatic vehemence when it is isolated from the moral faculties; and engenders hypocrisy and falsehood when it ceases to be conceived in simplicity and childlike ingenuousness. According to the current and traditional view, miracles were wrought exclusively in the early times of deficient education and imperfect knowledge; they are no longer reported in the more enlightened epochs of progress and research. Why should they have so suddenly and so completely ceased? It is futile to reply that

<sup>14</sup> Matth. XXIV. 24; comp. 2 Thess. II. 9 (οὐ ἔστιν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις, καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους).

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Revel. XIX. 20.

<sup>16</sup> Revel. XIII. 13, 14.

<sup>17</sup> Revel. XVI. 14; comp., however, John III. 2 (no man can do these miracles except God be with him).

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Spinoza*, Tract. theol. pol. VI. 16—38, where he proves, *nos ex miraculis nec Dei essentiam nec existentiam nec providentiam posse intelligere*, sed contra haec longe melius percipi ex fixo atque immutabili naturae ordine; see also II. 6.

<sup>19</sup> See, for inst., *Calmet*, Dict. de la Bible, sub Miracle.

the capacity of man, he cannot receive anything. . . .  
are silly who, if unable to understand a thing, have recourse  
forsooth, a ridiculous mode of displaying ignorance."<sup>2</sup>

The notion of "rational wonders" which has been proposed is  
posterior; for all wonders are irrational;<sup>3</sup> they realise the  
the more completely, the more irrational they are; for  
trates into the depth and essence of things, while the  
lightly on their surface. The *love of the miraculous*, innate  
nature, and strongest in imaginative or enthusiastic minds  
early stages of development, is the parent of miracles; the  
not in the quality of things but in the propensity of men;  
that I am able to do this?" Jesus asked the blind men  
him to be cured, and "they said to him, Yea, Lord";<sup>4</sup> a leper  
to him saying, "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me  
Jesus said, "I will", and the leprosy was immediately removed.  
are desired and demanded when they are believed in; they  
neither in the sphere of metaphysics nor of theology; they  
explained only as psychological phenomena.<sup>5</sup> Mohammed

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Exod. VII. 9—12, 22; VIII. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Spinoza*, Tract. theol. polit. VI. 21, 23, ex opere et absolute ex eo quod nostrum captum superat, nihil intelligere possumus; ii igitur plane nugantur, qui ubi rem ignorant, ad Dei voluntatem recurrunt; ridiculus sane modus ignorantiam profitendi.

and more pointedly still  
quid enim contra naturam  
rationem est, et quod contra  
id absurdum est, ac  
refutandum.

<sup>4</sup> Matth. IX. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Matth. VIII. 2, 3;  
(θάραυν, θύγατερ, ἡ πύλη)

on all sides to perform miracles in vindication of his alleged mission; the incessant requests of both friends and foes, justified by the precedents of the Old and New Testament, almost brought him to despair, and in vain he insisted, that the greatest miracles are the creation, the animal and vegetable kingdom, or heaven and sea.<sup>7</sup>

The untutored or youthful mind delights in uncommon and astounding mysteries, the manly intellect endeavours to reduce all uncommon and astounding mysteries to ordinary and intelligible laws. The one is, therefore, prepared to witness miracles before an occasion arises, the other refuses to acknowledge them even after they are supposed to have happened. The childlike believer feels his yearnings unsatisfied by the severe, impartial, and uniform rule of ever-balancing and all-embracing reason; the thoughtful philosopher disdains the insinuating flatteries of aspiring enthusiasm, of exceptional or providential protection, because he divines eternal harmony and order in the stern sameness of nature's working. The former, therefore, requires extraordinary marvels to be awed, since "the miracle is the dearest child of faith",<sup>8</sup> while the latter is impressed with a sense of sublimity by examining the common and daily operations of nature. Confiding apathy beholds in the affairs of life the inscrutable and desultory play of preternatural influences; energetic reason is restless to discover the connecting thread of cause and effect. Hence the former either disregards or reads to no purpose the book of the past, while the latter derives from it the most fruitful lessons for his guidance and training. The feeble-minded, conscious of his own helplessness, constantly tries to support it by some unexpected and unaccountable aid; the resolute man of action glories in his ability of maintaining his due place in the system of creation by his own energy and the legitimate exercise of his strength. And while the one is eager to be lifted, on the wings of fancy and of faith, immeasurably beyond his natural sphere, the other prefers laboriously to conquer, by the sword of thought and science, his proper domain as a rational being, and to desire no more, convinced that he is great only in the same degree as he is independent, and that his conquests are sure and inalienable when he obtains them by his own

---

cupiuntur, se extendunt, et quod denique natura fixum atque immutabilem ordinem servat, clarissime sequitur, nomen miraculi non nisi respectu ad hominum opiniones posse intelligi, et nihil aliud significare, quam opus, cujus causam naturalem exemplo alterius rei solitae explicare non possumus, vel

saltem ipse non potest, qui miraculum scribit et narrat."

<sup>7</sup> *Koran* XVI. 1 sqq.; LXXXVIII. sqq.

<sup>8</sup> *Goethe*, "Das Wunder ist des Glaubens liebstes Kind" (*Faust*, Part I, p. 34 ed. Cotta 1840, vol. XI); comp. also "Wer Wunder hofft, der stärke seinen Glauben" (*Faust*, Part II, p. 20, vol. XII).

other may be accepted or rejected according to the gene adopted by individual readers.

The Scriptures habitually represent drought and famine and earthquake, floods and every disaster of the elements, of idolatry and wickedness; they make the cessation of the dependent on the people's return to God and virtue,<sup>1</sup> and for instance, of "the ignominy of famine":<sup>2</sup> but the scourges result from physical laws which, though they should never entirely, certainly repudiate the notion of a direct influence of moral upon the physical world. And with respect to the notion, the conception of the Bible is so childlike, that it is the possibility of moral degeneracy in animals, generally simultaneous corruption of men and beasts, and includes the same exercises of penitence, fasting, and humiliation;<sup>3</sup> the earth, the abode of man, and the material from which he is framed, may share in the general depravity; and hence the destruction of man, as was the case in the deluge, includes the destruction of beasts, and at least the temporary devastation of the earth in the visitation of Sodom and Gomorrah, its utter annihilation. These notions are to us like strange and fanciful echoes of a

The veil which once covered and hid nature, has in a great measure been withdrawn. The awe which man felt at her grandeur, has been diminished; on the contrary, it has gained in intensity. But the enquirer has become conscious that he must not lose the hope of fathoming a power that rules her world.



and "secondary causes", since, throughout her dominion, she reveals causes that he must consider as primary, and beyond which he cannot pass if he desires to penetrate into the genesis of things; and that, therefore, man's dignity and his happiness depend on the earnestness with which he explores nature's laws and obeys her suggestions and behests.<sup>5</sup>

### 32. PRAYER AND OTHER DEVOTIONS.

From the principles laid down with regard to miracles, it will not be difficult to estimate the value of several other fundamental notions which pervade the Bible. If every effect produced in the material world is the consequence of a commensurate physical cause to which it is intrinsically related, human supplication, sacrifices, fasting, or any other form of devotion or asceticism, cannot possibly exercise an influence on the course of events or on the destiny of men. There exists no conceivable connection between the one and the other. The spiritual aspiration of prayer lies in a sphere totally different from that which causes the changes or the progress of the external world. If we read that Elijah's prayer suddenly called down from heaven a fire to consume his sacrifice,<sup>6</sup> we are startled by a complete overthrow of all the truths to which we are accustomed with regard to the permanent order of things, and we find it impossible to abandon the undisputed results of science in favour of a doubtful tradition, even if the latter did not form part of a narrative coloured throughout by fanciful legends. If the entreaty of Abraham at once removed the barrenness which had afflicted the women in Abimelech's household,<sup>7</sup> if prayers are supposed to effect or to accelerate the recovery of the sick,<sup>8</sup> and even to restore the dead to life,<sup>9</sup> or to cause sudden blindness,<sup>10</sup> we fail to see, how words, however

<sup>5</sup> The arguments adduced by the advocates of Biblical miracles (as Campbell, Paley, Leslie, Douglas, a. o.) are of very little weight; singularly vague also are the observations of De Wette, and little in harmony with his usual decision of thought (*Das Wesen des christlichen Glaubens vom Standpunkt des Glaubens dargestellt*, pp. 308—319, 388 *sqq.*); comp. also the unconvincing remarks of *F. R. Birks*, *The Bible and Modern Thought*, 1862, pp. 63—85, 148—162, on prophecy pp. 163—198, on inspiration pp. 215—257; *J. R. Young*, *Science elucidative of Scripture*, 1863, pp. 150 *sqq.* (who is bold enough to assert that "not a single scriptural miracle can be pointed to

which is self-contradictory", and charitable enough to suppose that Baden Powell when he wrote his essay on the Study of the Evidences of Christianity was in a state of dotage, with his mind unhinged, and his intellectual vision obscured (p. 165).

<sup>6</sup> 1 Ki. XVIII. 36—38.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. XX. 17, 18; comp. XXV. 21; 1 Sam. I. 10 *sqq.* <sup>8</sup> Comp. Num. XII. 13, 14; 2 Chr. XXX. 18—20; 2 Ki. XX. 3, 5, 6; 1 Ki. XIII. 6.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Ki. XVII. 17—22 (on the son of the widow of Zarephath); Acts IX. 40 (on Tabitha or Dorcas); comp. also 1 Ki. IV. 33 (on the son of the Shunamite woman).

<sup>10</sup> 2 Ki. VI. 18; comp. vers. 17—20.

a pestilence<sup>1</sup> or a locust-plague,<sup>2</sup> or to procure  
 If people pray for rain to secure a plentiful harv  
 aware of their irrational proceeding; or else the  
 the impossible hope, that for the sake of the limit  
 they happen to live, the meteorological laws whic  
 of rain over the whole globe, should be capriciou  
 gency which, were it feasible, would utterly dera

<sup>1</sup> James V. 14—16; comp. 2 Ki. XX.  
 1—6; Wisd. XVI. 12; the Chronist re-  
 marks even, with censure, that king  
 Asa in his illness “did not consult God  
 but the physicians” (2 Chr. XVI. 12);  
 see, however, *Plin.* H. N. XXVIII. 2 or  
 3, ex homine remediorum primum  
 maxumae quaestionis et semper  
 incertae est polleantne aliquid verba et  
 incantamenta carminum ... sed viritum  
 sapientissimi cujusque respuit fides.  
 On mediatory prayers of the pious see  
*supra* p. 301; *Gramberg*, Rel. Id. I.  
 325, 326.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. XXI. 21, 22; comp. XVII.  
 20, 21; Mark XI. 24; Luke XVIII. 1;  
 XXI. 36; Ephes. VI. 18; Rom. XV. 30,  
 31; 2 Thess. III. 1, 2; Hebr. XIII. 18,  
 19; etc.

<sup>3</sup> Mark IX. 23, πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ  
 πιστεύοντι. On this point Kant (l. c.  
 p. 122) remarks, “The belief that man  
 is able to produce as it were miracles

<sup>4</sup> 1 Ki. VIII.  
 XIX. 15; Jer. I.  
 36, 37; X. 27—  
 Deut. IX. 20, 21  
 also p. 182 note  
<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 K  
 45; James V. 1  
 I. 87 (concernin  
 ing pile, τὸν μ  
 θεὸν ἐκ δὲ αἰθ  
 δραμίων ἐκπ  
 ὕδατι λαβροτά  
 (καὶ ὁ μὲν —  
 εὐχόμενος τὴν  
 ὑεσθαι); *Cap*  
 c. 24 (fulmen  
 contra hostium  
 sit, suis pluvia  
 rarent); see als  
 V. 7, Εὐχὴ Ἰσ  
 φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ  
 ναίων καὶ τῶ  
 εὐχεσθαι, ἦ •

relations of our planetary system. In short, the efficacy attributed to prayer lies entirely in the unreal region of the miraculous.<sup>6</sup> When, in 1865, public prayers were appointed to be offered up throughout Great Britain, for the cessation of the cholera, the objections entertained by many of the most educated men were well expressed by Prof. Tyndall. "The great majority of sane persons", he observed, "at the present day believe in the necessary character of natural laws, and it is only where the antecedents of a calamity are vague and disguised that they think of resorting to prayer to avert it"; he calls this a "pagan method of meeting the scourge"; and he adds "the ideas of prayer and of a change in the course of natural phaenomena refuse to be connected in thought."<sup>7</sup>

If the heart of man is filled with humiliation and shame on account of moral transgressions or deficient zeal in the exercise of virtue or of duty, let him, in contrition, confess to himself his weakness or apathy, and atone his guilt by increased energy and diligence in every noble pursuit. If his soul rejoices in the possession of boons and benefits, let him evince his worthiness by an unselfish use of these blessings, by banishing pride, by lending his indefatigable assistance to the less fortunate, and by unostentatiously aiding every excellent scheme. And if his mind is lost in amazement at the grandeur of nature and the admirable fitness of all her parts, let him prove his appreciation of her magnificence by an eager study of her marvellous mechanism and by an ungrudging obedience to the lessons she teaches. But it is vain and irrational to utter supplications for such objects as health, long life or posterity, riches, success or distinction; for they either lie entirely beyond the control of man, or depend on the measure of his abilities and his vigour, or they follow, as an inevitable sequence, from the organisation of society or the order of the physical world. Ancient writers already saw the difficulty that different men of equal earnestness and piety often pray for opposite things, which the deity cannot possibly grant simultaneously. "Some sailors", observes Lucian,<sup>10</sup> "pray for north-wind, others for south-wind; a farmer desires rain, a cloth-worker sunshine, and often Jupiter is uncertain and hesi-

<sup>6</sup> Some deists, however, questioned the usefulness of prayer, since it can contribute nothing to the perfection or beatitude of God; comp. *Angladis Ethica*, Pars II. Diss. 1 (Inter deistas quidam fuerunt, licet perpauci numero, qui omnem cultum etiam internum rejecerunt, asserentes Deum nihil de illo curare, religiosisque actibus non mo-

veri); also *Fr. P. Cobbe*, Religious Duty, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>7</sup> See the *Pall Mall Gazette* of October 12 and 19, 1865, and the discussion carried on in that journal on the same subject during the greater part of the month of October, and evidently rousing much public interest.

<sup>10</sup> *Lucian*, *Icaromenipp.* c. 25.

mentioned in the special about : does it not perhaps the  
 fill all that surrounds us, all nature with her wonders and  
 And what is "heaven" in the scientific language of our time  
 distinct from sky or air, atmosphere or ether.<sup>3</sup> — "Hallelu-  
 name." What does this traditional phrase and the following  
 kingdom come", express which cannot be conveyed with  
 clearness by terms derived from the sphere of practical  
 the terms self-sacrificing devotedness and unswerving re-  
 versal diffusion of peace and virtue, of knowledge and truth  
 will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." This absolute power  
 in all things utterly contradicts our well-established  
 general course of events regulated by unchangeable causes  
 "Give us this day our daily bread." Even the most pious  
 words hardly anything beyond the wish that the efforts of  
 science or activity may be successful, or that the operation of  
 which constitute our social organism, may be favourable to  
 his sustenance or establishing his worldly prosperity. —  
 us our debts as we forgive our debtors."<sup>4</sup> Only the latter  
 invocation depends upon ourselves, and if carried out in  
 generous spirit, forms our highest moral glory; but the former  
 in many cases unfeasible; for a guilt can only be condoned

<sup>1</sup> *Plato, Legg. X. p. 885 B, οὐδείς  
 πώποτε οὔτε ἔργον ἀσεβὲς εἰργάσατο  
 ἔχων οὔτε λόγον ἀφῆκεν ἄνομον, ἀλλὰ ἐν  
 δῆτι τῶν τριῶν πάσων...ἡ τρίτον εὐπα-  
 ραμυθήτους εἶναι (θεοὺς) θυσίας τε  
 καὶ εὐχαῖς παραγομένους; p.886C;907B,*

<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, more  
 whether, as De Wette ren-  
 word heaven moves on  
 effectually than all science  
 which the philosopher  
 supernatural world" (U

against whom it was committed; and very often the commonwealth does not and cannot pardon guilt, but exacts the most rigid retribution, which, however, involves the atonement of the offender. — “And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.” It is against the well-known order of things that circumstances and events should be guided with the special view of keeping individuals away from temptation; they take their necessary course, and trials can only be avoided and misfortunes overcome by prudence and moral strength. — “For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever.” These words can have a distinct meaning only by depriving both the world of matter of all independence, and human society of all responsibility.

Devotion, in the spirit above indicated, is not only beneficial, but indispensable as a requirement of every moral mind; but prayer in the vulgar sense is at variance with reason and intelligence. “Praying”, observes Kant, “taken as a formal act of worship and a means of grace, is a superstitious illusion; a sincere wish to please God in all our ways, that is, the frame of mind accompanying all our actions and making them appear to be performed in the service of God, is the spirit of prayer, which can and ought to work within us incessantly.”<sup>5</sup>

Before beginning difficult or uncertain and dangerous enterprises, men feel disposed to pray and to invoke higher assistance. What is the motive and impulse of such prayer? It expresses the wish, that all external circumstances also might be propitious which, no less than man's own strength and ability, his prudence and perseverance, are required for the successful issue; it is, in a word, an appeal to fortune, or if it be preferred, to chance, which consists in an auspicious concatenation of extraneous conditions.

It may be that in many cases prayer, by producing a calm confidence, enhances the energy of man, and contributes to his success; but it does not exercise that influence because it is in reality efficacious, but because he who prays *believes* it to be so; therefore, the strong-minded will prefer earnest reflection, or any other means of rousing his activity, to a fictitious help founded upon delusion and prompted by weakness. Men have indeed at all times wavered on this point. Intelligence and a sense of independence urged them to expect their happiness from their own exertions, but inertness and indolence led them to rely, at least partially, on prayer.<sup>6</sup> This fluctuation gave rise to utterances like “Trust in the Lord and do good”,<sup>7</sup> or the time-

<sup>5</sup> *Kant*, l. c. p. 302, comp. pp. 296—319.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the apt illustration of Persius (Sat. II. 41—43): *Poscis opem*

*nervis corpusque fidele senectae; Esto age; sed grandes patinae tuccetaque crassa Adnuere his superos vetuere Jovemque morantur.* <sup>7</sup> Ps. XXXVII. 3.

and *faith*,<sup>1</sup> as might be expected in a childlike stage of intellectual development which it represents, on this account, especially foreign to our present mode of life and the government of the world.

Kindred with prayers are the *blessings* and *curses* upon others: the blessing of Isaac, even supposed it were *post eventum*, was powerless to secure the prosperity of descendants, who had to depend on their own conduct and circumstances; nor would the curses of Balaam have any influence upon the career of the Israelites. The belief in 'blessings and curses,' though often emanating from a desire of securing the good wishes of the pious, or from unfounded fears of a guilty conscience, is, in fact, based on a confusion of the moral and the material world, which is the parent of despicable and often dangerous superstitions.

That which is true of prayer, the purest and most

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the decided words of Cato (in *Sallust*, Catil. LII), "non votis neque supplicis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt; ubi secordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt"; also the maxims *σὺν Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ χεῖρα κίνει*, or *αὐτός τε τῶν δρῶν, αἶτα τοὺς θεοὺς καλεῖ* (*A. Schott*, *Adag. Graec.* 1612, pp. 149, 378), or *τὰν χεῖρα ποτιφέροντα τὰν τύχαν κα-*

(Hercules answers the *προχῶν ἄπρου καὶ τοῖς τοῖς θεοῖς δ' εἶχου, ὅτε τός, ἡ μάτην εὐξῇ*); "Give them that will not help

<sup>2</sup> Eccl. IX. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. LV. 23; comp

<sup>4</sup> Ps. CXXVII. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ver. 2; the Englishers incorrectly and "for so He giveth Him (*כִּן יִתֵּן לְיָדוֹ שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר*).

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Ps. XIII. 6

of devotion, applies with increased force to all other pious exercises, to *sacrifice* or *fasting*. There is no connection between these practices and the ordinary affairs of human life. No degree of self-castigation can avert a calamity which is the inevitable result of a chain of events or of physical conditions. We must repeat once more — to expect an effect without a corresponding cause, is superstition. Yet the Biblical narrative constantly introduces prayer, sacrifice, and the like, and attaches to them a profound and mysterious reality. Who will deny, that any ceremony, however unmeaning in itself, if performed in a spirit of earnestness and humility, may serve the best and holiest ends of religion, by rousing the soul and directing it to its highest duties? But here again, it is not the ceremonies which work so beneficially, but the frame of mind which they happen to call forth; however, this frame of mind, very different in different worshippers, might be produced in many other ways, and is, in fact, more surely engendered by means better consistent with the true nature of man and his place in creation. Even the so-called *good works*, as charity and alms-giving, truly ennobling and beatifying if exercised from a consciousness of the obligations which man owes to man, and from a feeling of single-minded self-denial, are a noxious perversity, if performed in the selfish hope of obtaining the favour of the deity and thereby securing temporal or eternal happiness; not only do the good works thus lose their chief merit and grace, not only do they cease to be the brightest glory and most precious gem of man's life, they contribute to foster both egotism and superstition.<sup>8</sup> We must advance even a step farther and weigh the value and force of *penitence*. If the destruction of a town as Nineveh is all but impending, and is yet averted by the repentance of its inhabitants,<sup>9</sup> we are justified in asking, how such an effect can be wrought by such a cause?<sup>10</sup> We are very far from undervaluing the transcendent merit and wonderful power of repentance, to be prized as the chief means of purification and peace of mind, because it is alone able to counterbalance our inherent weakness, or at least to mitigate its baneful operation: but we cannot attribute to it any other direct or outward influence; for the confession of sinful or wicked acts cannot make them undone; a deed cannot be effaced by a thought, but only by another deed, or by uncontrollable circumstances; on the contrary, experience and reflection teach us alike that no penitence, however sincere and unremitting, can wipe out a transgression; sin must be expiated by suffering; but the sufferer is upheld by the consolation

<sup>8</sup> Comp., for instance, Luke XIV. 12—14; see *Feuerbach*, *Ursprung der Götter*, pp. 392—399 (on "Self-love").

<sup>9</sup> Jonah III.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Jer. XXVI. 13, 19 ("the Lord will repent of the evil" etc.).



tinguished men of later times are represented as enjoying personal intercourse at decisive epochs of their lives. Let us examine the dogmatic foundations upon which such conceptions were built. It is true that God's incorporeality is theoretically taught in the Scriptures;<sup>1</sup> yet He appears in human form,<sup>2</sup> and is seen in the visions of the prophets;<sup>3</sup> He speaks distinctly and intelligibly, and communicates His thoughts and designs to His elected mediators.<sup>4</sup> If we turn from these views to the doctrine of incarnation there is but a natural result; thus theology almost returns, as if by a circular movement, to the very point from which it started — the notion of personal attributes. But how can a Spirit that pervades the universe, and which is accessible to our intellects by the works which it fills the world, and by the laws that govern it, commune personally with man, and reveal to him commands or truths for the guidance of his life? The most Divine power of which we have any knowledge and consciousness, is human reason, and it suffices to secure the dignity and his happiness. Wise and good men intended to teach their fellow-beings what they regarded as irrefutable truth.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 400. The views with regard to the incorporeality of God evidently fluctuated for a long time; it is only necessary to refer to that remarkable and obscure account in Exodus where Moses desired to see the "glory" of God, and the latter replies, "Behold, there is a place by Me, and thou shalt stand upon the rock; and it shall come to pass while My glory passes by.

Num. XII. 6—8 אֲרָכָה לִפְנֵי  
Deut. XXXIV. 10 לִפְנֵי  
a passage which has induced some to suppose that the Pentateuch at all teach the incorporeality of God (comp., f. i., *Spinoza*, Tract. L. 17, nec lex Mosi revelat praecepit, ut credamus, Deum incorporeum etc.; comp. ibid. 43; XV. 16).

clothed their teaching in the form of a revelation, because this is the most impressive, and was therefore, for such purposes, the most usual and familiar mode of communication. Let us analyse a clear instance of revelation or *theophany*; we choose one distinguished by simplicity and grandeur, composed by Isaiah who is unquestionably to be counted among the noblest and most gifted of the ancient Hebrews. "In the year that king Uzziah died", he writes,<sup>5</sup> "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lofty, and His train filled the Temple. Above Him stood seraphs; each one had six wings; with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he did fly. And one cried to another and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory . . . Then said I, Woe to me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; for my eyes have seen the king, the Lord of hosts" — after which a seraph lays a live coal upon the prophet's lips, and God charges him with the mission of preaching to the Israelites. Has this narrative literal truth? Can it have reality? Isaiah *sees* God. Can God be seen? Would the prophet in sober earnestness admit the possibility? Can he then fear instantaneous death on that account? He sees God *sitting* on a *throne*. Can a spirit be so conceived, and is it tied to the conditions of space? The *train* of God (רָצוֹן) is noticed. How is this to be understood? And has He any form that admits of the contrast between *above* and *below*? The prophet observes that the train filled the Temple. Is God enclosed within the walls of an edifice? And in what manner can the garment of a spiritual being fill a circumscribed space?<sup>6</sup> He sees, moreover, seraphs with six wings. What are seraphs? Are they not, like all angels, demons, and spirits, both good and evil, pure and impure, which are so prominent in all parts of the Bible and most so in the latest, are they not beings of eastern mythology, creatures of fancy, without possible reality?<sup>7</sup> Yet he sees them "standing above God" (עֹמְדִים מֵעַל לוֹ).<sup>8</sup> What does it mean "above God"? What can there be above Him who fills the heaven and the heaven of heavens, and the whole universe? Then the seraphs speak, and God

<sup>5</sup> Isai. VI. 1—13.

<sup>6</sup> For the scene of the vision is obviously not in heaven, but in the Temple (ver. 2), as is evident from "the foundations of the threshold" (ver. 4) and the altar (ver. 6; comp. Jerem. XXIV. 1; Am. IX. 1; Ezek. VIII. 3; esp. X. 4, 5), the vail which separated the Holy from the Holy of Holies

being probably supposed to be opened.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Comm. on Genes. pp. 399, 400; see *Kohut*, Über die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus, Leipzig 1866 (Abhandlungen der Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Vol. IV. No. 3).

<sup>8</sup> For לוֹ must be referred to יְיָ, not to מֶלֶךְ.

mainly make us abandon this alternative. Is it, therefore, simply a poetical invention, a form of composition designed to suit interestingly his vocation as a teacher and his initiation into the prophetic office? The earnestness and depth of the writer forbid us to suppose that he was guilty of playfulness in relating the holiest and most important events of his life. What view, then, remains? Though the narrative evinces neither the fervour of religious enthusiasm, nor the clearness and effectiveness of diction, it appears to be a combination of the simple and direct of Isaiah, in common with his time and people, believed in a direct revelation; and he had ardour enough to persuade himself of the powerful impulse which stimulated him to his great work, to be hallowed or confirmed by a solemn theophany.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, he could scarcely deceive himself so far as to imagine that he had actually received such revelation through the personal address of God; yet he might well describe his initiation in a form, which was familiar to his contemporaries, and which he was able to employ with clearness and impressiveness. The view was generally adopted in eastern theology,<sup>3</sup> and naturally varied according to the disposition and talent of the writers and the taste of the age.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Spinoza, Tract. theol. polit. l. 9, verba vero et etiam figurae vel verae fuerunt et extra imaginationem prophetae audientis seu videntis, vel imaginariae quia nimirum prophetae imaginatio, etiam vigilando, ita disponebatur, ut sibi clare videretur verba audire aut aliquid videre; and with respect to Isaiah's vision he ob-

*que sine dubio Deum imaginari solebat.*

<sup>2</sup> Comp. vers. 5,

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Jer. I. 4—

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Am. VII Zech. I. 7—17; II. 1 Ki. XXII. 19—23; c Tract. theol. polit. l. 23, 49—58, hinc s

grew more and more in favour among the Hebrews; it is found with increased frequency in the later writings, especially in the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John, till it was overloaded with an exuberant, if not extravagant, admixture of symbolism or allegorical play.<sup>5</sup> Narratives like that under examination, have, therefore, a very high psychological interest, but they can be fully understood and appreciated only, if viewed in relation to the age in which they were written, or to which they point. This applies pre-eminently to the most important of all revelations, those of the Pentateuch. The authors of these tales, living many centuries after the events they narrate, and imbued with the idea that God personally appears to His messengers to charge them with His commands, must needs have believed that Moses was above all other men deemed worthy of receiving Divine revelations; and that as his legation was more momentous than that of all his successors, so the personal manifestations of God were, in his case, more direct, more palpable, and more grandly communicated, than on any previous or later occasion.<sup>6</sup> Eager to exalt this mission, they enlarged and, it may be, exaggerated the notions of their own time with regard to theophanies; and their narratives are, therefore, the combined result of conviction and of logical inference. Hence it is futile in the extreme to reduce all visions of the Bible to suggestions by dreams, as has been attempted by Maimonides and others.<sup>7</sup> Much nearer the truth are those who refer them to the working of the imagination,<sup>8</sup> a faculty which they require even more than superiority of mind.<sup>9</sup>

stylum peculiarem dicendi, sed tantum pro eruditione et capacitate prophetae eatenus esse elegantem, compendiosum, severum, rudem, prolixum et obscurum. <sup>5</sup> Comp. Ezek. I; IV; XII; Zech. I; IV; V; Dan. II; VII.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Num. XII. 6—8; Exod. XIX. 10—25; XX. 18—21. Yet the conception that God spoke to Moses "face to face", seems not to have been generally or consistently entertained; for even Moses was not permitted to see God (Exod. XXXIII. 20), and prophets like him were supposed to appear in later times (Deut. XVIII. 15, 18; comp. *supra* p. 438, note 1).

<sup>7</sup> This opinion is denounced by Spinoza in almost vehement terms, "illi sane garriunt; nam nihil aliud curaverunt quam nugas Aristotelicas et sua

propria figmenta ex Scriptura extorquere; quo mihi quidem nihil magis absurdum videtur" (Tract. theol. polit. I. 19).

<sup>8</sup> Spinoza, l. c. § 25, asserimus . . . neminem nisi imaginationis ope, videlicet ope verborum aut imaginum, Dei revelata accepisse; § 41, quare aequali jure imaginatio prophetarum, quatenus per eam Dei decreta revelabantur, mens Dei etiam vocari poterat, prophetaeque mentem Dei habuisse dici poterant; § 43, possumus jam igitur sine scrupulo affirmare, prophetas non nisi ope imaginationis Dei revelata percepisse, hoc est, mediantibus verbis vel imaginibus, iisque veris aut imaginariis.

<sup>9</sup> L. c. § 25, adeo ad prophetizandum non esse opus perfectiore mente sed vividiore imaginatione; comp. II. 1.

But this is sufficient to determine the degree of their reliability. "By what laws of nature those visions happened", observes Spinoza,<sup>1</sup> "I confess my inability to decide. I might indeed say, like others, that they happened by the power of God; but this I should consider as idle nonsense; for it would be like attempting to explain the nature of some extraordinary thing by a transcendental term." But we must not stop here; we can, in our age, not rest satisfied with resignedly declaring, "It is not necessary that we should know the cause of the prophetic knowledge; and we have no concern in fathoming the principles of the Biblical documents":<sup>2</sup> by knowing that visions are, in a great measure, the result of an active imagination, we know their cause or principle, and are perfectly enabled to estimate their value. We must therefore question the philosophical truth of the remark, "As the prophets received the revelations of God by the help of the imagination, it cannot be doubted that they were able to conceive many truths beyond the limits of the intellect";<sup>3</sup> imagination, which is by Spinoza himself called vague and inconstant,<sup>4</sup> and declared to be hardly fit to understand the things accurately,<sup>5</sup> cannot really and in itself suggest higher truths than calmly weighing reason; and indeed the same thinker, perhaps even advancing too far on the other side, maintains, "those who desire to learn from the books of the prophets wisdom and knowledge of natural and spiritual things, are entirely in error",<sup>6</sup> because imagination, without the judgment of reason, involves no certainty;<sup>7</sup> and he proves elaborately that "prophecy never made the prophets more learned, but left them in their preconceived opinions, and that we are, therefore, in no way bound to believe them in merely speculative matters";<sup>8</sup> that the prophets were ignorant of the causes of the phenomena of nature; "that they have taught nothing peculiar about the Divine attributes, and had very common notions of God, to which they adapted their revelations":<sup>9</sup> but if imagination is understood as a medium of "Divine revelations", the argument is not advanced a single step, as it would still move within the sphere of the supernatural, especially as it is

<sup>1</sup> L. c. § 44.<sup>2</sup> Ibid.<sup>3</sup> L. c. § 45.<sup>4</sup> Ibid. § 47.<sup>5</sup> Qui maxime imaginatione pollent, minus apti ad res pure intelligendum, l. c. II. 1.<sup>6</sup> Qui igitur sapientiam et rerum naturalium et spiritualium cognitionem ex prophetarum libris investigare student tota errant via, II. 2. <sup>7</sup> II. 4 sqq.<sup>8</sup> II. 24; comp. §§ 25 sqq., mira quaedam praecipitantia omnes sibi persua-

serunt, prophetas omnia quae humanus intellectus assequi potest scivisse (§ 25); satis superque constat . . . prophetas res quae solam speculationem et quae non caritatem et usum vitae spectant, ignorare potuisse, et revera ignoravisse contrariasque habuisse opiniones; quare longe abest, ut ab iis cognitio rerum naturalium et spiritualium sit petenda (§ 52).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. § 31; comp. III. 18.

elsewhere contended that "the revelations pass beyond the reach of human capacity";<sup>10</sup> though it is, on the other hand, averred with strange inconsistency, that "the doctrine of the Scriptures does not teach sublime speculations and philosophical truths, but merely the simplest things which can be understood by the very dullest."<sup>11</sup>

The Books that are called revealed have, in fact, disclosed nothing that reason and experience are unable to suggest; they contain manifold truths which reflecting minds of all nations have concurrently discovered; they abound in errors which, in many instances, almost destroy the beneficial effects of their truths, and which the continued exercise of reason and of observation has alone been able to discover and to correct. But even if their human origin were not abundantly disclosed by internal evidence, if they did not, by innumerable features, betray themselves as the compositions of fallible, imperfectly informed, though mostly noble-minded and gifted men, we should not be able to accept them as anything else. The writers indeed considered as reality and fact what they supposed to be possible or what appeared to them desirable, because it was a necessity of their age, and was therefore not likely to be questioned by their contemporaries. But they could not be aware of the incredible mischief which their pretended "revelations" have produced. For they professed to proclaim *final* truths, "to which nothing was to be added, and from which nothing was to be taken off"; and thus they fettered thought and research, and retarded human progress in its most important spheres. Moreover, as their words were considered as the utterances of *Divine wisdom* itself, every opposition or even deviation was looked upon as blasphemy and crime punishable by human authorities; heresy was no more an error, but open rebellion against the authority of heaven; and thus were caused those unspeakable miseries and appalling persecutions, which the mind shudders to recall, which will for ever remain a dark stain in the history of the human race, and which are unparalleled even in the annals of pagan superstition. Instead of directing man to exert his own faculties, the Bible dictates to him what he is to consider as the end of all research and knowledge; it makes him a passive recipient of truth, whereas he feels the unconquerable impulse of searching for it himself; and instead of leaving to him the triumphs of well-employed reason, it claims them entirely for a Being immeasurably above him. Revelation, therefore, in so far as it coincides with reason, might work beneficially, and has fortunately worked so in a considerable degree;

<sup>10</sup> VII. 10; comp. XI. 4, 7, 14; XII. 22.

<sup>11</sup> L. c. XIII. 4, quæ vel a quovis tardissimo possunt percipi.

but it derogates materially from the *moral* value of the actions which it prompts; for actions, not performed from spontaneity and choice, but in obedience to an authoritative command from a higher power, not only lose the noblest attribute of virtue, but are liable to thousandfold evasions and perversions; which double danger is effectually avoided by leaving the sovereignty to reason itself, instead of delegating it to revelation, its temporary and imperfect embodiment. Morality does not deserve its name, unless it flows from pure and free motives. Works of charity, benevolence and good-will, performed because they are commanded with the promise of reward and the threat of punishment, cease to be meritorious. In short, revelation, based upon a defective notion of the Deity, enslaving human reason and slighting its strength and nobleness, teaching the dangerous surrender of human enquiry in favour of a supernatural code, unjustifiably converting cosmic or anthropological truths into theological dogmas, and boldly pronouncing, in the name of an invisible spirit, as eternal law what is no more than the emanation of human thought, and what, therefore, is exposed to error and capable of improvement, depending on the intellect of man for all it utters, and then presumptuously demanding the mastery over him, and hence fostering sophistry and casuistic perversion, which are required to harmonise the later advancements of truth with its own immovable dicta — the idea of revelation combines whatever is objectionable and preposterous in positive religion, and manifests at a glance its weakness and its fallacy. The term revelation which, in its essence, precisely coincides with human knowledge and wisdom, can therefore fitly be dispensed with altogether, and ought only to be employed conventionally for describing the traditional view of orthodoxy.

The greatest confusion is, however, created by an indiscriminate use of that word as well in its dogmatic or technical meaning as also in a figurative sense as merely synonymous with enlightenment or the productions of genius. This may often arise from indistinctness of thought, but it is, we are afraid, not unfrequently the result of insincerity and equivocation. Yet it is highly objectionable unfairly to attribute a new notion to an old term which unsuspecting readers can only understand in the vulgar sense. An honest mind will shun a duplicity designed to conciliate opposite views, but really satisfying neither the believer nor the critic, and enveloping the most important questions in misty haziness. How little either religion, philosophy, or history gains by such unmanly and allegorising playfulness, may be best proved from Lessing's treatise on the Education of the Human Race, which, composed in the illusory form of a fictitious logic, in no manner advances



the subject which it endeavours to elucidate. We shall briefly review its leading ideas. "That which education does for individuals, revelation works for the whole human race" (§ 1). Here the term revelation is manifestly employed in its usual or orthodox acceptation. But we pass to the following clause, "Education is revelation which is imparted to individual men; and revelation is education, which has been imparted, and is still being imparted, to the human race" (§ 2). In what manner is it "still being imparted"? Theologians are agreed that revelation, in its dogmatic meaning, has completely ceased many centuries ago; nor is education a supernatural disclosure conveyed from beings of a superior species or order to those whom they educate. Revelation must, then, in that clause, not be taken in its traditional, but in a metaphorical sense, as increase of knowledge or wisdom. In what mazes of perplexity are we thus intricated! In reading the essay, we must be on our guard wherever the word revelation occurs, and try whether the one meaning or the other suits the context; the term is therefore an indistinct hieroglyphic to be modified and interpreted at pleasure. — "Education conveys to man nothing which he might not learn from his own mind; it conveys it to him only more rapidly and more easily. Just so revelation conveys to the human race nothing that human reason, left to its own resources, would not also discover, only it conveyed and conveys to him the most important of these truths earlier" (§ 4).<sup>1</sup> Can the confusion go farther? That "revelation" which teaches nothing except the suggestions of human reason, is not the revelation of orthodoxy which is beyond human reason and often opposed to it; for orthodox faith acknowledges the principle, "I believe it, because it is absurd",<sup>2</sup> and it insists upon the reality of all Biblical miracles, which are absolutely contradicted by human reason. Yet that revelation is asserted to teach certain truths "earlier". Then it is, after all, some supernatural communication which anticipates the operation of human reason.<sup>3</sup> This notion of revelation is entirely novel, and has little in common with the dogmatic definition of the term; for according to the former, it merely accelerates the discoveries of man's intellect, while according to the latter, it unfolds new truths utterly unattainable by unaided reason.<sup>4</sup> So then, to complete the chaos, we have a third definition of revelation more vague than either the tra-

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Kant (l. c. p. 233) remarks that "a religion might be at once natural and revealed"; for though indeed attainable by human reason, it might be taught earlier or more completely by revelation.

<sup>2</sup> *Credo quia absurdum est.*

<sup>3</sup> Comp. §§ 70—72, 76.

<sup>4</sup> In a later part of the essay (§ 77), the author asserts indeed, with sufficient distinctness, that revelation "leads man to better notions of the attributes

ditional or the figurative acceptation; for we may ask, which are "the more important truths" which "revelation" communicates to men "earlier"? and would nations and tribes, not favoured with these revelations, arrive of themselves at the same truths in the course of time? Orthodoxy attributes to revelation the disclosure of *all* truths necessary to "make wise unto salvation", and "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness";<sup>1</sup> and it contends that these truths can on no account be derived from any source except the revealed or inspired books. Inaccuracy so wavering and so shifting necessarily engenders the grossest fallacies; and indeed Lessing thenceforth mainly develops the vulgar and absolutely unhistorical view of the progress of human civilisation. "God has seen fit to keep a certain order in His revelation, and to remain within certain limits" (§ 5). He furnished the first man with the notion of one universal Creator; but man, then left to his own reason, soon misunderstood that notion, and divided the one Infinite God into many finite things, each with peculiar attributes; and this was the origin of polytheism or idolatry; "and who knows, how many millions of years human reason would have strayed on these false paths, although some individuals everywhere and at all times were aware of their being false paths, if it had not pleased God to give human reason a better direction by a new impulse"? — namely by singling out the Israelites for His immediate care and guidance, in order to effect, through them, the education of mankind (§§ 5—9, 18). The sentences quoted contain all the current elements of error and perversity. They are as unphilosophical as any other system of orthodox theology. God is suddenly introduced as a real *deus ex machina*, whenever the author sees no other means of helping him out of historical difficulties. How has this working of God or the whole process of education attributed to Him been arrived at? Exclusively through the Books which are supposed to contain "revelation." But no proof of the reality or possibility of a revelation has ever succeeded. We move, therefore, in a narrow circle which entirely shuts out the exercise of logical deduction. The first man, it is asserted, was furnished with a correct notion of the indivisible unity of God. This is against all psychological and historical probability.<sup>2</sup> We know that, for many ages, religion consisted in the deification of nature by untutored generations awed by her powers because unable to compre-

of the Deity, of our own nature, and of our relation to God, at which human reason would, of itself, never have arrived."

<sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. III. 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Braun*, *Naturgeschichte der Sage*, I. 275; see also *Saalschütz*, *Archaeol.* II. 380—392.

hend her laws; and we are certain that many ages passed by before the abstract idea of one all-comprising God was conceived and maintained. The course of development was, therefore, exactly the reverse of that stated; for how is it possible that the aberrations of polytheism and idolatry should have taken so deep roots all over the globe, if the knowledge of one God had once been known, especially as it is admitted that "some individuals everywhere and at all times were aware of their being false paths"? Surely, if revelation, as was before asserted, imparts nothing but what human reason is by itself able to discover, and if, moreover, the notion of one Deity had once been revealed to man and was thus stamped as a truth consonant with his reason and attainable by its efforts, he could not so utterly have lost it, as to require "millions of years" to return to it anew. — And as Lessing was, by the unwarranted use of the term revelation, misled to absurdities unworthy of his acumen and philosophical genius, and elaborately carried out through a lengthy chain of biassed reasoning, in which Biblical history, allegory, and reflection are fancifully mingled; so the same mistakes were repeated and aggravated by men determined not to pass beyond certain self-imposed boundaries, especially if they were disinclined to attach weight to the lessons of history and to the methods of philosophic thought. — A similar obscurity is caused by Spinoza's terminology, which renders an exact appreciation of his views extremely difficult; he speaks of the "commands of God" (*jussa Dei*) and the "Divine Law" (*lex divina*),<sup>3</sup> but is far from attributing to these terms their traditional sense; "the means required by the end of all human actions, that is, by the knowledge and love of God, may, in as much as the idea of Him is in us, be called commands of God, because they have been prescribed to us as it were by God Himself in so far as He exists in our minds; and the mode of living which has that aim in view, can very well be called the Divine Law." We believe, certainly not "very well", but to the serious detriment of clearness in the most important questions; the Divine laws and commands, as the Bible understands them, are not those which flow from our Divine reason, but those which a power above and distinct from our reason has proclaimed.<sup>4</sup> Even

<sup>3</sup> Tract. theol. polit. IV. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *ibid.* §§ 9, 17 (*leges humanæ ex revelatione or lumine prophetico sancitæ*); V. 3; XII. 18 *sqq.*; and yet he observes, *tribus itaque de causis Scriptura verbum Dei appellatur, nempe quia veram docet religionem, cujus Deus æternus est auctor* (l. c. § 23). A very striking instance of this questionable

ambiguity is in XV. 24, where Spinoza, according to his acceptance of the term *theology*, finds the most perfect agreement between the latter and reason, while he had immediately before enumerated various instances of direct contradiction between *Scripture* and reason (l. c. §§ 15 *sqq.*).

with respect to the notion of God he continues the same ambiguity; he observes, on the one hand, that God "can be called King, Lawgiver, just, merciful and the like only in adaptation to the imperfect capacity of the people and from defective reasoning, since all those attributes appertain to human nature only and must altogether be kept removed from the Divine nature";<sup>1</sup> but he maintains, on the other hand, that "God acts according to the necessity of His nature and perfection, and directs all things, that, in fact, His decrees and volitions are eternal truths and ever involve necessity": the impersonal character of the Deity conveyed with sufficient clearness in the first remark, is almost hidden in the second and will be detected by those only who are thoroughly familiar with the philosopher's system.

It may be instructive, and will help to elucidate our remarks, if we briefly characterise *Lessing as theologian*. For this purpose we begin with a short outline of the treatise, to which we have above referred.

God announced Himself to the Israelites in Egypt "as the God of their ancestors", whom they had entirely forgotten in bondage; He proved by His miracles that He is mightier than any other god; and He thus accustomed the Hebrews to believe in *one* God (§§ 10—13). But as He found that they were not yet capable of fathoming His true and transcendental nature, He limited His instruction to the reward and punishment of this life, and did not reveal the immortality of the soul or a future existence; He confirmed the "Divine origin" of the Old Testament by miracles and prophecies; and sent Moses as His messenger (§§ 15—33). But when, during the exile, the Israelites came into contact with the wise Persians, they purified and enlarged their revealed notions of God; "revelation had before guided their reason; now reason suddenly illumined their revelation" (§§ 35, 36); they recognised God not as the greatest of all national deities, but as the only and exclusive God; like the Persians, they insisted on His incorporeality; their religion, therefore, "though still far beneath pure Sabaeism", found favour with Cyrus who restored them to their country (§§ 37—40). Thenceforward, they remained faithful to Jehovah, attributed to Him alone, and not, as before, to the other gods also, the power of performing miracles and inspiring prophets; and became more fully acquainted with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which, however, because not distinctly taught in the Hebrew Scriptures, was never received by the whole people, but only by some sects (§§ 41—46). In fact, the Old Testament, both as regards the teaching and the style, "has all the good characteristics of an elementary text-book both for children and a childish nation" ("alle gute Eigenschaften eines Elementarbuches sowohl für Kinder als für ein kindisches Volk", §§ 47—50). But this elementary book could not, without great injury to the intelligence and character of the people, be left longer in their hands as the source of their instruction; they had arrived at that stage of maturity when another guide was indispensable; "the child had become a boy", and a "better pedagogue" appeared in the person of Christ (§§ 51—54). He tried especially to give to his followers a nobler motive for their actions, and he, therefore, "became the first trustworthy and practical teacher of the immortality of the

<sup>1</sup> L. c. IV. 30, 37.

soul" (§§ 55—61). The apostles diffused far and wide this doctrine of their master (§ 62); they blended it indeed with other tenets "the truth of which was less self-evident, and the benefit of which less considerable"; but even by these doctrines they gave a new impulse to human reason (§ 63); for the writings of the New Testament proved to be, and still are, the second and better elementary text-book for the human race (§ 64); it was most essential that every nation should, for a certain time, consider this book as the *non plus ultra* of all wisdom (§ 67), and especially that it should not be laid aside too soon (§ 68); it should rather be studied again more closely; for it may possibly contain the revelation of truths hinted at in obscure allusions, and not yet quite intelligible to reason, as, for instance, the trinity, original sin, and other doctrines, about which it is profitable both for the improvement of our intellects and our hearts earnestly to speculate (§§ 69—84). For it is the end of the Divine education of the human race, to lead man to the practice of every virtue, without the expectation of future rewards, and to render him contented with the better recompense of his own mind (§ 85). "The time of a new and eternal gospel will certainly arrive", as it has been promised even in the elementary books of the New Testament (§ 86), and as it was proclaimed "by some enthusiasts of the thirteenth and fourteenth century", who spoke of a *threefold age of the world*, and declared that the New Covenant must in due time become antiquated, just as the Old one has already become so (§§ 87, 88); though their impatient hopes were premature, and therefore deserved the name of fancies; for the *third age* requires men trained by long preparation and perfect enlightenment (§§ 89, 90). Providence advances by imperceptible steps, which man must appreciate if he is to preserve his faith in the progress of mankind. Every individual has to accomplish the path on which the whole race arrives to its perfection (§§ 91—93); and how is he to perform the task? that is, how is he to combine in himself the wisdom of the *three ages* of the world (*supra* §§ 86—88)? He passes — so teaches Lessing gravely — through a kind of metempsychosis, he exists three times on earth, and resumes during each successive re-appearance his work of progress where he had left it at his previous demise (§§ 94—100)!<sup>2</sup>

So then the great man, commencing with indistinctness, finished with idle mysticism. Indeed a powerful warning for all, to shun every vagueness of thought, and every, even the slightest, perversion or disregard of reason! Lessing adds to the confusion by some equivocal remarks in the preface to the treatise, "Why should we not be content to trace in positive religions simply the method, by which human reason everywhere and exclusively was able to develop itself and is destined still further to advance, rather than smile or be angry at any one of those systems?" It would almost appear from this observation as if the author intended to offer no more than a plain historical deduction, whereas the essay itself, though in its main points borrowed from Epiphany, Tertullian and others without any acknowledgment of the sources,<sup>3</sup> endeavours to prove a theological and individual theory and expresses peculiar views not

<sup>2</sup> It is the opinion of J. W. Loebell also that the treatise we have analysed has "a Christian and even an apologetic tendency" (G. E. Lessing, aus Bonner Vorlesungen, 1865, p. 140);

likewise Götze, Lessing's Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts kritisch und philosophisch erörtert.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Ritter, Lessing's philos. u. theol. Grundsätze, pp. 38, 39.

In harmony with the Bible, characterising, for instance, the writings of the New Testament as "the second and better elementary text-book" adapted to boyhood, and to be superseded as antiquated, in the third age, by another code more suitable to matured manhood. We are justified in considering this last opinion as Lessing's true conviction; for we are told by Fr. H. Jacobi that, when he visited him at Wolfenbüttel in 1780, the same year in which the treatise under discussion was written, and expected to find him a perfect theist, he was, in the very first interview, surprised by Lessing's unreserved confession that "if he were to name himself after any philosopher, he would call himself a Spinozist; that *Er und sein* was his motto, and that he desired no free will" — a confession which Jacobi adds, he repeated in several succeeding conversations.<sup>1</sup> Hence the introductory remarks to his comments on the famous extracts from the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments", are deficient in decision and directness; they are indeed so equivocal and admit so decidedly the possibility of an orthodox interpretation that many of the most distinguished protestant divines expressed their assent and obligation. He proceeded, with regard to these Fragments, so cautiously, or rather so artfully, that although they are known to be the productions of Hermann Samuel Reimarus, with whom he had been personally acquainted at Hamburg, and from whose daughters (Johanna et Elisa) he had obtained the manuscript or the permission to copy it,<sup>2</sup> he published them as the work of some unknown writer, pretended to have found them in the library of Wolfenbüttel, and declared "they had for a long time covertly circulated in lower Saxony, had passed from one province to another, and made in secret more proselytes than it would win in the face of an opposing world." In order to mystify the public still more completely and to remove every possible trace of discovery, he not only, by a pretended conjecture, attributed the authorship to J. L. Schmidt, the heretical translator of Wertheim's Bible,<sup>3</sup> but he accompanied each fragment with apologetic remarks and refutations "such as could be expected from a good Christian who is no professed theologian";<sup>4</sup> and in thus lending the weight of his authority to support the errors which his whole life was avowedly devoted to oppose, he cannot be said to have acted either with manly candour or with far-sighted wisdom. But he generally avoided a clear expression of his opinions. In the course of his remarks,<sup>5</sup> which he later, one by one, defended against his opponent Goeze with the whole power and vehe-

<sup>1</sup> See *Fr. H. Jacobi*, Werke IV. i. pp. 54 sqq., 79 sqq., 89 sqq.; comp. Remarks on Lessing and his writings, in Goeschen's edition, vol. X. p. 358; and the fragment of Lessing's treatise, "Von der Wirklichkeit der Dinge ausser Gott", also "Das Christenthum der Vernunft"; comp. *H. Ritter*, Über Lessing's philosophische und religiöse Grundsätze (aus den Göttinger Studien, 1817), who, however, supposes that Lessing did not understand the teaching of Spinoza (pp. 5 sqq.), and attempts to lessen the points of similarity between both thinkers (pp. 8—19; comp. pp. 37

—45, 51—53, 55 sqq.). Significant also are the words which, in his "Nathan", Lessing puts into the mouth of the judge to whom the dispute of the three brothers and their three rings was referred: "Eure Ringe sind alle drei nicht echt; der echte Ring vermuthlich ging verloren" (act III, scene 7).

<sup>2</sup> See *D. F. Strauss*, H. S. Reimarus und seine Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes, Leipzig 1862, pp. 13—20.

<sup>3</sup> Works, IX. p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> See Works, IX. pp. 393, 394; comp. p. 242. <sup>5</sup> Works, IX. pp. 48, 49.



mence of his dialectic ingenuity, he employs arguments hardly befitting a Spinozist who takes for his guiding principle *ἐκ καὶ πᾶν*, and who renounces his free will, in the common sense of the word. The sceptical fragments, he says, might be met with many answers; but even if they should perplex the learned theologian, they cannot embarrass the Christian, for whom "Christianity exists, which he *feels* to be true, and in which he *feels* himself happy — in short the letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not religion." What idea do these words, apparently so enlightened, convey to an unsuspecting reader? They can only mean that, though many doctrines of the Bible cannot be *proved*, they are nevertheless *true*; and hence it would follow that they are so natural and so entirely consonant with human reason and experience, that men will ever acknowledge them, even if the authority of Scripture were set aside or declared to be not final — a fallacy which has recurred in innumerable forms, and is still repeated at the present day.<sup>1</sup> But so ambiguous and indefinite are Lessing's remarks on this point, that it is difficult to discover his exact view. Hence he ventures the following observations. "The Bible obviously contains more than what immediately belongs to religion, and it is a mere conjecture to assert that, in the additional parts, it must be equally infallible . . . Christianity existed before the evangelists and apostles had commenced to write; . . . therefore, though all they wrote might again be lost, the religion they taught would yet remain. The Christian religion is not true because the evangelists and the apostles taught it; but they taught it because it is true; the written traditions must be explained from their internal truth; and religion, if it has no internal truth, cannot derive it from any number of written traditions."<sup>2</sup> We ask, in hopeless bewilderment, are these views orthodox, or are they sceptical? They sound so much like a defence of faith that their rationalism pales away into mere phraseology; and yet they seem so insinuating to rationalism, that faith withdraws in mistrust. Orthodoxy and scepticism might, with equal justice, claim the sentence triumphantly, "even if all that the evangelists and apostles wrote were lost again, the religion they taught would yet remain"; for orthodoxy might interpret it as a confession that the revealed truths can never be lost in all eternity, even if the revealed books should cease to exist or to be acknowledged; while scepticism might discover in it the admission that as human reason acted in conformity with its own dictates before any religious books were diffused, so it does not require them now that they exist, nor would it miss them if they disappeared. — But we shall not pursue any farther the tergiversations, of which Lessing's polemical writings on theology<sup>3</sup> are replete, and which we have noticed at such length only because the high respect which Lessing deservedly enjoys as a critic in matters of art, has misled many to attribute to him the same authority as a critic in matters of theology. Though he is infinitely superior to his opponent Goeze in dexterity of controversial argumentation and force of pointed satire, he is much inferior to him in consistency and simplicity, and we must add, in truthfulness; he appears to stand to him almost in the relation of the wolf and the lamb in that fable on which he has so beautifully and so appositely commented.<sup>4</sup> But would he have been so evasive in his reasoning, if he had lived nearly a century later?

<sup>1</sup> See *infra* sub Inspiration.

<sup>2</sup> Works, IX. p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Works, X. pp. 1—134, 399—425.

<sup>4</sup> Many calm enquirers have, there-



## 5. INSPIRATION.

It would be needless, after the preceding remarks, to characterise minutely the term inspiration. Those who, in our age, persist in regarding it as a suggestion from some superhuman source, thereby forfeit the right of speaking in matters of historical research.<sup>1</sup> Inspiration is in reality nothing but intellectual or moral elevation of man himself striving to rise to the utmost greatness and purity of his nature; therefore the word, if employed at all, may with equal propriety be applied to the earnest and noble effusion of any gifted mind. The point has indeed been virtually surrendered even by orthodox divines. "A doctrine of inspiration", observes Tholuck, at the conclusion of his exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews,<sup>2</sup> "which assumes uniform correctness of the words of Scripture cannot be accepted in accordance with the results here obtained." "The treatment of the Bible according to the theory of literal inspiration", says Döllinger,<sup>3</sup> "would render every theology impossible"; and Stanley writes, "this doctrine of literal inspiration can henceforth no more be imposed on the English Church."<sup>4</sup> If there is a difference between the so-called "inspired" books of the Bible and "profane" works, it arises from the circumstance that the Scriptural canon includes, on the whole, such writings only as are either directly designed to elucidate religious doctrines, or are at least composed from a spiritual or theocratic point of view, and therefore may be considered in the light of religious text-books. But the Hebrew canon represents very imperfectly the wealth of the literature of the ancient Hebrews;<sup>5</sup> for its compilers, pursuing a special object, narrowed the scope of the collection to one particular class of writings,<sup>6</sup>

fore, commenced to question the justice of Lessing's unsparing severity towards Goeze, and could not but point out his inconsistency, if not his duplicity; comp. *Roepe*, Joh. Melch. Goeze, eine Rettung; *Ernst Köpke*, Studien zu Lessing's Nathan, p. 22 ("Goeze war es heiliger Ernst um die Orthodoxie, er vertheidigte dieselbe gegen eine neue Welt- und Lebensanschauung . . . mit ehrlichen Waffen und glaubenstreuen Ernste"); *Carl G. W. Schiller*, Lessing im Fragmentenstreit, 1865; comp. however, *Schwarz*, Lessing als Theologe dargestellt; *Aug. Boden*, Lessing und Goeze; *Loebell* l. c. pp. 122—131 (who observes with partiality, that Goeze "became notorious and proverbial as

the type of a narrow, haughty and contentious faith according to the letter").

<sup>1</sup> On the received notion of inspiration see *De Wette*, Dogmatik, II. §§ 26a and b.

<sup>2</sup> Erste Beilage zum Commentar des Hebräerbriefs, §§ 56, 57.

<sup>3</sup> The Church and the Churches, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> *Stanley*, The Bible, its Form and its Substance, p. XVII; comp. also *J. Hannah*, The Relation between the Divine and Human Elements in Holy Scripture, in the notes to which work the literature of the subject will be found in sufficient completeness.

<sup>5</sup> On the lost works see Comm. on Genes. p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Spinoza*, Tr. theol. pol. X. 43, Ex quibus facile colligimus ante

though they were not quite consistent in their plan, for they admitted several portions entirely "profane" in tendency, as the erotic "Song of Solomon" and the worldly forty-fifth Psalm.<sup>7</sup> Hence it follows, on the one hand, that Hebrew literature was at once more varied and less severe as would appear from the Hebrew canon; and on the other hand, that the works allowed to form a part of the collection possess, even in doctrinal matters, no higher authority than they deserve on a critical examination of their contents. But in this respect we observe two different stages. Some admit historical errors and internal discrepancies in the Bible, and hence refuse to accept the *facts* and *narratives* which it contains, yet they maintain the immutable and eternal truth of the Biblical *doctrines* and *dogmas*, and look upon them as indispensable and all-sufficient for happiness, wisdom, and salvation; they attribute, therefore, to the Bible still a Divine or supernatural origin, and declare that the doctrines, and not the facts, were the end of revelation. Others again believe that the manifest historical errors of the Bible indeed compel us to ascribe to it an ordinary human authorship; but they nevertheless hold or would seem to hold that the spiritual and religious views laid down in the Scriptures, are the highest and purest at which human reason is able to arrive in its search after truth, and that they must, therefore, be for ever adhered to as the standard of faith. We do not know which of the two views deserves the palm of inconsistency. If one part of a book, however subordinate that part is supposed to be, abounds with errors, the book is not infallible, and cannot, therefore, be considered Divine; but it is an unfounded assumption that the portions of the Bible which contain narratives are unessential; it is a misconception of the spirit of the Scriptures, to regard, for instance, the account of the Creation, of the Flood, or the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert, as collateral or indifferent; the Bible itself makes no distinction between important and unimportant parts; it insists, on the contrary, that no single word ought to be added or taken away;<sup>8</sup> either the whole of the Bible is Divine or the whole is not Divine; any intermediate opinion is a feeble and

---

tempus Machabaeorum nullum canonem sacrorum librorum fuisse, sed hos quos jam habemus, a Phariseis secundi templi . . . prae multis aliis selectos esse et ex solo eorum decreto receptos.

<sup>7</sup> The typical acceptations of bridegroom and bride as Christ and the Church, are vain and hopeless attempts to bring those productions within

the pale of spiritual teaching; on the "Song of Solomon" see, besides many works of continental critics which it is unnecessary here to enumerate, the excellent treatise of *W. Houghton*, *An Essay on the Canticles*, 1865; comp. also *Ginsburg*, the Song of Songs, Introduction.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Deut. IV. 2.

unavailing compromise, whether arising from insincerity or from a conviction too timid to follow out its own consequences. On the other hand, if the Scriptures are the work of human reason, it is difficult to understand, why human reason should never be able to pass beyond them, and write something more perfect; it is against all historical evidence to assume that man reached some thousands of years ago the utmost degree of enlightenment of which he is capable, and that ever afterwards his only task consists in preserving and protecting the intellectual treasures then discovered; this we repeat is untrue; for we know that man has, since those times, immeasurably advanced in every valuable acquirement; that he has in particular made marvellous progress in those branches of knowledge which disclose the depths of the human mind and the mechanism of the universe, in *philosophy* and *the natural sciences*; and that even now he feels he has scarcely mastered more than the rudiments of either; as men wrote the books of the Bible, so men can, at subsequent periods, write books that surpass the Bible; and later again, works superior to the books that surpass the Bible; and till the genius of mankind is degenerated or exhausted, every following generation will attempt to outstep the efforts of anterior ages.

#### 6. PROPHECY.

The gift of prophecy which all ancient nations attributed to elected favourites of the deity,<sup>1</sup> is again nothing else but the gift of human reason and judgment, striving to penetrate through the veil of the future, and hence naturally liable to error. We are far from denying the peculiar importance and the most blissful influence of the Hebrew "prophets"; they were the ever movable element of Israel's religious training; they counteracted, and for a long time successfully, that stagnation which the growth of the Levitical spirit threatened to produce; they fought with undaunted courage against the narrowness of the priesthood, and often against the presumption of kings; they vindicated the rights of the spirit against the rigid lifelessness of formulas, and of morality and virtue against the encroachments of ritualism and the dogma; they appealed with fervour and glowing eloquence to the hearts and consciences, not to the fears and prejudices of their hearers; they loved their country with almost enthusiastic patriotism; uplifted by the feeling of a higher impulse and assistance, they were enlightened

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Cic. De Divin. I.* 51 (profecto hominibus a diis futura significari necesse est) and 38 (si sunt dii neque ante declarant hominibus quae futura sunt, aut non diligunt homines, aut

quid eventurum sit ignorant, aut existimant nihil interesse hominum scire quid futurum sit etc.); on the Biblical notion of prophecy see *De Wette, Dogmatik, II.* § 246.

teachers in religion, and clear-sighted counsellors in politics; these objects — the purification of faith, the improvement of morals, and the advancement of national prosperity — constituted their chief mission; prediction of the future was only their subordinate function; the erroneous translation of the Hebrew word נָבִיָּה by *prophet*, while it means "overflowing speaker", has frequently caused its innermost import to be misunderstood and distorted; for it raises the accessory activity to almost exclusive importance. The prophets of the Hebrews, high-minded and unselfish, unequalled as a class in singleness of motive and purity of enthusiasm, in intrepidity and perseverance, practical experience and literary ability, deserve indeed the superiority over those of any other nation; they showed, moreover, greater sagacity in the delineation of future occurrences, since they were mostly political characters, moving in the very current of public life; but they were not the less fallible; their activity was absolutely tied to the ordinary limits of the human mind; and therefore, they occasionally predicted events which either were not fulfilled at all, or happened in a different manner and form. Thus Amos<sup>2</sup> foretold, "Jeroboam shall die by the sword and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land" whereas the historical account relates "that he slept with his fathers and Nadab his son reigned in his stead."<sup>3</sup> Jeremiah<sup>4</sup> prophesied of king Jehoiakim, that "he shall be buried in the burial of an ass, and drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem";<sup>5</sup> but history tells us that "he slept with his fathers."<sup>6</sup> Again, Jeremiah<sup>7</sup> foretold concerning the Edomites, that all their towns would be given up to eternal desolation,<sup>8</sup> that in fact their whole territory would be converted into a dreary, uninhabited desert, the horror and mockery of all strangers, like Sodom and Gomorrah,<sup>9</sup> and that they themselves would be carried away by Nebuchadnezzar like helpless lambs;<sup>10</sup> and gloomy predictions of a similar nature, likewise suggested by deep and implacable hatred,<sup>11</sup> were pronounced by Ezekiel,<sup>12</sup> Obadiah,<sup>13</sup> and other writers.<sup>14</sup> Now the Edomites were indeed subjugated by the Babylonians,<sup>15</sup> and suffered considerable injuries;<sup>16</sup> but they remained in their land; they succeeded even in appropriating to themselves a part of

<sup>2</sup> VII. 11.<sup>3</sup> 1 Ki. XIV. 20.<sup>12</sup> XXXV. 3, 4, 6—9, 14, 15; XXV.<sup>4</sup> XXII. 18, 19. <sup>5</sup> Comp. XXXVI. 30.12—14. <sup>13</sup> Vers. 5, 9, 10, 18.<sup>6</sup> 2 Ki. XXIV. 6; comp. 2 Chron. XXXVI. 6.<sup>7</sup> XLIX. 7—22.<sup>14</sup> Joel IV. 9; Am. I. 11; Isai. XXXIV. 5—15; LXIII. 1—6.<sup>8</sup> Ver. 13.<sup>9</sup> Vers. 17, 18.<sup>15</sup> Jer. XXXVII. 3, 6 (comp. the observations of Hitzig in the "Exegetisches Handbuch" *in loc.*).<sup>10</sup> Ver. 20; comp. Lam. IV. 21.<sup>11</sup> Comp. Ps. CXXXVII. 7; Ezek. XXXV. 5.<sup>16</sup> Mal. I. 3, 4; Ezek. XXXII. 29.

southern Judea including Hebron,<sup>1</sup> which was, therefore, frequently called Idumea; they took an active part in the Maccabean wars,<sup>2</sup> in the course of which they were compelled by John Hyrcanus (about B. C. 130) to adopt the rite of circumcision, and were incorporated in the Jewish commonwealth.<sup>3</sup> Ezekiel promised the political re-union of the empires of Israel and Judah,<sup>4</sup> which has never been realised. The total destruction of Gaza is repeatedly predicted in distinct terms;<sup>5</sup> yet the town exists to the present day. The coincidences are certainly much more numerous than the failures; but the prophecies were commonly pronounced in general, and often in vague terms; the poetical elevation and the rhetorical emphasis with which they were set forth, were even unfavourable to nice accuracy; precise details were avoided, names of persons never mentioned,<sup>6</sup> and dates usually stated in round numbers,<sup>7</sup> or altogether omitted.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, many professed prophecies are in reality nothing but history in the form of prophecies; they were composed after the events to which they relate; for ancient writers, especially if wishing to furnish a comprehensive survey of the past, or to endow national institutions with a higher authority, were accustomed to make pious and renowned men of earlier ages pronounce the *facts* as *prophecies*, which, however, were desired by the authors to be regarded as real predictions of the men to whom they ascribed them — a style of writing which recommends itself by impressive solemnity, and to which Hebrew literature owes some of its finest and choicest compositions.<sup>9</sup> Besides, the Bible teaches that

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. V. 65; comp. Ezek. XXXVI. 5.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Macc. V. 3, 65; 2 Macc. X. 15—18; XII. 32—36.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Joseph. Antiqq.* XIII. ix. 1; XV. vii. 9; etc., comp. *Gesen. Comm. über den Jesaia*, I. pp. 906—909.

<sup>4</sup> Ezek. XXXVII. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Am. I. 6, 7; Jerem. XLVII. 1 *sqq.* Zeph. II. 4; comp. Zech. IX. 5. Other instances of unfulfilled or imperfectly fulfilled prophecies, see *Knobel, Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, I. 303 *sqq.*; *Böhlen, Genesis, Einleit.*, pp. CXXXII. CXXXIII; though some passages (as Jer. XLIII. 8—13; XLVI. 13—26; XLIV. 30) have often been unjustly quoted (so by *De Wette, Einleitung in d. A. T.* § 204; *Ghillany, Menschenopfer*, pp. 489—492); so also Jer. XXII. 28—30 compared with LII. 31—34, and 2 Ki. XXV.

27—30 (see *Spinoza, Tr. theol. pol.* X. 38).

<sup>6</sup> The mention of Cyrus (צִרְיָא) by the second Isaiah at once betrays and proves the real time in which this author lived and wrote.

<sup>7</sup> As *seventy* or *forty*; comp. Isai. XXIII. 15, 16; Jer. XXV. 11, 12; XXIX. 10; Dan. IX. 24; Ezek. XXIX. 11—13.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Jer. XLVI. 26; XLIX. 6, 39; Isai. II. 2; etc.

<sup>9</sup> As Gen. IX. 25—27; XXVII. 27—29, 39, 40; XLVIII. 14—20; XLIX. 1—27; Num. XXIII. 7—10, 18—24; XXIV. 3—9, 15—24; Deut. XXXIII; 1 Sam. II. 30—36; comp. Lev. XXVI; Deut. XXVIII; comp. also *Virg. Aen.* VI. 756—892; *Ecl.* IV; *Eurip. Hec.* 1259—1281; *Hor. Od.* I. xv; see *Comm. on Genes.* pp. 720—722.

false prophets may utter predictions which God allows to be realised in order to try the Hebrews whether they love Him with all their hearts;<sup>10</sup> and to crown the confusion, the truthful or fraudulent nature of prophecies given in the name of Jehovah, was according to the Law to be tested by their realisation; predictions proclaimed in the name of Jehovah but not justified by the event, were regarded as criminal deceptions to be punished by the death of the impostor:<sup>11</sup> thus the practical value of prophecies as such was extremely precarious and almost nugatory. In short, the belief in prophecy has the same origin as the doctrines of revelation and inspiration — namely, the impossible supposition that the deity enters into a direct and personal intercourse with some men specially chosen.<sup>12</sup>

But these notions are, moreover, the source of other errors, widely diffused in ancient times, and also shared and recognised by the authors of the Scriptures — the faith in *oracles* and *dreams*. Minds unaccustomed to independence and self-reliance, and untrained in tracing cause and effect, were led to suppose that, in perplexing situations, they might be enlightened and guided by an immediate communication from the deity, whether this were conveyed through the medium of a person, or through the instrumentality of a consecrated object. Who can contemplate, without grief and pity, the fraud and the mischief necessarily caused by so irrational a belief? The most important private and public enterprises were made dependent on the heart or liver of a sacrificial animal, on the smoke or flame of the fire on the altar, on the flight or cry of birds, the movement of serpents, or the neighing of horses, on the figures formed in the water of a goblet, on lightning or an eclipse of the sun or moon, on comets and meteors, on the position of rods or arrows thrown on the ground, the decision of lots, the persons first seen or met in the morning or just after deliberating on some enterprise, and on thousand similar chances which possessed no conceivable connection with the matter at issue, and the interpretation of which was left to the shrewdness or cunning of the official expositors. Soothsaying became a trade, and the soothsayers were used as tools of the powerful, if they did not serve their own avarice or ambition.<sup>13</sup> Auguries often checked the most promising, and encouraged the most pernicious schemes. Oracles were consulted for private and for public purposes; and they not seldom helped to produce the effects

<sup>10</sup> Deut. XIII. 4; comp. Ezek. XIV. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. XVIII. 20—22.

<sup>12</sup> What Riehm (*Stud. und Krit.* 1863, pp. 14 sqq.) remarks on the character of Biblical prophecy is as vague and

unsatisfactory as the whole "theology of mediation", whose champion he is.

<sup>13</sup> *Soph. Ant.* 1055 (τὸ παρρησιᾶς γὰρ πᾶν ψαλᾶγγος γένος); comp. Num. XXII. 7; 1 Sam. IX. 7, 8.

which they predicted. Now, the Bible forbids indeed to consult on the future the *heathen* gods or their ministers,<sup>1</sup> or to indulge in divination, magic, or necromancy,<sup>2</sup> but it unreservedly sanctions oracles requested of the God of the Hebrews<sup>3</sup> through the prophets<sup>4</sup> or by the Urim and Thummim,<sup>5</sup> or granted by dreams<sup>6</sup> or by lot.<sup>7</sup>

Let us now try to sum up the result of the preceding remarks. It is not sufficient to appeal from the letter of the Bible to its spirit; indeed the one "kills", but even the other is no longer life and truth to us. The spirit of the Bible is not the spirit of our time; it is not the light that illumines our path or points to our goal.

Many suppose they have removed all difficulties by urging that religion is to be separated from philosophy; that "there exists between both neither community nor relationship",<sup>8</sup> because, as they contend, one aims at obedience and piety, the other at truth, and the foundations of the former are Scripture and revelation, of the latter nature and general notions; that the Bible is not intended to teach science,<sup>9</sup> and condemns disobedience but not ignorance;<sup>10</sup> that therefore all speculation which does not directly make men obey God, whether it relates to the knowledge of God or the knowledge of natural things, does not concern Scripture and is to be kept apart from revealed religion.<sup>11</sup> But we adjure those who adopt this view of Bacon, Spinoza, and others, to weigh its true scope and tendency. What, in the name of truth, is left for religion to

<sup>1</sup> 2 Ki. I. 3, 6, 16; 2 Chr. XXV. 20.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra* p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> רָרַשׁ בִּיהוָה or רָרַשׁ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, see Comm. on Exod. XXVIII. 30.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. IX. 9; 1 Ki. XXII. 5 *sqq.*; 2 Ki. III. 11; VIII. 8; XXII. 13, 14; 2 Chr. XVIII. 4 *sqq.*; Ezek. XIV. 7; comp. Judg. XVIII. 5, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Num. XXVII. 21; 1 Sam. XXVIII. 6; Ezra II. 63; Neh. VII. 65; comp. Comm. on Exod. pp. 540—545.

<sup>6</sup> Num. XII. 6; 1 Sam. XXVIII. 6; Joel III. 1; etc.; comp. Comm. on Genes. pp. 644—646; see also *Feuerbach*, *Ursprung der Götter*, pp. 264—272; etc.

<sup>7</sup> Josh. VII. 14—18; XIV. 2; Josh. XIX. 51; XXI. 4 *sqq.*; 1 Sam. X. 20, 21; XIV. 40—42; comp. Num. XXXI. 30, 46; Jon. I. 7; 1 Chr. XXIV. 6 *sqq.*; Prov. XVI. 33 ("the lot is cast into the lap, but all its decision comes from the Lord"); XVIII. 18; see also Judg. I. 1;

1 Sam. X. 22; XXII. 10, 13, 15; 2 Sam. II. 1; V. 19, 23, 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Spinoza*, Tract. theol. pol. XIV. 37, inter fidem sive theologiam et philosophiam nullum esse commercium nullamve affinitatem.

<sup>9</sup> *Spinoza*, l. c. XIII. 7, novimus Scripturae intentum non fuisse scientias docere.

<sup>10</sup> *Spin.* l. c.

<sup>11</sup> *Spinoza*, l. c. XIII. 18; comp. Praef. § 24; II. 58; XI. 22; XIV. 5 (simulque fidem a philosophia separare quod totius operis praecipuum intentum fuit); XV. 21 (nec theologia rationi, nec ratio theologiae ancillari tenetur, sed unaquaeque suum regnum obtinet), 43; comp. also *De Wette*, *Das Wesen des christl. Glaubens vom Standpunkt des Glaubens dargestellt*, p. 309; *Über Religion und Theologie*, *passim*; *Hagenbach*, *Encyclopädie und Methodologie*, § 28.



achieve, if it renounces to teach the knowledge of God and the knowledge of natural things? How can it satisfy man's nature, and be to him all in all, if it disregards and leaves untouched his most essential interests? how can it claim to direct vigorous and intelligent minds, if it excludes *truth* from its sphere, overlooks *nature*, and banishes from its doctrines *general notions*? If it is declared that it is not the business of religion to enquire what is God, "whether Fire, Mind, Light, Thought, or anything else, or to examine in what sense God is the prototype of true life, whether because He has a just and merciful heart, or because all things exist and act through Him, and man therefore also thinks through Him and discerns through Him what is right and good, for it is indifferent what everyone sets forth on these matters"; if, more questionably still, it is asserted, that faith is in no way concerned whether people believe "that God is omnipotent by virtue of His essence or of His power, whether He governs all things by liberty or the necessity of nature, whether He prescribes laws as ruler or teaches them as eternal truths, whether man obeys God from liberty of will or from the compulsion of a Divine decree, and whether the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked is natural or supernatural in its mode":<sup>12</sup> if, we repeat, religion admits such principles, it works its own destruction; it can have no importance for man, if it eschews his deepest and most sacred problems. Viewed in this manner, religion and philosophy are not sisters, but are forced to become deadly rivals. The separation of both does not involve their conciliation but their hostile opposition. That fatal division bears the guilt of the unhappy confusion which convulsed many centuries. Safety and peace do not lie in the contrast but in the union, or rather in the identity of both.<sup>13</sup> Truth is one and indivisible. It is a paradox to assume a religious truth in contradistinction to a philosophical truth. Faith has no power and no reality, unless it flows from our rational conviction and is at one with it; and our philosophy is imperfect, sterile, and unprofitable, unless it leads to a "religious" life, that is, a life of love and justice, of gladness and active benevolence. Philosophy and religion must henceforth not mark out two different provinces, but two chief divisions of the same province; the joint aim of both is truth and moral excellence; and while philosophy strenuously searches for principles and first

<sup>12</sup> *Spinoza*, l. c. XIV. 30, 31.

<sup>13</sup> *Spinoza* (l. c. XV. 43) speaks of the "*absurda, incommoda et damna*" which he maintains have accrued from the connection of both: but when has ever that connection existed? A review

of all the horrors that have been perpetrated in the name of religion proves that they were possible only because religion did not concede due weight to reason. Comp. also *Fr. von Reumer, Schwarz, Strauss, Réan*, pp. 11—16.

conclusion, that as we require a certain external unity and a "standard" of faith, it is indispensable "to recognise the authentic confessions, in which Biblical interpretation finds a safe basis, the result of which is distinguished from the orthodox creed only by its freedom; for the author does not desire to have the Bible explaining to the letter", but "symbolically", that is so that the truth and accuracy of the Scriptural narratives may be denied or defended, provided the ideas they were intended to convey, are not denied and acknowledged.<sup>1</sup> The separation between form and the Bible is indeed not only justified but imperative; but if the truth in the correctness of the former is shaken, it is impossible to maintain the latter as infallible, and therefore eternally unalterable.

Head and heart, reflection and life, are identical; true religion is by its nature and tendency practical; it does not only contain religious elements, but is itself religion.

Again, it is not enough to admit that there is in Scripture a Divine and a human element", a phrase which recurs a thousand times in recent works of speculative theology;<sup>2</sup> the "human ele-

<sup>1</sup> *De Wette*, *Über Religion und Theologie*, 2nd edit. p. 275, comp. pp. 162 seq.; *Dogmatik*, II. §§ 116, 316. These and similarly untenable views are expressed, with increasing minuteness, in the later works of the same theologian, for instance, in his *Lectures "Über die Religion"*. comp. Sect. V—VII: though

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, *Lectures on the History of Holy Scripture*, pp. 18 and 507, 510; *Westcott*, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospel*, p. 1; *Birks*, *The Bible and modern Theology*, pp. 339, 475—485; *Arnold*, *Introduction*, I. 427; *Browne*, *Aids to Faith*, p. 290, etc.; *Ellicott*, *Aids to Faith*, p. 290, etc.

concession reluctantly wrung from reflecting minds by the implacable force of facts; but the concession is rendered illusory and worthless by the supposition of a Divine element, the conception and nature of which are above the capacity of man, and which is compatible with assertions like these, "the Holy Scriptures differ from every other book because they alone contain a guaranteed revelation, which lifts the veil, so far as needed, from both the earliest past and the remotest future, to disclose the motive, the sanction, and the law of man's labours, and because the Holy Spirit, which watched over the delivery of that revelation, filled the spirits of the writers with a more complete and pervading presence, than ever presided over the execution of a merely human work."<sup>3</sup> This passage contains as many errors as it does enunciations; the revelation embodied in Scripture is no more "guaranteed" than any other alleged supernatural communication; it is philosophically impossible and historically undemonstrable; it has taught men nothing reliable whether with regard to the history of his race, the origin of the universe, or the development of our planet; it can teach him nothing reliable with regard to his future; for prophecy is subject to error like every other human speculation; it "discloses the motive, the sanction, and the law of man's labours" from points of view which have been essentially modified by later convictions; and there is no "Holy Spirit" distinct from the intellect of man; the books which compose the Bible must, therefore, be measured by the ordinary standard of human faculties; and the result of an impartial survey will be that they possess indeed those peculiar merits which fitted them for religious guides during many generations, but that they are eclipsed by other works in historical value, in comprehensiveness of facts, in depth of philosophy, and accuracy of science. We may, then, well repeat the wish expressed by an earnest enquirer about two hundred years ago, "Jam autem felix profecto nostra esset aetas si ipsam etiam ab omni superstitione liberam videremus."<sup>4</sup>

It is true, in a certain sense, that "opinions taken absolutely without regard to actions involve neither piety nor wickedness, but that a man has a pious or an impious belief, only in so far as his opinions move him to obedience, or afford him a pretext for sin and contumacy";<sup>5</sup> but, in the first place, the great question of our time does not simply relate to the practical results of faith, but at least as deci-

<sup>3</sup> *Hannah*, l. c. p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Spinoza*, l. c. XI. 24; though we are neither inclined nor justified to echo his complaint l. c. VIII. 3, at vereor ne nimis sero hoc tentare aggrediar;

res enim eo jam ferme pervenit, ut homines circa hoc non patiantur corrigi...nec ullus locus rationi nisi apud paucissimos relictus videtur.

<sup>5</sup> *Spinoza*, l. c. XIII. 29.

of the acquisition, the success, enthusiasm of the ordinary persecution of the Jews, and the insatiable cruelties, because Christianity ventured to despise the man and cast it into the ignominious fetters of unimportance. *tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*<sup>1</sup> Hence there is no possibility in the proposition, "whosoever, while believing, becomes disobedient (that is, depraved), has in reality become virtuous"; but whosoever, while believing falsehood, becomes virtuous, has a pious faith";<sup>2</sup> or in the maxim, "not he who shows the best arguments of reason, but he who shows the best works of justice and charity":<sup>3</sup> up to a certain point, in certain circumstances, simplicity of heart may indeed be necessary, and self-denial, but it is only the "true faith", that is, obedience to reason, which ensures the practical and goodness in all relations of life; and, as a rule, the best works of justice and charity, who can show the best arguments of reason. It is, therefore, not only an erroneous and dangerous opinion, "faith requires pious doctrines rather than truth, and though there be among them many which have no truth, they are harmless, provided that he who adheres to them is aware that they are false."<sup>4</sup> For without truth genuine faith is impossible.<sup>5</sup> The root of error and falsehood cannot bring forth righteousness and benevolence. Error, though believed, necessarily manifests its fatal traces in acts and thoughts. Our faith will be more perfect, and our life more honourable and more useful, the farther we advance in truth.

Religion must become a reality in life; it can

if it is neither above nor below our nature; if it is neither founded upon mystic speculation, nor stained by the low impulses of selfishness and pride. It must, therefore, on the one hand, repudiate all unintelligible and sterile notions, like revelation, inspiration, and prophecy, and renounce uncertain traditions, imaginary narratives, and lifeless ceremonies; but it must, on the other hand, foster the purest and highest virtues of the human heart, and must lead to an active life of devotion, love, self-control, and cheerful sacrifice; and this blissful feeling of abnegation and useful work must be regarded as the only precious reward to be coveted. The writers of the Bible not unfrequently express this aim with force and beauty; it may suffice to insert a few of these utterances, as it is impossible to adduce all. "God has shown thee, o man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of thee, but to act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God"?<sup>6</sup> — "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glories glory in this, that he understands and knows Me, that I am the Lord who exercises loving kindness, judgment, and righteousness on the earth; for in these things I delight."<sup>7</sup> — "But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law."<sup>8</sup> — "All things whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you even so to them; for this is the Law and the prophets."<sup>9</sup> — "All the Law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."<sup>10</sup> — "Love is the fulfilling of the Law."<sup>11</sup> — "Let us love one another; for love is of God, and every one that loves is born of God and knows God; he that loves not knows not God, for God is love . . . If we love one another God dwells in us and His love is perfected in us . . . he that dwells in love dwells in God and God in him."<sup>12</sup> These and similar principles form the eternal and indestructible kernel of the Bible; they are the secret of its intellectual conquests and its civilising power; they contain indeed the germs of the universal faith, and every progress in religion must be marked by their

<sup>6</sup> Mic. VI. 8.<sup>7</sup> Jer. IX. 22, 23.<sup>8</sup> Gal. V. 22, 23.<sup>9</sup> Matth. VII. 12.<sup>10</sup> Galat. V. 14; comp. Mark XII. 29—34; see Deut. IV. 5; Lev. XIX. 18.<sup>11</sup> Rom. XIII. 8, 10.<sup>12</sup> 1 John IV. 7, 8, 12, 16; comp. also Psalm. XLV. 1—5; XXIV. 3—6; Isai. LVIII. 6—8; Jer. XXII. 16; Galat. V. 6 ("faith which works by love" aloneavails). 13; etc.; see especially Sect. IV; comp. *Spin.* I. c. XIV. 27, cultus Dei ejusque obedientia in sola justitia et caritate sive amore erga proximum consistit; see also IV. 12, 14, 15 (huc itaque nostrum summum bonum nostraque beatitudo redit, in cognitionem scilicet et amorem Dei); Praef. § 26, and various other passages.

are safe and reliable only, if that faith is derived from  
own mind; to be practically efficient, it must be the  
reflection, experience, and individuality; it will help  
of charity and morals on earth, not if it is handed  
the distant past and from different ages, but if it is  
own nature, of his own wants, and his own ideals.

The views here propounded may create, in some  
apprehension — first, of a confounding diversity,  
and secondly, of intellectual intolerance and persecu-  
essential point, the religious convictions of all  
kindred; for they follow from the essence of human  
virtually the same under all zones and all conditions  
everywhere the like aspirations, hopes, and endeavours  
needs and efforts;<sup>4</sup> and however varied the special  
morality tends invariably to the same end. And as  
toleration, nothing is so certain to lead to modesty  
bearance, than honest research; for every step ma-

---

<sup>1</sup> *Spín.* l. c. Praef. § 14; comp. XIV.  
19 (atque ex his iterum sequitur eos  
revera antichristos esse qui viros ho-  
nestos et qui justitiam amant perse-  
quuntur propterea quod ab ipsis dis-  
sentiant et cum ipsis eadem fidei dog-  
mata non defendunt: qui enim justitiam  
et caritatem amant, eos per hoc solum  
fideles esse scimus; et qui fideles per-  
sequitur antichristus est).

<sup>2</sup> *James II.* 11, 17, 20, 21. comp.

and do not conc  
pomorphic spir  
Burton (Mission  
easily do extre  
the radical iden  
negro's deity,  
physical object  
sent the idea of

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Spín*  
nemo dubitet c  
senium variun

our knowledge; and if the wisest has finished his labours, he knows only that he "knows nothing", and — to use a well-known simile of one of England's greatest philosophers — he feels that he resembles the child that gathers pebbles on the seashore, while the ocean of truth lies all unexplored before him.

Henceforth, therefore, we do not desire a religion of fear which is the fruit of delusion, but of love which flows from intelligence, not a religion of rigour which breeds servitude, but of joy which bears witness of the freedom of the mind and heart,<sup>5</sup> not a religion of contention which persecutes others by the haughty presumption of infallibility, but of peace which respects all honest convictions if they can but show works of charity and unselfish devotion. Above all reason, instead of being slighted and denounced as feeble, fallacious, perverse, and corrupted,<sup>6</sup> must be restored to its right and functions as the supreme tribunal; its light alone can dispel the darkness of folly, illusion, and pernicious superstition; without it, religion is barely more than "credulity and wretchedness." Occasionally even the Bible expresses a similar view;<sup>7</sup> yet it insists that the revealed Law alone is true wisdom and understanding.<sup>8</sup> For it avails little to proclaim reason as the highest judge in matters of religion, unless it is consistently treated and respected as such. Yet there is a class of honest thinkers who timidly take back with one hand what they had liberally conceded with the other. Thus it is declared that history is not itself religion, because it employs the purely intellectual and critical, and none of the moral and spiritual faculties, and because thus the Intellect, and not the Soul, would be the first authority in religion.<sup>9</sup> Nobody, we presume, has ever identified history and religion; but if religious influence is attributed to the study of history, it is not on account of the faculties employed in ascertaining the facts, but of those engaged in examining and fathoming the facts so ascertained; not the learned labour of historical criticism, but the philosophical use made of the results of

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Gal. V. 1 sqq.; *Spinoz. l. c.* IV. 1 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *De Wette*, *Dogmatik*, II. § 31 a; *Hagenbach*, l. c. pp. 19 ("Der Verstand muss immer wieder in seine Schranken zurückgewiesen werden." "Der kurzsichtige Verstand reicht nicht hinan an die höchsten Vernunftideen"), 29 ("Die wahre Vernunft kann dem religiösen Gefühl nicht widersprechen, vielmehr gelangt dieses eben durch jene zum Bewusstsein"; which

is approximately the true relation between reason and faith).

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Prov. II. 3—5; III. 13 sqq.; XVI. 22; 1 Cor. XIV. 20 (μή πικρία γίνεσθε ταῖς ῥαφαῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς παιδίον ἐκπαίδευσθε, ταῖς δι' ῥαφαῖς ἑλλανος γίνεσθε); etc.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. IV. 5, 6; Prov. IX. 10 (חכמה ויראה יראת ד' ודעת קדשים ב'נה); Job XXVIII. 28; etc.

<sup>9</sup> *F. P. Cobbe*, *Broken Lights*, pp. 141—143.



intellect cannot possibly act coldly, sensually, or even elevated, and gentle; it is conscious of its own boundaries, modest and humble; it knows too well what it ought to be otherwise than indulgent and charitable; an intellect which possesses these attributes, hardly deserves the name, if it lacks most essential characteristics. The apparent exceptions occasionally found, will, on close scrutiny, reveal some defect in the organisation of the mind or in the philosophical system worked out or adopted.

Not obedience to doctrines imposed by extraneous considerations should be the rule of our actions, but freedom of will and choice according to our reason and our conscience. Not a number of books handed down, and singled out by fallible judgment from a multitude of works, is the true source of religion, but the spirit which thirsts after truth, and the heart of man which yearns for the "word of God" was not heard merely during a limited period of history; it has not been mute for thousands of years; it has been heard at all times when intelligence and moral excellence uttered their thoughts and aspirations; and it will be heard as long as the noblest and noblest deeds live in mankind. There is therefore no propriety in the following remark: "History is neither the source of our religious knowledge, nor actually *capable* of being factorily established as such. Let us face this truth and renounce the false ground at once and for ever, and let us move on what remains. True that with the claim

the tablets of the mind, it cannot be lost, it cannot be destroyed, it is living and working, and streams forth incessantly in deeds of charity and good-will.<sup>2</sup> If the voice of reason is hushed, man is certain to sink into idolatry; it matters little whether the idol is a figure of stone or a Book that petrifies the mind. That Book was sacred and Divine as long as it represented man's innermost emotions, and was honestly acknowledged by him as the chief guide of his life; it ceased to be sacred and Divine when it began to fall upon our minds with a strange accent, and reflected a world which we felt had passed away. We may still study it for understanding a most remarkable phase of human civilisation; we may cull from its pages many a practical and spiritual truth conveyed in language of unsurpassed sublimity; but, as a whole, it cannot edify us; it cannot fully uplift us to the height of our nature. It will always be cherished with gratitude and reverence as the educator of many generations and centuries; but it must yield the precedence to the new light, which the exploration of the forces of nature and the powers of the human mind have thrown upon the general economy of the world. Its blessing is changed into a bane if it presumptuously claims to be the sole legislator for all times; it has, in a great measure, at present fulfilled its mission; it can henceforth only be an individual element among numerous means of human culture. Aptly and truthfully observes Matthew Arnold,<sup>3</sup> "Dissolvents of the old European system of dominant ideas and facts we must all be, all of us who have any power of working; what we have to study is, that we may not be acrid dissolvents of it."

Yet many have argued, that the Bible with all its deficiencies ought to be maintained in authority for ever, because it offers great consolation to the less strong-minded,<sup>4</sup> is useful to the state, and can in no way be injurious to the believer; its truth can indeed not be proved, but this matters little, as most human actions are uncertain and full of fluctuations<sup>5</sup> — an opinion forsooth worthy of no philosopher, and least so of the author of the "Ethics geometrically demonstrated"; an opinion which necessarily involves the most serious errors, and

---

put them down unfairly . . . Let us not do evil that evil may be escaped from; and it is an evil, and the fruitful parent of evils innumerable, to do violence to our understanding or to our reason in their own appointed fields, to maintain falsehood in the despite, and reject the truth which they sanction."

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Deut. XXX. 6; Jer. XXXI.

33; 2 Cor. III. 3 (συναρπάζοντες ὅτι ἰσὶς ἐκμεταλῇ Χριστοῦ διακονήσμεν ὑπ' ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπεργραμμένῳ οὐ μύλωνι, ἀλλὰ πνεύματι θεοῦ ζωῶντες, οὐκ ἐν πλατῇ λιβιδίνης, ἀλλ' ἐν πλατῇ καρδίας συγκρίνας). <sup>3</sup> Essays in Criticism, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> Spinoza, l. c. XV. 37, qui ratione non ita pollent.

<sup>5</sup> Spinoza, l. c. §§ 15, 22, 27, 37.

salvation of most men":<sup>2</sup> not only does he sanction opposition between revelation and reason, and attribute powers which he denies to the other, but he adopts distinction between a creed for philosophers and a creed for the mass, as if that which is illusion and falsehood for the former is truth and light for the latter. A belief which does not satisfy an acute enquirer, can by honest men never be deemed so simple-minded. Many pretend that the distinction is demanded by expediency; but it is generally prompted by pride and always leads to hollowness and hypocrisy. And these are almost glaringly manifest in the singular observation that revelation was given to those only who are devoid of reason and natural intelligence":<sup>3</sup> the pride lies in the assumed superiority of the great majority of men, and the hypocrisy in the profession of "revelation"; for if revealed truths were simple and in, they would not, with evident contempt, be described as fit only for the silly only, but would be held to be valuable even to the gifted.

Every man is, by his nature, subject to superstition; but he is by his nature subject to fear;<sup>4</sup> but by knowledge he rises above fear and superstition; he must, on the one hand, rise to the consciousness of his dignity and power, and he must, on the other, subordinate himself as a serving link of the universe, so that evil can happen to him whatever happens to him as a part of the universal creation.<sup>5</sup> But how does he rise to his dignity? He strives to penetrate into the first causes and the essen

and ACTIVE LOVE — these three form the creed of the Future, but the greatest of these is TRUTH;<sup>6</sup> for enlightenment leads to self-control and to self-denying deeds; knowledge alone is able to keep man on the path of moderation and thoughtfulness, and thus to secure, through virtue, his inward peace and happiness.

delivered on Febr. 1, 1867, John Stuart Mill describes history as "a chain of causes, and effects still unwinding itself before the student's eyes, and full of momentous consequences to himself and his descendants; the unfolding of a great epic or dramatic action, to terminate in the happiness or misery, the elevation or degradation of the human race; an unremitting conflict between good and evil powers, of which every act done by any of us, insignificant as we are, forms one of the incidents; a conflict in which even the smallest of us cannot escape from taking part, in

which whoever does not help the right side is helping the wrong, and for our share in which, whether it be greater or smaller, and let its actual consequences be visible, or in the main invisible, no one of us can escape the responsibility" (pp. 68, 69).

<sup>6</sup> Comp. 1 Cor. XIII. 13, μέντι πιστις ἑλπίς ἀγάπη . . . μέλλων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη. All that has been said against *knowledge* or against *action* in matters of religion, is unsatisfactory (comp. e. g. *Hagenbach*, l. c. pp. 20 and 21—24); comp. John XIII. 17 (εἰ ταῦτα οἴδατε, μακάριοι ὅτε ἐὰν ποιῇτε αὐτά).



## CHAPTER I.

**SUMMARY.**—God speaks to Moses from the Tabernacle, and commands him the laws of the *Burnt-offering* (עֹלָה), which is to be of cattle, whether bullocks, sheep, or goats (vers. 1—13), or of turtle-doves or young pigeons (vers. 14—17). If the victim is a bull or a goat it is to be burnt entirely on the altar, with the exception of the head and the legs, while the blood is sprinkled on the altar round about; if a sheep or a bird the head and then the rest of the body are to be burnt, except the contents, while the blood is pressed out along the side of the

### 1. And the Lord called to Moses, and spoke

1—9. All the Israelites, both men and women, had, with readiness and zeal, co-operated in the completion of the holy Tabernacle; the skilful rejoiced in being permitted to bestow upon it their talents, and the wealthy contributed the costly and multifarious materials (Exod. XXXV. 5—11, 21—29); till at last the offerings were far too abundant even for that magnificent structure, and their discontinuance was enjoined by a public proclamation (XXXVI. 5—7). Every detail was so scrupulously executed in accordance with the Divine command, that Moses felt induced to pronounce a blessing upon the pious people (XXXIX. 43). The time had arrived for arranging the component parts and erecting the edifice. The first day of Nisan, in the year

wood, twenty on the north and twenty on the southern, and twenty on the western side, were fixed by means of tenons and two for each board; the wood covered with gold and five golden rings fastened to the side of the boards, to render the structure conveniently portable; the four pillars overlaid with gold, at the entrance of the Holy of Holies, and the entrance of the Holy of Holies, were fastened by hooks and sockets, and the beautiful hangings of byssus, and blue, red, and purple, with figures of the Cherubim upon it, was suspended within the Tent, forming a canopy and falling down on the

out of the Tent of Meeting, saying, 2. Speak to the children of Israel, and say to them, If anyone of you bring an offering to the Lord, you shall bring your offering of the cattle, *whether* of the herd or of the flock.

been reared, Moses put the holy implements in their prescribed places within. Beginning at the western extremity, he furnished the Holy of Holies with *the Ark of the Covenant*, not, however, before he had deposited therein the two tablets of the Law or "the Testimony", had also, for the purpose of transportation, drawn the two gilded staves of acacia wood, never again to be removed, through the four rings at its four feet, and had put the golden mercy-seat with the sacred figures of the Cherubim on its upper side. Then he closed the Holy of Holies by the splendid curtain which was suspended immediately under the loops and hooks of the first covering (vers. 20, 21). He next removed into the Sanctuary or Holy its three chief utensils — to the northern side, *the Shew-bread Table* of acacia wood overlaid with gold, with its enclosure and wreath, its golden rings and staves, and the golden vessels belonging to it, the dishes and bowls, the cans and cups, arranging upon it the shew-bread, twelve cakes in two rows, and probably adding the first frank-incense to be burnt upon them; to the southern side, opposite the Table, the magnificent *Candlestick*, weighing with its appendages one talent of gold, consisting of seven branches and seven lamps, beautifully ornamented with calyxes of almond flowers, apples or pomegranates, and blossoms; and between the Table and the Candlestick, just before the curtain of the Holy of Holies, the *Altar of Incense*, of acacia wood overlaid with gold, with its rings and staves. Then he fastened the vail which formed the entrance of the Sanctuary (vers. 22-26). Lastly he placed in the Court the

*Altar of Burnt-offering*, of hollow boards of acacia wood covered with brass, and probably filled with earth, adding its vessels, the pots and shovels, the bowls and forks; and the *Laver* to the left of the altar, nearer the Sanctuary, made of brass, like the base on which it rested (vers. 29—32). And having fixed, by hooks and sockets, the fifty-six columns which marked the area of the Court round the Tabernacle, and fastened the hangings to the columns, and having, at the eastern side, suspended the curtain to serve as the entrance door, he could well consider the noble work as entirely completed and declare it ready for the sacred purposes which it was thenceforth destined to serve (ver. 33). In order to mark these purposes symbolically, he anointed both the whole structure and all principal utensils with the holy oil, and thus consecrated them (vers. 9—11; comp. Num. VII. 1; see p. 116); and as a sign and confirmation that the task had in every respect been accomplished in conformity with the Divine will, a heaven-sent cloud covered the edifice, and the glory of God filled it. Moses, unable to enter, remained before the Tabernacle, while God communicated to him His commands from within (vers. 34, 35; Lev. I. 1; see also notes on VIII. 1—5).

This is the connection intended between the second and third Book of the Pentateuch; it is plain and unforced, and its continuity is only once interrupted, at the conclusion of Exodus, by the insertion of a general notice, in harmony with the pragmatical nature of Biblical history (comp. Comm. on Exod. XL. 34—36). The narrative is indeed perfectly consistent with itself,

and priestly functions, succeeded by civil and moral laws; and whereas previously the ordinances were issued from Mount Sinai (comp. Exod. XIX. 3; XXIV. 16), they were now, since Moses had descended from the mountain, proclaimed from the Tabernacle (Exod. XXXIV. 29; Lev. I. 1; comp. Num. I. 1; XII. 5; comp., however, *infra*); and the "Tent of Meeting", from where God promised to commune with Moses and the priests (Exod. XXV. 22; XXIX. 42—45; XXX. 6; Num. XVII. 19), was indeed appropriately made the scene of the proclamation, as it was to be the scene of the execution, of the sacerdotal precepts (Lev. I. 1). God had visibly manifested His love of Israel by filling the Sanctuary with His glory (Exod. XL. 34), and Israel was thenceforth to receive, from the same place, the injunctions by the observance of which they might preserve that love forever; and these laws were addressed to all the children of Israel because they immediately concerned every member of the holy community (ver. 2).

But it is needless to point out the legendary character of the whole account. It contains many essential elements of religious fiction: God holds

deemed it desirable. The stamp of Divinity for all the laws and considered pre-eminent those regulations which innermost centre of religion. The chief national designed to exhibit essential relations to men, and to secure good mind. Yet these laws possessing the fictitious alleged supernatural serve the most care for they are the core of tradition and though the one hand, the current among the Israelite's time, or deemed and expedient; and the other hand, a collection of statutes thoughtfully leading doctrines of by earnest and cultivated have, therefore, at historical, and a significant importance; the former respect, of course, but vaguely to be estimated, since information does not permit



the Lord. 4. And he shall put his hand upon the head

of antiquity. We have endeavoured in the preceding treatise, to examine the text under these various aspects.

The burnt-offerings aptly commence the sacrificial laws. First, they were probably the oldest form of sacrifice. In the next place, they had the very widest application, and could be presented by any person without distinction (דָּוָן, ver. 2), a point which is the more significant as the offerer, sharing the sacred functions with the priests, had to perform several important parts of the ceremony himself. And lastly, though originally designed to convey merely the worshipper's awe and his unconditional submission to the Divine supremacy, they were, in the Levitical code, invested with the character of *atonement* (ver. 4), and were not only commanded on specified occasions, but left to the spontaneous impulse of the heart that yearns for peace and for the expiation of sins known to the transgressor alone. They were, therefore, meant to serve the highest ends of an inward religion. Thus modified, they marked a decided progress in the path of spiritual faith; they were, in fact, the fore-runners of the expiatory offerings, which form the very crowning point of the sacrificial system, and beyond which, even at the very next step, the mind leaves the fetters of the ceremonial law and enters the purer regions of freedom and elevation. Hence the Levitical holocausts lead us to a time when the deep-rooted tendencies towards pagan idolatry had been conquered, and the intellectual efforts of the more thoughtful and more gifted among the Hebrews had been rewarded by the establishment of a religious creed, which, however far removed from absolute truth, and however repugnant to the true attributes of the deity and the requirements of philo-

sophy and reason, at least permitted the exercise of noble and exalted humanity, and even facilitated, more than any of the preceding and most of the later systems of theology, an insight into the moral government of the world, and the higher aims of human existence. Thus the very beginning of the Book reveals unmistakeably the time and purposes of its composition, and forms the first link in that great chain of evidence which leads to the most pregnant and most interesting historical results (pp. 43—46).

The nature and the development of the burnt-offering, as well as the occasions and ceremonies of its presentation, have been fully discussed in the previous treatise, to which we must refer on this and on every similar point of detail connected with Hebrew sacrifices (see pp. 234—241).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The first chapter, which forms an integral part of the earliest collection of sacrificial laws (ch. I—III, see the Introduction), is evidently of a comparatively ancient date, at least in its original and fundamental form; the burnt-offering is repeatedly designated as "an offering made by fire of a sweet odour to the Lord" (אֵשׁה רִיחַ נִדְחָח לַיהוָה, vers. 9, 13, 17), which anthropomorphic phrase suggests a distinct inference as regards the date (comp. pp. 7, 8); therefore, the words וְנִרְצָה לוֹ לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו *it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him* (ver. 4), which point to the most advanced stage in the history of sacrifices, seem to be a later addition of the Jehovistic revisor, meant to form, as it were, a gloss to the preceding words לְרַצֵּן לְפָנֵי יְהוָה (ver. 3), and to allude to the deeper and more spiritual meaning of holocausts. — The primitive date of this section is apparent from another circumstance. It is here stated, that,

render such injunction superfluous. Our section must, therefore, not only have originated at a time when the sacrificial legislation was in its earlier phases, but it must have proceeded from an author who did not insist upon, if he at all entertained, the idea of a permanent fire, which requires a well-established sanctuary, and marks an advance in the organisation of public worship. Thus the manifest discrepancy may be accounted for, if it cannot be reconciled. The corresponding command in the twelfth verse is indeed worded as if a fire had previously burnt on the altar, "and the priest shall lay them in order upon the wood that is on the fire upon the altar"; but this verse is so worded merely in reference to the preceding passage (ver. 7), with which it is closely connected, and no doubt coincides in date and origin. — The opinion that the author here thinks of the *first* burnt-offering (*Knobel*, *Comm.* p. 358), is excluded by the tenour of the chapter which contains precepts altogether general in their application. — The subject **וידבר** belonging both to **ויקרא** and **וידבר** (in ver. 1) follows only after the second verb (comp. II. 2; VIII. 15; see our *Hebrew Grammar*, Part II, § LXXVI). The small **ו** which the Masorah marks in

tioned to have been given at Sinai" (**בְּהַר סִינַי**), in connection with the preceding verse, may prove that this term means the mountain itself, not the mountain or the wilderness of Sinai (Exod. 38; also XXV. 1; XXVI. 4; Num. III. 1), and therefore the tabernacle (Num. XXVIII. 6). It is evident that the author of the second code (I. 1), was not the author of the first code (I. 1), was not the author of the conclusion of the second code (see *Comm. in loc.*). — **וידבר** to them, written defectively (see *Gramm.* § XXX. 5. 6; — The second verse, if correct, contains an error of construction which can be satisfactorily explained by a correction allowing us a welcome insight into the *genesis* of the chapter. The second verse conveys the general principle: "If anyone of you bring (קרבן) to the Lord, you shall bring your offering (קרבנכם) of whether of the herd or of the flock, which, understood in the context, is omitted by grammar and logic, applies to *all* sacrifices, to all words form a common introduction, are, therefore, bound to explain that quadrupeds alone were at first sufficiently valuable to be

sons, shall bring the blood, and sprinkle the blood round about upon the altar that is by the door of the Tent of Meeting. 6. And one shall flay the burnt-offering,

and cheapness, were within the reach of the most needy (see p. 80); hence regulations concerning holocausts of these birds were later added to the original code; and the fourteenth verse, beginning, "And if his offering to the Lord be a burnt-sacrifice of fowls", is illogical *in form*, because worded as if it stood in contradistinction to a preceding proposition — an anomaly the more readily to be explained as, in the revisor's time, the antithesis between עוף and בְּהֵמָה existed *in fact*. All other interpretations do violence to the Hebrew text. For even if we deviate from the Masoretic accentuation, and take מִן־בְּהֵמָה in verse 2 to be the protasis or first clause (as has been done by the Syriac version and Saadiah, by Geddes, Knobel, Keil, Bertheau, — Gruppen, p. 151 —, at one time by Rosenmüller — Schol. p. 8 —, and others), the difficulty is not much lessened, because the second verse treats of sacrifices in general, the fourteenth of burnt-offerings only; and it is impossible to take קָרְבָּנֶיךָ and קָרְבָּנֶיךָ, in ver. 2, in the latter or more restricted sense (Sept. correctly, δῶρα; Vulg. hostiam; Rashi, *freewill-offerings*, קָרְבָּנֶיךָ נָדָבָה; De Wette, *Opfergabe*); for it would be intolerably abrupt to introduce an entirely new subject with the words, "If any one of you bring a burnt-offering to the Lord of the cattle" etc. — According to Jewish expositors (as Abarbanel a. o.), the term זָרָה (ver. 2) includes even women and heathens. — That expressions like זָרָה כִּי־יִקְרִיב do not prove or imply the optional character of *all* sacrifices, has been pointed out above (pp. 55 seq.). — The insertion of *and* by the Septuagint, after מִן־בְּהֵמָה, is entirely unauthorised. — לָרָצוֹן (ver. 3)

is, obviously, *for his acceptance*, that is, for the worshipper's acceptance before God (comp. לָרָצוֹן לָדָם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, Exod. XXVIII. 38; see also Lev. XIX. 5; XXII. 29; XXIII. 11; Isa. LVI. 7; Jer. VI. 20), corresponding with וְנִרְצָה לוֹ (ver. 4) *it shall be accepted for him* (comp. Lev. XXII. 23; Sept. δακτόν, Vulg. acceptabilis; Onkel translates לֹא יִרְצָה הַמִּקְרִיב (in VII. 18) by לֹא יִדְוֶה, that is, לֹא יִדְוֶה (לָרָצוֹן לְמִקְרִיב): the meaning of the term is indeed explained and almost paraphrased in a later passage, "you shall offer for your acceptance a male without blemish of the herd, of the sheep, or of the goats; but whatsoever has a blemish, that you shall not offer; for it shall not be acceptable for you" (XXII. 19, 20; comp. ver. 21). The translation of *his own voluntary will* (Mishn. Erach. V. 6, שֶׁאֵין מִתְכַּפֵּר לוֹ, עַד שִׁירְרָצָה, where it is stated how far a person may be compelled to a sacrifice; Ebn Ezra, Abarbanel, Engl. Vers., etc.) illogically interrupts the context; and in XXIII. 11, לָרָצוֹנְכֶם is used with reference to the obligatory offering of the first-fruits (and here indeed the English Version renders *to be accepted for you*; so also in Exod. XXVIII. 38). — It is of importance exactly to define the meaning of the verb קָרַב (in Piel), which so frequently occurs in the sacrificial legislation, and which indeed implies that notion which forms the chief end of the principal offerings. It signifies originally *to cover, to cover up*, in which sense alone it occurs in Kāf (Gen. VI. 14; comp. Arab. غفر; but the noun קָרַב is *redemption*, Exod. XXI. 30; XXX. 12; Isai. XLIII. 3); hence applied to guilt, it means *to cover or hide* the sinner's transgression from the

the most earnest, or more external, stage in the history of that term. But when, in the general progress of religious ideas, the notion of sin was conceived more profoundly and more spiritually, the meaning attributed to **חַטָּאת** was modified accordingly; it assumed the sense of *expiating*, that is, of removing the sin not merely from the sight of God, but of banishing its force and effect from the sinner's heart; it became synonymous with restoring, *by atonement*, the peace of mind that had been disturbed by sin (comp **חַטָּאת** Exod. XXX. 12, 15; **חַטָּאת**, **חַטָּאת**; see Num. VIII. 19); so that **חַטָּאת** became analogous to **מָחַל**, which, originally signifying *to remove sin* (**מָחַל**), later took the meaning of *restoring* (Gen. XXXI. 39, **מָחַל**), that is, of *expiating* (The objections of Bähr, Symb. II. 280, against this meaning are untenable, prompted as they are by his unavailing opposition to the doctrine of vicarious substitution in the Old Testament, see *supra* p. 294; the suffix in **מָחַל** proves that **מָחַל** in Piel has *transitive* meaning, and cannot, therefore, signify *to suffer for a fault*). From these observations it will be easy to account for the different constructions of **חַטָּאת**. It is occasionally joined with

it is so in many cases (Ex. Isai. VI. 7; Jer. XVIII. 2; 9; etc.); but as the end of sin is the justification who, on account of his of it, had reason to hide h God, the object of **חַטָּאת** is metonymy, also and me the sinner (Lev. I. 4; IV. 2 V. 16; Num. XVII. 11, 12; so that occasionally **חַטָּאת** both by *sin* and *sinner*, o qualifying the other, and construed with **עַל** (Lev. **עַל-חַטָּאת**; V. 1 22); or the sin of which purified, is introduced by 26; V. 6, 10; XIV. 19; X VI. 11); or it is followed that is, the principle of existence (Lev. XVII. 11; 15); it is, therefore, un suppose (with Rosenmüll ad Levit. p. 201) that **חַטָּאת** ellipsis for **חַטָּאת**, a for **חַטָּאת**; **חַטָּאת**, though originally mea gradually adopted the fig of *expiating*; the period w between the first and sec its history was sufficientl for the change. Hence e

in order upon the fire: 8. And the priests, Aaron's sons, shall lay the parts, *and* the head, and the fat in order upon the wood that *is* on the fire upon the altar.

of covering or concealing or removing; and so again כִּפֵּר becomes synonymous with חָטָא (Lev. XIV. 49 and 53, where חָטָא and כִּפֵּר occur indifferently; comp. Exod. XXIX. 36, 37; Lev. VIII. 15; Num. VIII. 21; 2 Chr. XXIX. 24; Ps. LI. 9). But it is obvious from this analysis that the object of כִּפֵּר can never be God, who is sinless; the combination כִּפֵּר עֲלֵיהוּהוּ could only signify to cover or to deny God (as in the later phrase כִּפֵּר בְּעֵקֶר he who denies the foundations of faith, an infidel); and the word עָלֵיו so often occurring in connection with כִּפֵּר never refers to God; or if it could be applied to Him, it would not signify to appease Him (comp. אִכְפַּרְהוּ פָנָיו בַּמִּנְחָה, Gen. XXXII. 21; also 2 Sam. XXI. 3; Prov. XVI. 14; Isai. XLVII. 11); since it is a characteristic principle of Hebrew sacrifices, that they are not meant to calm the Deity, but to give peace to the offerer, which involves a significant contrast to pagan conceptions (see pp. 316—318). The power of atonement, of course, rests with God, who is occasionally introduced as accomplishing it (Deut. XXI. 8; Ps. LXV. 4; LXXVIII. 38; Jer. XVIII. 23); but it is usually represented as being delegated to the priests, His ministers (Lev. IV. 26, 31, 35; V. 6, 10; XIV. 20, 29; etc.). It is objectionable to render כִּפֵּר עֲלֵיהֶם הַכֹּהֵן (IV. 20) "the priest shall cover them, that is, he shall protect them against the Divine wrath by interceding for them with God" (*Knoel*, Lev. p. 388); for this meaning of כִּפֵּר, erroneous even with regard to sin-offerings, would not at all apply to holocausts, much less to thank-offerings. — On the form כִּפֵּר see Gram. § XLIV. l. 6. — The offerer, as a rule, killed the victim (p. 184); hence the singular of the verb (מִזְבֵּחַ).

ver. 5) is, no doubt, the correct reading, not the plural (as the Septuagint has, *καὶ σπαίζουσιν*, vers. 5, 11). — Whether we prefer (in ver. 7) בני אהרן הַכֹּהֵן or כֹּהֲנֵי אֶהְיֶה (as in vers. 5, 8, 11, Samar., Sept., Syr., etc.), is immaterial. — The blood was to be sprinkled על־דְּמוּמָה סביב, that is, round the sides of the altar, not on its upper surface (see p. 191). — The subject to וּדְפְשִׁיטוּ and וּנְתָחוּ (ver. 6) is either one of the priests or a Levite; hence the Septuagint translates these verbs in plural (*ἀνδρες πάντες* and *μελίσσωσι*), corresponding with בני אהרן in the preceding and the subsequent verse; and וּדְפְשִׁיטוּ and וּנְתָחוּ are indeed found in the Samaritan codex; but these are most probably not the original readings, just because the singular of the verb is less easy, though entirely in harmony with Hebrew usage (comp. Grammar § LXXVI); see pp. 196, 197. — The priests shall place upon the wood the various parts or members (נְתָחִים) of the animal, together with the head and the fat (ver. 8); for the נְתָחִים (Onkel. איברא), the head, and the fat are considered to make up the victim; hence the words אֶחָדָם וְאֶחָדָם do not stand in apposition to אֶחָדָם, after which, therefore, the Septuagint correctly inserts *καὶ* (comp. ver. 12; VIII. 20; IX. 13). From the term וַעֲרֹכוּ *and they shall lay in order*, Talmudists deduced the precept that the members and parts of the animal should as much as possible be arranged in the order which they possess in the living animal — the head foremost, then the shoulders, and then the other limbs in due sequence, while the fat (סֶמֶךְ) was put either beneath the pieces for the better feeding of the flame, or above them for covering the unsightly and

prescribed or perpetual fire (*Mishn.* Yom. IV. 6; *Talm.* Yom. 45a), are later speculations intended to reconcile the various Biblical allusions on the subject (Lev. I. 7; VI. 5, 6; XVI. 13), and to connect them with the tradition of the first fire said to have fallen from heaven upon the altar (comp. also *Outram*, *De Sacrif.* I. xvi. 13). — The word קָרֵב, which occurs only here and in a few other passages (vers. 8, 12; VIII. 20), is probably derived from קָרַב in the sense of *feeding* or *fattening* (comp. Arab. *فدَن* or *بدَن*), and means, therefore, simply *fat* (so Sept. *στέαρ*; Syr. and Onk., and Jonath. in Lev. VIII. 20 קָרֵב; Arabs Erpen. *شحم*; Jerome in Lev. VIII. 20 *adeps*; Pagninus, Castelli, and others), and more particularly that fat which is on the intestines, and which was naturally taken off when the entrails were to be cleansed, previously to being burnt as a part of the holocaust (I. 8, 9, 12, 13; VIII. 20, 21). It is not to be traced to קָרַב in the conjectural sense of *separating*, as if synonymous with פָּרַד, and signifying the fat "that is apart from the flesh" (so Jonath. in our passage פָּרִיסוּחָא דְקָרֵב, *Bochart*,

properly cleansed, eaten by the ancients (III. 47, 48; IX. 67), and not fitly be omitted; we have indeed examples that they were frequently eaten by gods, under the names *radices*, and *lactes* (II. i. 23, *Radices communes dolent*; *Mal.* I. 6 *fin.*, *habetur* *eorum omnium*; VII. 24, p. 230; *Peterson* *Aen.* VI. 253, 254 translations, Sept. *ἐνδοσθία*; Josephus *τὰ κατὰ σπλῆνός τε*; and more generally Targ. Onkel. N. the word does not signify the intestines as the liver. On קָרַב in Lev. VIII. 20 see *Delitzsch*, *Bib.* — 222. — The word קָרַב (from קָרַע to bend, *Bug* or shoulder, *Grimm*, *Deutsch.* cannot be uncertain; being used of cattle (VIII. 21; etc.), is in connection with the

and the priest shall burn all on the altar, *as* a burnt-sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet odour to the Lord.

10. And if his offering *be* of the flocks, *whether* of the sheep or of the goats, for a burnt-sacrifice, he shall bring it a male without blemish. 11. And he shall kill it on the side of the altar northward before the Lord: and the priests, Aaron's sons, shall sprinkle its blood round about upon the altar. 12. And he shall cut it into its pieces, and its head, and its fat; and the priest shall lay them in order on the wood that *is* on the fire upon the altar: 13. And he shall wash the bowels and the legs with water; and the priest shall bring *it* all, and burn *it* upon the altar: it is a burnt-sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet odour to the Lord.

leg in general, nor "the leg from the knee to the foot" (Unterschenkel, Gesenius, Knobel, Fürst, Bunsen, a. o.), nor simply foot (Sept. and Joseph. *πούς*, although the former have also *σκέλος* and *ἀκροθήρσιον*). Wessely explains "that part upon which the animal rests when it lies down" (כרע), which is too indistinct. — The parts just described were to be washed by the priest (יִרְחֹץ) mentioned in the succeeding half of the verse, or perhaps by a Levite under the priest's supervision (comp. also ver. 13); the plural of the verb יִרְחֹצוּ and *πλυνουσιν* employed by the Samarit. and Sept. is, therefore, an unnecessary deviation from the Hebrew text. — In *עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* *on the altar* (vers. 9, 13, 15) for *עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* (IX. 13, 17), the *ה* *locale* implies rest, not motion; it so occurs very frequently in the sacrificial laws (II. 2; III. 5; IV. 9; V. 12; VII. 5, 31; VIII. 16; IX. 10; XVI. 25; comp. 2 Chr. XXIX. 22—24); and it seems to betray a comparatively early time in the history of language, when the *ה* had simply the meaning of locality, without being strictly confined to one particular relation of place; thus we find the same peculiarity in old particles,

as *שָׁמָּה* *there*, *הֵנָּה* *where?* *הֵנָּה* *here*, *חִוּצָה* *without*, and in a few words occurring chiefly in earlier writings (see Gramm. § XXV. 4). — Luzzatto, in order to avoid the anthropomorphism of *אֵשׁ רִיחַ נִיחֹחַ לַיהוָה* (ver. 9), translates *ריח נִיחֹחַ* *odore propiziatorio*, and urging the distinctive accent under *נִיחֹחַ*, he refers *עֲלֶיהָ* — *עַל־הָאֵשׁ* — *olocusto al Signore*; but this acceptance, questionable in itself, is of no avail in passages like *וַיִּרְחַץ יְהוָה* (Gen. VIII. 28), which Luzzatto is compelled to render freely and arbitrarily, *Il Signore, gradito l'odore propiziatorio, disse tra se*.

10—13. PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The Septuagint adds, between verse 10 and 11, the precept of the imposition of the hand (*καὶ ἐπιθήσει τὸν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὸν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ*), correctly as regards the spirit of the section, though not in accordance with the Masoretic text. — The words "and its head and its fat", following after "its parts" (ver. 12), are to be understood as in ver. 8 — the sheep or the goats are to be cut into their natural parts, special care being taken to secure the head and the fat. — The construction in ver. 12 is a



pieces, and shall *cut off* its head and its fat" (see Gramm. § 104. 2).

14—17. Possibly in order to enhance the value of offerings of birds, very small in itself, the whole ceremonial was performed by the priest; the worshipper renounced even his prerogative of killing the animal, and this was the more desirable as the sprinkling of the scanty blood of those birds could be well performed by him only who killed them, and the sprinkling was exclusively a priestly act (comp. pp. 185, 241).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — On the probability of these verses being a later addition see *supra* on vers. 1—9. — The head of the turtle-doves was to be *strung off* or *pinched off* (קָלַע, ver. 15; Sept. *ἀποκόλλει τὴν κεφαλὴν*; Targ. Jon. *קלע*, Targ. Jerus. *קלע*, comp. *حدم* unguibus discerpere; Vulg. *freely retorto ad collum capite ac rupto vulneris loco*), and burnt separately; whereas if the bird was a sin-offering, the head was merely broken in at the neck, without being separated from it (V. 8 *ולא יכריל*; see p. 186). — After the head was burnt, the blood of the body was pressed out, drop by drop (דָּמָא, Sept. *ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὸ αἷμα*; comp. Judg. VI. 36; Syr. *דמא*, Arab.

comp. *צוֹאֵה* and *צוֹאֵה*, Prov. XXX. 12; hardly fi jectural root *צוֹאֵה* *foetuit* partic. Niph. *צוֹאֵה* or *צוֹאֵה* into *צוֹאֵה*, so that *צוֹאֵה* required reading, not *צוֹאֵה* propounded by Knobel w bility); so the Chaldee, S ritan, and Arab. version *פִּלְקָטִיָּה*, *פִּנְטָטִיָּה*), most interpreters (Rashi עיה Schreder, Rosenmüller, Wette, and others; for thot also in the meaning of *פ* XVII. 3, 7; Job. XXXIX. root *פִּלְקָטִיָּה* (*to fly*), it is impo it here in this sense (as l by the Sept., Sym., Theod Vulg., Kimchi, Nachr Engl. Vers., and many lators), as this would (with the *masculine* of the Samaritan text inde accordance with the pr *פִּלְקָטִיָּה*, instead of *פִּלְקָטִיָּה* which word can only re *פִּלְקָטִיָּה*; the crop was *ו* with its excrements, thal the sense, on *account* of (Maurer, *ingluviem ej* comp. also *Hom.* II. 2 *καταβήκεν* throw the

the altar eastward, to the place of the ashes: 17. And he shall cleave it at its wings, *but* shall not take *them* off, and the priest shall burn it upon the altar, upon the wood that is upon the fire: it is a burnt-sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet odour to the Lord.

reasons stated, not expressed in *בנצלה* (comp. *Mishn. Zevach. VI. 5*). It is not probable that the term *מראה* (whether referable to the Arabic *مرا* to digest food, or derived from *ראה* for *רעה* to pasture, as *viscera* from *vesci*, or *Eingeweide* from *weiden* — Knobel) includes, besides the crop (Sept. *περόλοφος*, Onk. *קֶרֶךְ*, Jerus. *קֶרֶךְ*, etc.), the intestines of the birds (*Mishn. l. c.*, Schreder, Rosenm., Knobel), which being scarcely worth washing and cleaning, like those of the quadrupeds (vers. 9, 13), were no doubt altogether thrown away; the Vulgate renders conjecturally *vesicula gutturis*. — *לֵל* (ver. 17) is added by way of asyndeton (comp. V. 8, *לֵל*), and the character of abruptness which this

construction involves, is enhanced by the omission of the accusative of the personal pronoun — *but he shall not take (them) off* (comp. Gram. §§ 78. 7; 104. 8). — Ewald (*Alterth. p. 47*) supposes that these verses contain “several mistakes of copyists”, which he proposes to correct from V. 8, 9; he objects especially to the words *הקטיר המזבח* (ver. 15), which he supposes to have originally been *קיר המזבח* (V. 9). But the ritual of holocausts and of sin-offerings of birds is designedly distinct from each other, in accordance with the special character of each; our passage cannot, therefore, be altered from the later one regarding sin-offerings; and the separate burning of the head has a parallel in vers. 8, 9 (see p. 240).

## 2. THE BLOODLESS OFFERING (קִטְוָה).

### CHAPTER II.

**SUMMARY.** — God reveals to Moses precepts concerning the *Bloodless offerings* (קִטְוָה), whether they consist simply of fine flour (vers. 1-3), or are baked in the oven (ver. 4), prepared in a pan (ver. 5), or boiled in a cauldron; in all which cases a handful is to be burnt as “a memorial” on the altar, while the rest belongs, as most holy, to the priests. Salt is never to be omitted in any sacrifice, while honey and leaven are to be rigidly avoided, though they may be employed for firstfruit-oblations (vers. 11-13), regarding which an ordinance is appended (vers. 14-16).

#### 1. And if anyone will offer a bloodless offering to

1-12. Animal and bloodless sacrifices were probably co-eval in origin (see pp. 10-14). The code of law which treated of the one, necessarily included the other. Hence both are here introduced in close connection

(שְׁדֵי, ver. 1). But since the former were regarded as more valuable and more meritorious, they fitly occupy the first place in these ordinances. Bloodless oblations were doubtless presented alone and independently of animal

of the Lord made by fire.

offerings. This is manifest from a rational survey of the nature and history of sacrifices; and it is confirmed by the tenour of this chapter: the *קָרְבַּן מִנְחָה* is placed in juxtaposition to the *קָרְבַּן עֹלָה* (vers. 1, 3, 4, etc), and forms, therefore, like the latter, a distinct class; and the ceremonials are so complete in themselves that it would be difficult to make them a subservient appendage to another ritual. Moreover, it can scarcely be questioned that the *מִנְחָה* was primitively burnt to the Deity entire, like the *עֹלָה*; not only is this implied in the notion of *sacrifice*, but it is expressed in the very name which means *gift* (comp. p. 216). But when the right of performing sacrifices was transferred from the whole people to one family or tribe, it was deemed sufficient to burn to the Deity a small portion of the oblation, as a symbol of the whole, while the rest was left for the maintenance of the members of that tribe, who acted as mediators between God and the nation. and were in many

bloodless offerings all reception of the "memoria" over to the priests as a to be divided among the but later, when the original Levitical order advanced law that those bloodless which consisted merely prepared, should thenceforth among all the Aaronites while those prepared in or cauldron, should be individual priests who sacrifice (Lev. VII. 9, the sacerdotal functions as was feasible, equally the body of the priest object was really ever remained a legislative them could, as a rule, subsist upon the income his own functions; with a very small amount of as a provision for the any reason, did not originate (comp. p. 210, and 8—10). — Of the more

4. And if thou bring an oblation of a bloodless offering baked in the oven, *it shall be* unleavened cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil.

5. And if thy oblation *be* a bloodless offering *prepared* in a pan, it shall be *of* fine flour, mingled with oil, unleavened: 6. Thou shalt divide it in pieces, and pour oil thereon: it is a bloodless offering.

to be broken (Lev. XI. 35), such as is still extensively used in the East for making bread and cakes readily. The different forms of ovens and the contrivances to replace them have been described elsewhere (see Comm. on Exod. pp. 128, 129, 197, 214; comp. *Mishn. Menach. V. 9*; *Golius, Lex. Arab. p. 398* sub *تنور*; *Niebuhr, Reisebeschreibung, I. p. 234*, and in *Michaëlis Orientalische Bibl. VII. 176, 177*; *Harmer, Observ. I. 414—420*, edit. 1808; *Robinson, Biblic. Researches, I. 485*; II. 117, 118, 162, 2nd edit.; *Killo* on ver. 4). — The pan (מַחֲבֵטָה), a flat metal vessel, generally of iron (Ezek. IV. 3), was employed for baking hard and crisp cakes, which were generally mixed with oil, after which they were not unfrequently broken into small pieces, and then again thoroughly kneaded into a thick paste with butter, honey or milk, to be finally divided into larger portions; the same utensil is still so used among the Arabs and other Asiatic tribes, especially of Syria and Armenia, and among the Kabyles in Africa (comp. *Harmer, Observ. I. 412—414*; *Killo* on ver. 6; etc.; see also *supra* p. 198. In 1 Chr. IX. 31 such preparations are called מַעֲשֵׂה רֶמֶסִּים, and among the Arabs *chubs* حَبْز or *mafruks*). — The “pot” or “cauldron” (מַדְבַּח) is a deep vessel suitable for boiling flour and other substances thoroughly. — Now in all these cases, the sacred character of the offering was conveyed not only

by the admixture of oil, the type of holiness and sanctification (p. 115), the addition of frank-incense, the emblem of devotion (p. 118), and the use of salt, the agent of preservation, and therefore called “the salt of the covenant” (p. 110); but more decidedly still by the rigid prohibition of honey and leaven, representing fermentation and corruption (pp. 133 *sqq.*), by the portion devoted to God and burnt in His honour as a “memorial” (זִכָּרֹן), to bring the worshipper to His gracious remembrance, and lastly by the injunction to leave to the priests the remainder as most holy (קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים; see p. 76). Honey might, indeed, as a product of nature, be dedicated, in its natural state, as a firstfruit-gift and as a part of the offerer’s income (comp. Deut. XXVI. 2, 9, 10), and it could be employed for the leavened firstfruit loaves presented on Pentecost (Lev. XXIII. 16, 17); however, in both cases, the oblation was not placed on the altar, but *before* it (לְפָנֵי מִזְבֵּחַ, Deut. XXVI. 4), and it belonged to the priests who consumed it (Lev. XXIII. 20); but honey and leaven could never form parts of offerings destined to be burnt on the altar; they could never be a sweet odour to the Lord (רִיחַ נִדְחָן לַיהוָה).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — As נֶפֶשׁ (ver. 1) expresses the indefinite pronoun *somebody* (corresponding with עָרַב in l. 2), מִדְבַּח has the masculine suffix, though the nearer verb (מִדְבַּח) is in the feminine (comp. IV. 2, 27; V. 1, 2; Gramm. § 82. 4; see § 77. 6).

and **וְהָיָה** in Num. XXXI. 28). — On **וְהָיָה** see p. 103 note 26. — The Samaritan text concludes the first verse with the words **וְהָיָה**, and so the Septuagint adds *θυσια σου*. — The subject to **וְהָיָה** and **וְהָיָה** (ver. 1) is naturally the offerer, not the priest, but the subject to **וְהָיָה** (ver. 2) and *he shall take off* is **וְהָיָה**, expressed only in the following part of the period (see on I. 1). The Vulgate refers **וְהָיָה** to the preceding words, and renders *quorum unus tollet* (see Gramm. § 101. 2). — On the meaning of **וְהָיָה** (correctly explained by Kimchi s. v. **וְהָיָה**, comp. Arab. **قَمَر**), see p. 224 note 3. — **וְהָיָה** from there, i. e. of it (the flour), the adverbium loci taking the force of a personal pronoun (comp. Gen. III. 23; XLIX. 24; etc.); not "from the vessel containing the flour." — On **וְהָיָה** (ver. 2, for **וְהָיָה**, Gramm. § I. 4) *memorial* (Sept. *μνημόσυρον*, or *ἀνάμνησις* in XXIV. 7; Vulg. *memoriale* or *monumentum*; Luther zum *Gedächtniss*; so also Rashi, Ebn Ezra, and others; Johnson *Gedächtnissopfer*; comp. Num. V. 15 **וְהָיָה** עֵין see p. 206. Michaelis (Uebersetz. ver. 9 and

7, since the sin-offering though not accompanied cense, Lev. V. 11, 12), I Clericus, Saadiah, Rashi Sohn and some other Jewi (comp. Ebn Ezra, **וְהָיָה** as supports Isai. LXVI. 3 Lud. de Dieu followed by *celebratio* sc. nominis d 411; II. 428) *Lobpreis*, I (from **וְהָיָה** in the sense which is inapplicable to and Num. V. 26), i. e. the for the glorification of G soth (Liturg. Abhandl. IV *Danksagung* (a meaning **וְהָיָה**; comp. Kurtz, Op 255, 256) — all which are either erroneous or is **וְהָיָה** for **וְהָיָה**, § XXXI. 6. b. — The **וְהָיָה** (ver. 3) is used to express *that which is left* (Gram is hardly employed by w with the following **וְהָיָה** Parchon Lexic. sub **וְהָיָה** Stern; and similarly I in loc.). — **וְהָיָה** (ver. 4) person masc. (comp. ver third pers. fem. with **וְהָיָה**

*belong* to Aaron and his sons; *it is* a most holy *part* of the offerings of the Lord made by fire.

11. No bloodless offering which you shall bring to the Lord, shall be made fermented; for you shall burn no leaven nor any honey in any offering of the Lord made by fire. 12. For a firstfruit oblation you may offer them to the Lord; but they shall not come upon

*περυσμάνη*, like מִרְפָּכָה in VI. 14; VII. 12; Luther *gemengt*, Bunsen *angemacht*); for כָּלֵל is distinct from יָצַק (vers. 1, 6), comp. p. 105, to which we refer also on חֲלוֹת and קִיקִים. — מִחֲבֹה (ver. 5) is probably a flat and shallow vessel (therefore מִחֲבֹהָ, comp. VII. 9), most likely a *pan* called *tadshen* (طاجين) by the present Arabs, and so it is here rendered by the Septuagint (τήγανος) and the Syriac version (ܬܕܫܝܢ); it is hardly the "fire-plate" (Boothroyd), a convex plate of iron, supported by stones, with a slow fire underneath, and frequently used to bake the common large thin cakes (comp. *Killo*, on ver. 5); for the oil could not be mingled upon it. — On the absolute infinitive חֲבֹהָ (ver. 6) *to break*, *to divide* (comp. חָבַץ piece, Arab. فَتَّ, Sept. διασπέναι *σπῆναι* *σπῆναι*) with the force of the imperative, defined by the following חֲבֹהָ, see Gramm. § 97. 4. — מִרְפָּכָה (ver. 7) from רָפַח *to boil up* or *bubble up* (comp. Ps. XLV. 2) is a deep vessel, a *pot* or *cauldron* (in *Mishn.* Menach. V. 8, the difference between מִרְפָּכָה and מִחֲבֹה is stated by Rabbi Chaninah to be this, that the former is "deep" עֲמוּקָה and what is prepared in it is fluid, while the latter is "flat" חֲפֵזָה and what is prepared in it is hard; comp. *Talm.* Menach. 63a; and so Rashi, Rashbam, a. o.); not *gridiron* (Vulg. *craticula*, Sept. δρυίνα, Luther, De Wette *Rost*) or *frying-pan* (Engl. Vers., Bunsen); Targ. Onk. מִרְפָּכָה, evidently a corruption of מִרְפָּכָה, whether this is *frying-pan*

or cooking-pot; Syr. ܬܕܫܝܢ which is supposed to be identical with קִרְטָק, that is, *craticula*; Ebn Ezra מַעֲשֵׂה מַחֲבֹה (comp. *Buxf. Lex. Talm.* p. 855). — The masculine יֹעֲשֶׂה (ver. 8) referring to מִנְחָה stands for יֹעֲשֶׂהָ by way of impersonal construction (see Gramm. § 77. 15). — מִנְחָה of these includes the two preceding modes of bloodless offering also, those baked in an oven (ver. 4) and fried in the pan (ver. 5). Targ. Jonath. understands, without probability, "the oblation that is made of flour and oil." — The verbs of the 8th verse are partly unsymmetrical, the second person (חֲבֹהָ) being followed by the third (יִקְרֶהָ, see Gramm. § LXXVII. 21. 1), and partly irregular in construction, the subject of יִקְרֶהָ being the offering Israelite, while that of יֹעֲשֶׂה is the priest (see Gramm. § LXXVII. 21. 6). — חֲבֹהָ (ver. 9) corresponds with חָבַץ (ver. 2); it means therefore simply *and he shall take off*, and does not involve a solemn and peculiar mode of heaving (חֲבֹהָ, p. 203), as is evident from an examination of parallel passages (comp. III. 3 with IV. 8; VII. 3; and IV. 10 with IV. 31, 35). — The reading of חֲבֹהָ (comp. Jer. II. 22; Mal. III. 2), instead of חֲבֹהָ (ver. 13), *salt of purity* (of כָּרֶם), *pure salt* or *nitre*, proposed by Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Hebr.* No. 288, 298, 1407), and adopted as far as we know by Dathe alone, is not only gratuitous, but objectionable, as it would be difficult to find a simple construction for the following מִנְחָה; no more plausible is the reading חֲבֹהָ

the altar for a sweet odour. 13. And every oblation of thy bloodless offering shalt thou season with salt; nor shalt thou allow the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy bloodless offering: with all thy offerings thou shalt offer salt.

14. And when thou offerest the oblation of firstfruits to the Lord, thou shalt offer for the oblation of thy firstfruits green ears of corn roasted by the fire, *namely, the grains* rubbed out of the early corn. 15. And thou shalt put

*the food* of thy God (comp. 2 Sam. XIII. 5, 7, 10), suggested by Geddes, since the *salt* is never described as the *food* of God; but as a means of *covenant* (בְּרִית) it is both common and intelligible. "When the Athenians complained of violated hospitality, they were wont to say, Ποῦ ἄλες" (*Popham*, Extracts from the Pentateuch etc. p. 141). The concluding words of the command, "with all thy offerings (עַל כָּל־קִרְבָּנְךָ) thou shalt offer salt", are too distinct to allow us to doubt that salt was meant to be an ingredient not of bloodless only but of animal sacrifices also, so that the application of salt with the latter class of offering (Ezek. XLIII. 24; Mark IX. 49) was no deviation from the ancient law (comp. *Joseph. Ant.* III. ix. 1, πείσματα ἀλάτων); the animal offerings were certainly no less meant to produce "a covenant of God" (בְּרִית אֱלֹהִים) than the bloodless oblations. — According to a Jewish rite, based on our passage, the first morsel of bread (מִצֵּי) that is eaten is always dipped in salt, since the table represents the altar (see p. 62).

14—16. Roasted grains of corn (אֶבֶן קִלְיָה), whether simply prepared by the fire, or baked in a pan or on a plate of iron, were, as they still are, a favourite food in many parts of the East (comp. XXIII. 14; Josh. V. 11; 1 Sam. XVII. 17; XXV. 18; 2 Sam. XVII. 28; Ruth II. 14; *Virg. Georg.* I.

267; *Ovid*, Fast. II. 521; *Plin.* H. N. XVIII. 2, 7 or 14; *Celsius*, Hierobot. II. 231—234). They were, therefore, naturally and habitually presented on the altar, from a spontaneous impulse, by an agricultural people; and the legislator had no other task but to prescribe their presentation accompanied with rites calculated clearly to stamp them as a *minchah*, that is, to ordain the addition of oil and frank-incense, and the burning of "the memorial." Hence it cannot be doubted that the precept, "When thou offerest the oblation of firstfruits (בְּבִרְיֶיךָ) to the Lord", refers to private, and not to public offerings; this is clearly implied by the tenour of the law which makes no allusion whatever to the people; the public firstfruit *minchah*, consisting of ears of barley, was according to a distinct ordinance, to be offered on the second day of Passover with a prescribed ritual (p. 227); whereas our passage fixes no time, mentions none beyond the ordinary ceremonies of the *minchah*, and limits the offering to no particular class of grain, which, if such restriction were designed, would be wheat rather than the less valuable barley.— On the bloodless offerings in general see pp. 216—228.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The offering of the firstfruits was to consist of *ears of corn*, that is, their grains, *roasted by the fire* (אֶבֶן קִלְיָה). The ears should be of the best or.



oil upon it, and lay frank-incense thereon: it is a bloodless offering. 16. And the priest shall burn its memorial, *some* of its rubbed out *grains* and *some* of its oil, with all its frank-incense; *it* is an offering made by fire to the Lord.

earliest sort (כֶּרֶמֶל), and the grains carefully cleared of the husks by *rubbing* (רָשָׁה) and skinning; hence רָשָׁה, literally *the rubbing of the ears* (i. e. the grains obtained by this process), is a qualifying apposition to the preceding words אֶת־כֶּלִי בַשֵּׁן. The noun אֶת־כֶּלִי, from כָּלִי *verdure, bloom* (Job VIII. 12; Cant. VI. 11; Ebn Ezra strangely from כָּלִי the first, earliest), denotes the young ears of corn, still green and soft (hence Sept. *στα χλόρα*, Vulg. *spicae virentes*, Aquil. and Symm. *ἀνάλα*). Though כֶּרֶמֶל is generally *garden* or *vineyard*, it is sometimes used, by way of metonymy, for the *produce* or *fruit* of the garden (comp. XXIII. 14; 2 Ki. IV. 42); and if employed in reference to corn, which is not generally grown in gardens, it seems to denote a superior quality, which, owing to careful cultivation, ripens earlier than the corn of the fields (comp. Gesen. Thes. p. 713). As the firstfruits were most properly presented as much as possible in their natural state, like the first sheaf on Passover, it is hardly probable that the grains were *crushed* or *pounded* (Sept. *χλόρα λειυτά*; Vulg. *confringes* in *morem farris*; Theodot. *πλεονα ἀλεστα*; Cleric. *contusionem*; Arnheim a. o. *Grütze*); for though לָרַשׁ, a root vague in import, may mean to pound or crush (comp. Hebr. and Syr. לָרַשׁ, Arab. جرش), it denotes also *to rub* or *to rub out* (Onk. פִּירוּכָן, from פָּרַח *fricare*; Syr. פִּרְחָא מְרִיחָא, i. e. *perficata*

*pura*; Ar. Exp. مَهْشَم فَرِيك; Samar. קָלִין peeled off, etc.; although Onkelos strangely renders in XXIII. 14, כֶּרֶמֶל also with פִּירוּכָן; comp. Rosenm. Schol. on ver. 14; etc.). Aquil. and Symmach. translate כֶּרֶמֶל *λαχαρα δασπρώδη, tender pulse-like vegetables*, against the context (comp. Vulg. in XXIII. 14, *pultes*); Luther omits it altogether; and Jewish interpreters take it to mean the ears of corn still tender and juicy (comp. Rosenm. l. c.; Cleric. *arista viridis*; Arnh. *volle Aehren*), so that it would, in fact, be synonymous with אֶת־כֶּלִי, which opinion is devoid of all etymological support; while Michaelis (Suppl. VI. p. 2253, No. 2363) unwarrantably proposes to read כֶּרֶמֶל *like coarse sand*, analogous to the Arabic رَمْلٌ (כֶּרֶמֶל) *confusum in arenae grossioris morem granum frumenti, et elliptice כֶּרֶמֶל arena grossior, eadem manente sententia*).—The precepts concerning the offering of firstfruits (vers. 14—16) ought properly to have followed immediately after those concerning other bloodless offerings to which they are entirely analogous in ritual, whereas they are separated from them by some general commands applying not only to all bloodless but to all animal sacrifices alike (vers. 11—13); they are probably a supplementary addition appended by a reviser anxious to introduce a class of bloodless oblations of great practical importance for the tribe of Levi.

Appended is a prohibition, enjoined for all time, again and fat.

1. And if his oblation *be* a thank-offering, *it* of the herd, whether *it be* a male or female offer it without blemish before the Lord. . . shall lay his hand upon the head of his offering and kill it at the door of the Tent of Meeting, and the sons, the priests, shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about. 3. And he shall offer of the fat of the oblation, as an offering made by fire to the Lord.

1—17. As the feeling of awe precedes that of joyful gratitude in man's relation to God, so undoubtedly the holocausts preceded the thank-offerings. And as the latter sentiment implies a religious progress, so does the latter class of sacrifices. This is especially evident from the degree of participation permitted to the offerer in either case. The holocaust was totally burnt to God, and even the hide was claimed by His ministers (VII. 8); the thank-offering was but very partially delivered up to the flames, indeed no more than was necessary to mark the animal as a sacrifice; the fat and the fat parts dedicated to God were hardly

graciously to communicate to that man, the recipient of God's bounties, though dependent upon God's paternal protection (pp. 1, 2). But the Levitical sacrifice, as devised in the Law, demanded slight more than the original ordinance. Some of the fat of the thank-offerings. Some of the breast and the right thigh were set apart for the priests. The priestly sacrifice was primarily for the ministers received all after the burning of the fat parts, if the offering was of the herd. In the former case, the deviation

that covers the bowels, and all the fat that is upon the bowels, 4. And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks, and the great lobe of the liver, which he shall take off by the kidneys. 5. And Aaron's sons shall burn it on the altar upon the burnt-sacrifice, which is upon the wood on the fire; it is an offering made by fire, of a sweet odour to the Lord.

burnt-offering is markedly relaxed compared with those of the eucharistic sacrifice; for while male animals exclusively were commanded for the former, male and female victims were indifferently permitted for the latter — a change arguing a more liberal spirit and a greater freedom of religious feeling.

The bloodless oblations might, of course, also be either holocausts or thank-offerings; but it appears that they were holocausts only in the early stages of sacrificial usage (see p. 482); in the Pentateuch they share with the thank-offerings this important characteristic, that a comparatively small portion only was burnt on the altar; but they differ from the thank-offerings in this remarkable point, that the remainder belonged entirely to the priests, whether they were offered for private individuals or for the whole nation; so that no part of them was, in any case, left to the worshippers themselves. The reason is obvious; they were probably, as a rule, presented by poorer people, and were of such small value, that they could hardly have been regarded as sacrifices unless they were entirely dedicated to sacred purposes; whereas, in animal thank-offerings, the surrender of "the fat that covers the bowels, and all the fat that is on the bowels, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks, and the great lobe of the liver", and in certain classes of sheep the valuable tail also, together with the breast and right shoulder,

was an act of sufficient self-denial on the part of the offerers, who were, moreover, bidden to invite the poor and helpless to share the sacrificial repast that followed the offering. Thus the three first classes of sacrifice — the holocaust, the bloodless, and the eucharistic — are allied by various and natural analogies; their very distinctions reveal their affinity; and they were, therefore, justly connected in an early attempt at sacrificial legislation (comp. II. 1; III. 1).

The tail (זָנָב) of the sheep above referred to is "extremely broad and large terminating in a small appendix that turns back upon it. It is of a substance between fat and marrow, is not eaten separately but mixed with the lean meat, and is also often used instead of butter." (*Harmer, Observat.* III. 329). It is "not less than three cubits in length, so that if it were allowed to trail on the ground, it would be bruised and fall into sores; but every shepherd . . . makes little carts and fastens them on the tails, binding the tail of each separate sheep to a separate cart." (*Herod.* III. 113; comp. *Actian. Nat. Anim.* X. 4; *Mishn. Shabb.* V. 4; *Leo African. Africae Descr.* IX. p. 754 edit. Lugd. Batav. 1632). It weighs usually about fifteen pounds, but sometimes much more, up to fifty, while *Leo Africanus* contends to have seen one in Egypt weighing eighty pounds. That species of sheep (*ovis laticaudata*) is found extensively in Syria and Palestine, in southern Arabia and Egypt, northern Africa and other parts of the

6. And if his offering for a thank-offering to the Lord *be* of the flock, he shall offer it, male or female, without blemish. 7. If he offers a lamb for his offering, then shall he offer it before the Lord. 8. And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his offering, and kill it before the 'Tent of Meeting; and Aaron's sons shall sprinkle its blood round about upon the altar. 9. And

East; it is in Africa called "sheep of Barbary"; it is kindred to that now known under the name of Cape sheep because found especially at the Cape of Good Hope, "having a kind of apron tail, entirely of rich marrowy fat, extending to the width of their hind quarters, and frequently trailing on the ground; the weight of the tail is often more than six or eight pounds" (*Fellows*, Asia Minor, p. 10, quoted in Rawlinson's Edit. of Herod. II. p. 500); and Robinson observes, "The sheep of Palestine are all of the broad-tailed species; the broad part being a mere excrescence of fat, with the proper tail hanging out of it" (Biblical Researches, I. 477; comp. also *Aristot.* Hist. Anim. VIII. 27, ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὰ πρόβατα τὰς οὐρὰς ἔχει τὸ πλεόνος πῆγος; *Aelian*, Nat. Anim. III. 3; IV. 32; *Diod.* Sic. IV. 54; *Plin.* H. N. VIII. 48 or 75; see also *Bochart*, Hieroz. I. ii. 45, p. 496; *Rosenmüll.* Alterth. IV. 74—77; *Sonnini*, Voyage, III. 286, 287; Comm. on Exod. p. 555; *Kitt* on ver. 9).

Now this first sketch embodies, besides, the most important of the general principles of Hebrew sacrifices — that every fermenting substance, such as leaven and honey, ought to be avoided, while, on the other hand, salt was never to be omitted, in any offering (II. 11, 13); that the blood was to be sprinkled round the altar, and the fat to be burnt upon it; and that, therefore, neither blood nor fat was to be eaten in any age or in any clime (III. 17). For this latter injunction, the compiler found no more appropriate

place than at the end of this first code, where it is introduced with some abruptness. But he mentions it as a simple and absolute command, without assigning to it a deeper reason (comp. also VII. 22—27). Now, primitively, both fat and blood were evidently shunned because they were supposed to involve the principle of animal life which it was deemed godless to consume. On this ground chiefly, and as forming the most sacred parts of the animal, they were ordered to be devoted to God upon the altar. As regards the fat, no more distinct statement occurs throughout the Pentateuch (see pp. 129—131). But a very peculiar significance was gradually attached to the blood. After the first and ruder notions of sacrifice had been conquered, the victim was currently regarded as a substitute for the offerer, and to suffer, as his representative, the death which he himself was held to have deserved for his transgressions. And since the blood was viewed as the element of life, it was the victim's blood which ensured the worshipper's atonement, and, in fact, wrought one of the chief ends of all sacrifice. These ideas were naturally developed in the course of time only; they are not alluded to in our text, but they are distinctly, and even emphatically set forth in a subsequent collection of sacrificial laws, "The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that makes an atonement for the

he shall offer of the thank-offering, *as* an offering made by fire to the Lord, its fat — the whole fat tail which he shall take off close by the backbone, and the fat that covers the bowels, and all the fat that is upon the bowels, 10. And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks, and the great lobe of the liver, which he shall take off by the kidneys.

soul" (XVII. 11; see p. 125). And if we read the injunction in its strict and categorical decision, "It shall be a perpetual statute for your generations (לדוריכם), throughout all your dwellings" (בכל מושבתיכם), it is difficult to see how those who acknowledge the Divine origin of the Pentateuch, can ever deem themselves justified in eating the fat or blood of animals (comp. Exod. XII. 14, 20, 24; see, however, p. 131).

On the Thank-offering in general see pp. 241—249.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The second person in which the instructions were enjoined in nearly the whole of the preceding chapter (קרבנך, חקריך, etc., vers. 4, 5, 12, 14, etc; comp., however vers. 1, 2), passes now into the third person (קרבנו, וסמך, etc.), a common anallage in Hebrew (see Gramm. § LXXVII. 21. 1, 2). — פתח (ver. 2), the simple or adverbial accusative, stands for לפני פתח (vers. 8, 13) *before the door* (see Gramm. § 86. 4.c). — The subject to חקריך (ver. 3) is "one of the priests" who were mentioned in the preceding verse. — "The fat that covers the bowels" is the large net of fat, which, beginning from the stomach with which it is joined, spreads over the intestines and covers them, serving especially to secure to these parts a proper degree of warmth; while "all the fat that is upon the bowels" is evidently the lumps of fat which form themselves between the guts or intestines and are easily detached from them. — The kidneys

(כליות), probably traceable simply to כלית *vessel*, and not to כלה in the sense of desiring, Ps. LXXXIV. 3, though the כליות were considered as a seat of desires, comp. the Talmudical adage (הלכ מבין כליות יעצוה) belong, as is well known, to the fattest parts of quadrupeds (comp. Deut. XXXII. 14), especially of rams (comp. Isai. XXXIV. 6); they are entirely covered with fat (Hom. II. XXI. 204, *δὴμὸν ἐπινοσφιδιον*; comp. חלחל *reins*, Job XXXVIII. 36; Ps. LI. 8; derived by many from טוח *to cover*; see *Ebn Ezra* on Ps. I. c., שהם מכוסות חלב; *Bochart Hieroz.* I. ii. 45, p. 503, *renes adipe illiti sunt atque obducti*) to such a degree that it frequently degenerates into a disease, and causes the death of the animals (comp. *Aristot. De Part. Anim.* III. 9; etc.). — The צדקים of oxen, sheep, and goats are, according to Biblical statements (vers. 4, 10, 15; IV. 9; VII. 4), parts near the כליות or kidneys, and peculiarly fat and rich (comp. Job XV. 27); they are, therefore, undoubtedly *the flanks*, as many ancient translators render (Sept. *μηροί*; *Aquila laγέρες*; *Symm. vēas* or *vūas*; *Vulg. ilia*; *Targum Onkel. צדקין*, that is *sides*; and so *Syr. צדקין*; *Targ. Jonath. צדקין*, that is, the *doubled* or *folded* muscles of the flanks; *Rashi* *flanes*, explaining, "the fat that is on the kidneys when the animal is alive, is on the upper part of the flanks downward; and this is the fat which is under the thighs which are called *lombes*; it appears white in the upper part of the flanks, and in

flesh), and most of the modern inter-  
 preters (Luther Lenden, Engl. Vers.  
 flanks, etc.). The word לִבְדֹּל is scarcely  
 identical with ἰσϋς, that is, the waist  
 or the small of the back (comp. *Hom.*  
*Od.* V. 231; X. 544, περὶ δὲ ζώνης  
 βάλει ἰσϋν); so *Bochart*, *Hieroz.* I.  
 p. 507, who moreover observes, Utrum-  
 que (לִבְדֹּל and ἰσϋς) puto primum  
 lumbum significare, deinde per παρὰ-  
 χερσιν vicinas partes, puta ilia et ossa  
 ilia, adeoque os femoris huic suppo-  
 situm, atque inde esse quod לִבְדֹּל a  
 Graecis μερός redditur et μερίον i. e.  
 femur. The words אֲשֶׁר לִבְדֹּל אֲשֶׁר  
 'עֲלֵיהֶן וְכִ' can only be rendered "the fat  
 that is on them (the kidneys), (namely)  
 the fat that is by the flanks"; *Bochart*  
 correctly "adipem qui est super ipsos,  
 qui, inquam, est ad lumbos" (*Hieroz.* I.  
 p. 506); *Kimchi*, and after him *Dru-*  
*sus*, supply unnecessarily and in-  
 appropriately and before the second  
 אֲשֶׁר. — The term הַיָּתֶרָה עַל־דִּבְבֹּר  
 which is not without difficulty, is most  
 probably the one separate upper lobe  
 of the liver, more distinct from the  
 four other lobes, which, in some mea-  
 sure, forms a whole in itself, almost  
 like the stomach with which it is

and lower and  
 and was there  
 under the den  
 III. 16; VII. 30,  
 easily distingui  
 and particular  
 it could thus o  
 only הַכֹּבֶד  
 Lev. VIII. 16), b  
 XXIX. 13; Lev  
 and הַיָּתֶרָה עַל־דִּבְבֹּר  
 (probably the lo  
 fore many anci  
 positors render  
 Sept., Philo ( *λεβὲς* τοῦ ἥπατος  
 and modern t  
 lobe of the liv  
 Ewald, Keil, i  
 import has the  
 ish interpreter  
 by כֹּבֶד or כֶּבֶד  
 XXIX. 13, כֶּבֶד  
 אֵיכָרִישׁ, that  
 fibres in Fren  
 s. v.) כֶּבֶד אֵיכָרִישׁ  
 (though he co  
 the יָתֶרָה were  
 זָעַם מִן הַכֹּבֶד  
 אֶל עַם הַיָּתֶרָה

round about. 14. And he shall offer thereof *as* his oblation, *as* an offering made by fire to the Lord, the fat that covers the bowels, and all the fat that is upon the bowels, 15. And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks, and the great lobe of the liver, which he shall take off by the kidneys.

(on our passage) renders "the smaller lobe of the liver", which he explains as an appendage of the liver considerably smaller than the liver itself, and adjoining the kidneys (see also *Gerlach* in loc.); but not all ruminants have such appendage to their liver. Many have understood *רֶטֶס* as the *net* which covers the liver — Vulg., Fuller, Coccejus, a. o. *reticulum jecoris*, and therefore later writers *omentum minus hepatico-gastricum*; Luther "das Netz um die Leber", Engl. Vers. "the caul above the liver", De Wette a. o., "das Netz an der Leber", Fürst "die netzartige Decke der Leber", Kurtz (*Opfere.* p. 182) "das kleine Netz oder Lebernetz", etc.; while Josephus (*Ant.* III. ix. 2), with a carelessness not uncommon in his descriptions of Levitical rites, renders both *λεβός τοῦ ἥπατος* and *ἐπίπλεος*: but this is not probable, first because the net is so firmly attached to the liver that it can hardly be separated from it, and then because being thin and comparatively meagre, it was not worthy to be burnt as an offering and could not be classed among the fat parts; for the fat that is contained between its folds is never considerable (comp. *Aristot.* *De Part. An.* IV. 3). The Chaldee and Syriac translators, evidently understanding *רֶטֶס* strictly *above* the liver, render *רֶטֶס* or *רֶטֶס*, that is *midriff* (so also Engl. Vers. marg. read.), Gr. *διδωργα*, that is, the muscle which is instrumental in the movement of the chest in breathing, and divides the thorax from the abdomen (*Hom.* *οἶκος*, comp. *Od.* IX. 301, *οὐράνῳ πρὸς στήθεσ*

*ὅθι φέρεται ἡ παρὰ δρυμίν*). — *רֶטֶס* (ver. 5) refers either to *רֶטֶס* or to the various parts which compose the *רֶטֶס* taken collectively (comp. ver. 11 *וְהִקְטִירוּ*, and ver. 16 *וְהִקְטִירוּ*). The *רֶטֶס* shall be burnt *עַל-דֹּעַלָה*, which is, simply, *upon the burnt-offering*; for the regular morning-holocaust was supposed to burn the whole day (see notes on VI. 1—6), and as it commenced the religious day, the thank-offering could properly be said to be consumed "upon the burnt-offering" (comp. also VI. 5, *וְהִקְטִיר עֲלֶיהָ חֲלִבֵּי הַשְּׁלָמִים*, see notes in loc.; and on *עַל-דֹּעַלָה* in IX. 14, see p. 240). It is scarcely appropriate to render *in the manner of the burnt-sacrifice* (Knobel and others), although the preposition *עַל* bears this translation (comp. V. 22; *Isai.* LX. 7; *Jer.* VI. 14; *Ps.* LVI. 1; *CX.* 4; *Esth.* IX. 26; see *Gramm.* § CVI. 5); for the thank-offering was *not* burnt in the manner of the holocaust; the former was divided into the fat parts and the other portions, the latter into the natural limbs of the animal (l. 6). But quite objectionable is the translation *in addition to the burnt sacrifice* (*Theodor. Quæst. I. in Lev.*; *Baumgarten*, p. 133; etc., etc.), as this would imply that thank-offerings were, in all cases, mere accompaniments of holocausts, which is entirely erroneous. — It is undoubted that *רֶטֶס* (ver. 9) is *tail* (*Arab.* *ذيل*, *Sept. Ex.* XXIX. 22 *ذيل*; *Joseph.* *ὄψα*, etc.), and not *hip* (*Sept.* in our passage *δρυμίν*), nor *rump* (*Engl. Vers.*); and the tail of victims was by Greeks and Romans also devoted to the deity (comp. *Knobel*,



16. And the priest shall burn them upon the altar *as* the food of the offering made by fire for a sweet odour: all the fat *belongs* to the Lord. 17. *It shall be* an eternal statute for your generations throughout all your dwellings, You shall eat neither any fat nor blood.

Levit. p. 377). The tail was to be taken off "close by קִרְבָּה"; the latter word must therefore mean *back-bone*; Onkel. אֶפְרָיִם, Jonath. אֶפְרָיִם, that is, *ῥάχης*, Kimchi, s. v., קִרְבָּה הַשְּׂדֵרָה; "the spine resembles a tree עץ with its branches", Rechai, Wessely, a. o.), or more accurately still the *as coccygis* (Arab. عَصَص, so Saad.; see Bock. Hieroz. I. ii. 49, p. 497); it is certainly not the flesh or the muscles of the *flanks* (Sept. *ψόαι*), a rendering caused by the erroneous conception of אֵלֶּיהָ as hip (תְּהֵאֵת *ἡμῶν* *ἐν ταῖς ψόαις*), which is incorrect in various respects, nor *kidneys* (Vulg. cum renibus, Rashbam, Rashi, playfully explaining לְמַעַלְלָהּ מִן הַכְּלִיּוֹת הַיּוֹעֲצוֹת, comp. Talm. Chull. 11a, and others). The tail of sheep only, but not of other quadrupeds, is enumerated among the fat parts (comp. especially Levit. IX. 19, where אֵלֶּיהָ of the שֹׁר is contrasted with the אֵלֶּיהָ and other fat or fat parts of the אֵלֶּיהָ, so that the athnach under שֹׁר is not only correct but indispensable; so the Sept. and essentially the Syriac); therefore, it was not absolutely considered as "fat", and was, according to Jewish tradition, not comprised in the prohibition concerning the eating of fat (Lev. III. 17; VII. 23, 25), for it was believed that that only which of all the clean sacrificial animals alike was burnt upon the altar, was most holy, and therefore interdicted as human food (comp. *Yoreh Deah* § 64. 5, חֲלָב, (הָאֵלֶּיהָ לֹא נִקְרָא חֲלָב אֲלָא לַעֲנֵן קֶרֶן). Yet the Karaites were of a different opinion and declared the tail of the

sheep also to be unlawful for food, like all other fat parts (comp. Talm. Chull. 117a); nay traces of this divergence between the Rabbanites and the Karaites are found even in the old translators of the Pentateuch. For while the majority of them, like our received text, was on the side of the former, the Samaritan codex exhibits the view of the latter; thus our text, like the old translations, has in Exod. XXIX. 22 and Lev. VIII. 25, "and thou shalt take (and he took) the fat AND the fat tail (הַחֲלָב וְהָאֵלֶּיהָ)", whereas the Samaritan codex reads, "the fat, namely the fat tail" etc. (הַחֲלָב הָאֵלֶּיהָ), so that אֵלֶּיהָ is one specified part of the fat comprised in the general term חֲלָב; which alone seems to be the logical reading in those passages; and such subdivision is, indeed, maintained in other passages, as Levit. VII. 3 (כָּל־חֲלָבֹֹּ׃ הָאֵלֶּיהָ; but the Sept. adds again *and* before אֵלֶּיהָ; the Vulgate, to effect the same purpose omits כָּל־חֲלָבֹ׃ entirely, so that the אֵלֶּיהָ would not belong to חֲלָב at all); III. 9 (חֲלָבֹ׃ הָאֵלֶּיהָ, though the Sept., the Syr., and Targ. Jerus. render חֲלָב וְהָאֵלֶּיהָ, and Saad. and Bechai חֲלָבֹ׃ הָאֵלֶּיהָ, thus again excluding the tail from the category of fat; comp. Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 467—469, and Ozar Nechmad 1863, pp. 101, 102). It is, therefore, as unnecessary as it would be inadmissible, to render חֲלָבֹ׃ in our passage (ver. 9) "the choicest parts of it" (כָּל־הַמִּיטֵב וְהַמְּבֹחָר, Wessely, Herzheimer, Arnheim, Wogue, a. o.; comp. also Targ. Jonath. שְׂמֵנִיהָ).

4. EXPIATORY OFFERINGS.

α. SIN-OFFERING (חטאת), IV. 1—V. 13.

CHAPTER IV.

**SUMMARY.**—The laws regarding expiatory sacrifices, whether sin-offerings (חטאת, IV. 1—V. 13) or trespass-offerings (זאת, V. 14—26). The sin-offering presented by the High-priest (IV. 3—12) or in the name of the whole people (IV. 13—21) was more solemn than that presented for a "ruler" (נשיא, IV. 22—26), and this again more solemn than that of a common Israelite (V. 27—35): the difference lay both in the choice of the victim and the significance of the ritual, especially the modes of sprinkling the blood (comp. vers. 6, 7, 17, 18, 25, 30, 34). In all four cases, the fat and fat parts were to be burnt on the altar; but in the two former, the remainder of the victim was to be burnt without the camp, in the two latter, it was to be consumed by the priests in a clean place. Then follow some special instances of sin-offerings (V. 1—13), namely, for neglecting to give information as witness, for all kinds of impurity, and for heedless oaths or vows (vers. 1—4); in all which cases the offender was required to present a female lamb or goat as a sin-offering (vers. 5, 6), or if he was poor, two turtle-doves or pigeons, one to be sacrificed as a sin-offering, the other as a holocaust (vers. 7, 10), or even merely the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour, unaccompanied by oil and incense (vers. 11—13). Then only are stated the precepts concerning the trespass-offering, which was prescribed for unlawful appropriation of property, whether unintentional (vers. 14—19) or designed (vers. 20—26), and whether the property was sacred (vers. 14—19) or secular (vers. 20—26): the trespass-offering consisted of a superior and faultless ram, together with full restitution of the unjustly acquired property increased by one fifth of its value.

1. And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak

1, 2. Submission and gratitude are indeed the emanations of a religious frame of mind; but their source is mainly in a feeling of *dependence*; they bespeak, therefore, only an outward or material relation of man to God; and even gratitude for benefits received is, from this point of view, not essentially distinct from submission on account of dangers to be averted. Hence burnt-offerings and thank-offerings are among the earliest manifestations of religious feeling; and they are found even among nations rude and untutored. They are based on the conception of the deity as the lord of

nature and the dispenser of human destinies. They require, as their foundation, merely the general and elementary cosmic notions. But the Hebrews were among the few races that passed beyond this narrow circle of ideas. They conceived God as the Holy one, distinct from the world and elevated above it. Thus they were enabled to create and to adopt a Divine Law, or a moral code, reflecting the sacredness of God, and designed to form the very centre of human existence. Thus again they were enabled truly to define sin as the opposition to the holy will of God, and to trace the

to the children of Israel saying, If a soul sins unawares

evil not merely in its outward effects, but to follow it to its source, the wanton deviation from the goodness and perfection of the Deity. These views were steadily developed among the Hebrews; they were understood and expressed with growing distinctness by the profounder minds; and they ultimately gave rise to a new kind of sacrifices — the *expiatory offerings* — designed to keep alive the desire and the hope of godlike purity, whenever the heart is pained and oppressed by a conviction of guilt and a saddening consciousness of its estrangement from the Divine holiness. A class of sacrifices resulting from ideas so refined and spiritual, was most probably adopted at a late period in the history of the nation; it was, perhaps, at the time when the ordinances regarding it were compiled (ch. IV, V), little known and understood in its full import. While the two previous kinds of offering are mentioned as a recognized and ordinary usage and treated as such, the third is introduced, with a certain circumstantial minuteness, as a matter little familiar to the people, and, in fact, detailed for their information. On the one hand we read, "If any one of you bring an offering to the Lord, you shall bring your offering of the cattle . . . If his offering be a burnt-sacrifice of the herd, etc." (I. 2, 3); or, "And if his oblation be a thank-offering, if he offer it of the herd, whether it be a male or female, etc." (III. 1). But on the other hand, our text states, "If a soul shall sin unawares against any of the prohibitions of the Lord which ought not to be done, and shall act against anything of any of them . . . then let him bring for his sin which he has committed . . . a young bullock for a sin-offering." The stress which is here laid on some words,

permits another inference. There is evidence to prove that a certain sort of expiatory sacrifice — the trespass-offering (חטאת) — was indeed known and practised among the Israelites from a comparatively early time. But it was limited to a few offences mostly connected with the rights of property or the laws of purification, and to those offences only if intentionally committed (see pp. 267, 272). As religious education advanced, and the notion of a "holy people", the children of a "holy God" was unfolded and took root, the expiatory sacrifice was, on the one hand, indeed extended to *all* the Divine commandments (לְכָל קְצָוֹת יְהוָה), but was, on the other hand, restricted to those that were inadvertently transgressed (חטאת), while those designedly contravened could not be expiated at all by a sacrifice, but were amenable to the rigour of legal punishments. For the holy community was defiled by the guilt of one of its members; that guilt, if unintentional, could, consistently with the character of the theocracy, be expiated by an offering; but it could not, without danger to the state, be remitted, if intentional; "The soul that does ought presumptuously . . . blasphemes the Lord, and that soul shall be cut off from among his people; because he has despised the word of the Lord, and has broken His commandment; that soul shall utterly be cut off; his iniquity shall be upon him" (Num. XV. 30, 31). These conceptions which underlie the expiatory offerings of the Pentateuch, are pure and eternal; they lose nothing if divested of their accidental or Levitical form, or the peculiarities of the monotheistic system; the ideal of moral excellence and of the happiness that arises from the fear of sin, lives in the human race; and the

against any of the prohibitions of the Lord, which ought

depth of contrition and the blessed feeling of restored harmony after offences remain realities, whether they are shadowed forth in some ceremonial, or brought into connection with a personal and perfect Being whom man invests with every attribute of greatness and perfection.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The fourth and fifth chapters form a second and later code of sacrificial laws; comprising the expiatory offerings, they are naturally divided into two parts, one treating of the *sin-offering* (חטאת, IV. 1—V. 13), and one of the trespass-offering (עוון, V. 14—26), each division being introduced by a separate heading (IV. 1 and V. 14); see the Introduction. — Nothing can be more decidedly against the spirit of these laws than to suppose that unintentional offences required expiation, *as a fine*, in order to warn and guard the people more effectually against intentional transgressions (Clericus); the expiatory sacrifices had no such practical object; they were, in themselves, so important that they could well be designed to serve no other purpose but their own; their sole aim was the purity of the theocratic community and of each of its members. — בְּשִׁגְגָה (vers. 2, 22, 27, comp. ver. 13; Num. XXXV. 11, 15) is undoubtedly *with inadvertence*, *inadvertently*, or *unawares* (Sept. ἀγνοεῖν; comp. וְלֹא יָדָע, V. 17; בְּבִלְי רָעָה, Deut. IV. 42 and Num. XXXV. 11; וְעָלַם מַמְט, Lev. V. 2—4; IV. 13), or *by error* (Onk. בְּשִׁגְגָה), or in the words of the Mishnah (Horay. II. 3), וְאִין חֵיבִין אֵלָא עַל הָעֵלֶם דְּבִר, וְאִין חֵיבִין אֵלָא עַל שְׁגָגָה דְּמַעֲשָׂה (ignorantia rei cum errore facti); the term is employed in opposition to “*audaciously*” (בִּיד רָמָה) or “*intentionally*” (Num. XV. 30; comp. בְּשִׁגְגָה, Num. XXXV. 20) or *heedlessly* (as the offence of the people, during

Saul's reign, when after a fatiguing pursuit of the enemy, they ate meat with its blood, 1 Sam. XIV. 32—34); it does not mean *from ignorance* (Vulg., Aq. ἀγνοεῖν, Clericus, Rosenmüller on V. 17; comp. ἀγνοεῖν, Hebr. IX. 7), so that the offender, though aware of his deed, was unconscious of its criminal character; the text speaks of “the commandments of the Lord”, of which nobody could plead to be ignorant because believed to have been publicly promulgated; for instance, a man may have married a woman, whom he did not know to be his aunt (XX. 19, 20); but a man is not presumed to be ignorant of the unlawfulness of a marriage with his aunt: in the former case, he might expiate his guilt by a sin-offering, when he is informed of the real facts; the latter case is not at all provided for in the Law; it involves indeed also a transgression of a Divine command, and was no doubt dealt with by the priests or leaders, if it came to their knowledge, but it was certainly not met by an expiatory offering. Attempts have been made to set apart the חטאת for the one class of offences, the עוון for the other; but they are ineffectual, because not borne out by Scriptural statements (see p. 265). However, it is indisputably against the meaning of these ordinances to limit their application strictly and exclusively to sins of commission, so that, for instance, those who had unawares omitted to celebrate the Passover in its due time, were not bound or not allowed to offer a חטאת as an expiation (comp. Mishn. Kerith. I. 1, and Barten. in loc. וְאִין חֵיבִין עַל שְׁגָגָה): the word בְּשִׁגְגָה denotes not only *precept*, but also *prohibition* (comp. Gen. II. 16, 17), that is, *law* in its widest sense, whether positive or negative, as is evident from the wording

not to be done; and acts against anything of any one of them: 3. If the anointed *High-priest* sins to the guilt of the people; then let him bring for his sin which he has committed, a young bullock without blemish to the

of the second verse, "If a soul shall sin unawares against any of the prohibitions of the Lord which ought not to be done" (מצות ידוע אשר לא חששנה); comp. Num. XV. 22), which phrase implies no such ellipsis as "*concerning things* which ought not to be done" (Engl. Vers.; as the verb חששנה refers strictly to מצות). Therefore, insisting upon the literal expression of the injunction, we might be justified in understanding sins of omission rather than sins of commission; but the distinction between these two classes is altogether artificial and barren; it is not organically derived from the nature of sin itself, which is equally to be avoided or to be atoned for whether a positive or a negative command has been neglected; positive and negative commands are, in fact, convertible terms; "remember the sabbath day to keep it holy" (Exod. XX. 8) is identical with "thou shalt not desecrate the sabbath" (comp. Ezek. XX. 16; XXII. 8; etc.). But it is probable that from the time of their introduction, expiatory sacrifices were only offered for real and evident contraventions of legal precepts, but not if a general feeling of sinfulness and moral frailty was to be confessed (comp. *Maim.* Pref. to Mishn. Zevach.); for the latter objects the older burnt-offerings were undoubtedly retained, which had gradually assumed an expiatory character, and had extensively been presented in this sense (see p. 473): hence חטאת and עולה were offered only as an obligation, but never as a vow (נדב) or free-will gift (נדב). — On עולה construed both with the feminine (חטאת) and the masculine (עולה), see note on II. 1. — The particle ו in

מלל and מאתח has partitive sense, "with regard to any of all", and "with regard to anything of any one of them" (comp. V. 13), as in אביון מאתח אחיך (in Deut. XV. 7, a poor man, any one of thy brethren), although it is so difficult to render in our language that it almost seems to be pleonastically employed (comp. Gramm. § CV. 4; *Gesen.* Thesaur. p. 801; *Lehrgeb.* § 228. 2; *Ewald*, Krit. Gram. § 322. b); we have here, therefore, no *constructio praeognans*, "and acts by deviating from any one of them" (Wessely, Wogue). The Talmud (Shabb. 103a, b) gravely remarks, מאתח מהנה means in a part of a sin, for instance, if a person writes on Sabbath עש of שמעון or of שמואל, or נח of נחור, or ון of דניאל"; and this futility is approvingly quoted by Rabbinical interpreters (as Rashi and Rashbam).

3—12. A gradation established with regard to no other class of sacrifices was appointed in reference to the sin-offering (חטאת). The solemnity of the latter varied in accordance with the position or importance occupied by the offerer in the theocratic state. The individual and the community were, by this peculiar organisation, inseparably joined in a bond of mutual relationship. The righteousness of the one enhanced the holiness of the other; and the impiety of the former endangered the very existence of the latter. The Hebrew theocracy resembled the Spartan and Roman polity in so far, as, in either, the man was merged in the citizen; but the Spartan or Roman citizen was exclusively a political being; the Hebrew citizen — as ideally conceived in the Pentateuch — was

Lord for a sin-offering. 4. And he shall bring the bullock to the door of the Tent of Meeting before the Lord, and shall lay his hand upon the bullock's head, and kill the bullock before the Lord. 5. And the anointed *High-priest* shall take *some* of the bullock's blood, and bring it to the Tent of Meeting: 6. And the priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle of the blood seven times before the Lord against the vail

stunted in none of his human faculties, but, raised into a sphere of holiness, he retained full scope for all domestic and social virtues, which he was indeed expected to bring into harmony with a system that acknowledged God, the holy and the perfect, as king and as ruler. Now, from these points of view, the supreme requirement was the sanctity of the nation in its totality. If the whole people had been defiled by some involuntary transgression, the theocracy was most directly profaned, and the sacred relation between God and Israel disturbed or interrupted. Therefore, the expiatory offering presented on such occasions was surrounded by a ceremonial of the utmost impressiveness: the blood of a bullock dedicated to God by the imposition of hands on the part of the elders of the people, was by the High-priest sprinkled seven times against the vail before the Holy of Holies and put upon the horns of the golden altar in the Holy. But the people was, theocratically, represented by the High-priest; the sin of the latter was, therefore, a breach of the holy covenant as flagrant as the sin of the former; and hence, "if the High-priest sinned to the guilt of the people" (עֲוֹן הָעָם), his sin-offering was exactly identical with that presented for a transgression of the whole people, except that, naturally, he himself performed the imposition of hand. Nay, Jewish tradition teaches, "If the bullock of the High-priest and the bullock of the congregation stand together ready for sin-

offerings, the former has the precedence in every way" (*Mishn. Horay. III. 6*). This law was not suggested merely by the supreme honour in which the High-priest was held as the chief spiritual instructor; nor by the consideration that the influence of his example was all-powerful for good or for evil, and especially in those matters which formed the life and centre of the commonwealth; it was not even dictated by such maxims as, "A sin is small or great according to the dignity of the sinner" (הַחַטָּאת קְטַנָּה אוֹ גְדוֹלָה כְּעֶרְךָ הַחַטָּאת) or, "The imprudence of a leader is equivalent to recklessness" (שֹׁגְגַת חֹלֶמֶת עוֹלָה זֶרֶק); but it was required by the very nature of the organisation which demanded a holy mediator between a holy God and an erring people. This train of ideas almost spontaneously led to the notion and the desire of a sinless intercessor or High-priest; therefore, Philo already speaks of a "true High-priest who has no participation in sin", in contradistinction to a High-priest "who is falsely so called" (ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ μὴ ψευδόμενος, ἀμάρτυρος ἀμαρτημάτων ὅτις, *De Victim. c. 10*); and this idea is, in the New Testament, found in full development (*Hebr. VII. 26—28, see p. 158*). Therefore, the High-priest had to present the sin-offering here described not only for a neglect of the official obligations devolving upon him as the spiritual head of the people, but for any offence whatever (comp. *Lev. X. 6; XXI. 10, 11*); he could, on



of the Sanctuary. 7. And the priest shall put *some* of the blood upon the horns of the altar of sweet incense before the Lord, which is in the Tent of Meeting; and shall pour all the *other* blood of the bullock at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offering, which is at the door of the Tent of Meeting. 8. And he shall take off from the bullock of the sin-offering all the fat — the fat that covers the bowels, and all the fat that is upon the bowels, 9. And the two kidneys,

no account, be separated from his sacred office; his every action was to reflect the peculiar system which he embodied. Yet it is the opinion of Jewish expositors that a kid of the goats, one year old, was sacrificed for an unconscious act of idolatry, whether it had been practiced by a king, a High-priest, a priest, or a private Israelite, because with regard to the worship of God all Hebrews were supposed to have been informed alike; and that for a sin of impurity committed with respect to the Sanctuary or the holy food, a female kid or a female lamb was offered by the High-priest in common with all Israelites; but that if any other law was transgressed, the distinctions between the offering of a High-priest, a chief, and a common Israelite were maintained (so *Maimonides*, De Noxiis, c. X.; *Abarbanel*, Introd. to Levit. c. 4, p. 324 ed. Veil). Nothing can be more opposed to the spirit of the ordinances under discussion; the very letter militates against that view; for the general introduction, equally applying to all subsequent cases, speaks of "any of the commandments of the Lord" (לְכָל מִצְוַת יְהוָה) and of "anything of any one of them" (אִתּוֹ מִכֹּל הָאֵלֶּה). But the following analogy, which indeed obviously offers itself, is more objectionable still, if urged too closely. It is true that, according to Hebrew and to Eastern notions generally, a misdeed of the head of the house is visited upon the

whole family (Josh. VII. 24, 25), and an offence of the chief of the state upon all the members of the community (2 Sam. XXIV. 10—25): but the High-priest is not only the head and chief, but the representative of the people; the sin of the one is *eo ipso* the sin of the other (comp. p. 296 note 4). The Eastern custom of making all the connections of the offender responsible for his guilt is barbarous; whereas the spiritual relation between High-priest and people, as sketched in the Pentateuch, is the result of a long and careful religious education; and it may be considered artificially refined and subtle rather than barbarous (comp. Comm. on Exod. pp. 348—350). — According to Talmudical teaching, the offences of the later sanhedrim were estimated and expiated like those of the High-priest; this is in so far in harmony with the spirit of the Pentateuch, as the sanhedrim was the highest authority in matters of faith; but it possessed also worldly powers that had before been vested in the elders of the people; it had not the character of a mediating body between God and Israel; and as it could not expiate the nation, so it could not directly defile it.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The third verse begins the first subdivision of the general and comprehensive case put in the second verse, "If any one sin"; the next subdivision follows in ver. 13; hence the Sept. has correctly in ver. 2 *ἡνὶ ἐὰν ἁμαρτήσῃ*, in ver. 3



and the fat that *is* upon them, which is by the flanks, and the great lobe of the liver, which he shall take off by the kidneys, 10. As it is taken off from the bullock of the thank-offering; and the priest shall burn them upon the altar of the burnt-offering. 11. And the skin of the bullock, and all his flesh, with his head, and with

*ἐὰν μὲν δ' ἀρχιερεὺς*, and in ver. 13 *ἐὰν δὲ πᾶσα συναγωγή*; it is uncalled for to supply at the end of the second verse, *sacrificio expiet delictum suum* (as Dathe, Rosenmüller, and others do). — הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל (vers. 3, 5, 16) is evidently the High-priest (Sept. *ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ χειρισμένος*, or *ιερεὺς ὁ χριστός ὁ τεταλειωμένος*; Onk. כהנא כהנא; Ebn Ezra הכהן הגדול; Vulg. merely sacerdos qui unctus est; the Samar. adds אֲשֶׁר מָלָא אֶת־יָדָיו, comp. VIII. 33; the Mishnah, Horayoth III. 4, understands exclusively the כהן המשיח, כשמן המשיחה, not the כהן המרחבה, כנגרים, see the Treatise on Priesthood); it is equivalent to הכהן הגדול (XXI. 10), because the High-priest alone was consecrated by a more complete anointment (VIII. 12, 30; XXI. 12; comp. Exod. XXIX. 7). And if there were any doubt concerning the meaning of הכהן המשיח, it would be unequivocally removed by the words "to the sin of the people" (לְחַטֹּאת הָעָם), which can apply to none but the religious chief of the nation, for they mean, "so that his sin falls upon the nation" (in culpam populi, comp. X. 6); not, "according to the sin of the people" (Engl. Vera.), much less "delinquere faciens populum" (Vulg.), τοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀμαρτίας (Sept.; αὐτοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀμαρτίας, Philo), or "per errorem, quod populus sequutus similiter peccaverit" (Rosenm.; comp. Ebn Ezra, a. o.; comp. Mal. II. 8). Though the Law makes no mention of the sin-offering of a common priest, it was probably like that of the High-priest, not like that of the chief (אֵשֶׁת);

because the common priest was more immediately connected with the theocracy than the chief, whose position was political and social rather than religious. Those, therefore, are certainly mistaken who (like Ebn Ezra on ver. 26) place the priest and Levite, with regard to sin-offerings, on the same footing as the common Israelite. The explanation of Philo (De Victim. c. 10), to which we have alluded above, is partly inaccurate, partly mystical and opposed to the spirit of the O. T.; for he observes that the High-priest receives such honour not so much for his own sake, but on account of being a servant of the nation; and he adds, "and if ever he stumble, this will happen to him, not for his own sake, but for the common errors of the nation." — On the term הִקְיָה (ver. 6), used in connection with חַטָּאת only, and its distinction from זָרָה, employed with regard to שְׁלָמִים, עֹלָה, and אֵשֶׁת, see p. 190 note 7. — The priest "shall sprinkle of the blood seven times before the Lord against the vail of the Sanctuary" (לפני); (ידוה אֶת־פְּנֵי פֶרֶךְ הַקֹּדֶשׁ); the latter words, rather obscure in import, cannot mean "before the vail" (Targum Onk., Luther, Engl. Vera., Hofmann, Knobel), that is, on the ground of the Holy, because then the sacred blood would have been trod upon by the priests who were habitually occupied in the Sanctuary, or by the High-priest who, on the day of Atonement, entered the Holy of Holies. It is true, that in sprinkling the blood of expiation, the direction towards the vail, on account

his legs, and his bowels, and his dung, 12. Even the whole bullock shall he carry forth without the camp to a clean place, where the ashes are poured out, and burn him on the wood with fire; where the ashes are poured out shall he be burnt.

13. And if the whole congregation of Israel sins unawares, and the thing is hidden from the eyes of the community, and they have done anyone of the prohibitions of the Lord which ought not to be done, and are guilty; 14. And if the sin, which they have com-

of the Mercy-seat (כפרת) behind it, was pre-eminently important (כנגד טקוה קדושה, see Rashi and Rashb. *in loco*; comp. Num. XIX. 4 אל-נכח); but for this very reason it is probable that the vail itself was sprinkled upon (Sept. κατὰ τὸ καταπέτασμα, Vulg. contra velum). "Before the vail" is usually לפני הפרכת (Exod. XXX. 6; XL. 26), which expression would most probably have been preferred here also, were it even for the sake of symmetry with לפני יהוה, if that meaning had been intended. The words "before the Lord" (לפני יהוה), have, in this connection, a more emphatic, we might almost say, a more literal, meaning than in other passages (as in vers. 4, 15, 24 etc.); they really denote the place from which God was believed to commune with Israel (Exod. XXV. 22), not merely the holy Tabernacle in general, or even the Holy, where the shew-bread, the frank-incense, and the lights of the candlestick were prepared "before the Lord" (Exod. XXVIII. 35; XXX. 6; XL. 23, 25).—The words על-הכבד (ver. 9) mean "he shall take it off (viz. the lobe of the liver) by the kidneys" (comp. on III. 4), not "with the kidneys" (Engl. Vers., Sept. σὺν τοῖς νεφροῖς).—A peculiar meaning has been attributed to the express statement that the same parts shall be burnt of the sin-offering as of the thank-offering (ver. 10); for, observes Philo (De

Victim. c. 11), "in a certain sense the man who repents has also restored his safety, since he is cured of a disease of the soul, which is worse than the evils of the body"; a view which illustrates, not so much the words of Scripture, but Philo's fine though allegorising spiritualism.—If the whole animal was not burnt, the fat and fat parts were delivered to the flames to represent the whole.—לְהַדְהִים (in vers. 7, 18, 30, 34, and Sept. and some Mss. in ver. 25) means, of course, "all the *other* or *remaining* blood" (comp. ver. 9 הַשָּׂרֵר בָּרֵם); comp. Exod. XXIX. 12 and Lev. VIII. 15; Vulg. omnem reliquum sanguinem; Rashi שְׂרִירָה; Knobel "sein Blut im ganzen, die grosse Masse desselben."—On the construction of vers. 11, 12 (וְהָיָה הַפֶּסֶחַ וְהַזֶּהֱבִי וְהַזָּהָב וְהַכֶּסֶף וְהַנְּחֹשׁ וְהַבָּרָד וְהַזָּהָב וְהַכֶּסֶף וְהַנְּחֹשׁ וְהַבָּרָד) see Gram. §§ 74. 5; 75. 3.

13—21. If any unintentional sin of the whole community was to be atoned for (comp. ver. 2.), our text prescribes the sacrifice of a bullock, as in the case of the High-priest's sin-offering; but on many occasions, and especially on the Day of Atonement, the animal slaughtered for the general expiation of the people was not a bull, but a goat inferior in value (XVI. 8, 15), for which discrepancy we have tried to account in another place (pp. 40, 41). It may here suffice to remark that "the whole congregation of Israel" treated of in

mitted concerning it, becomes known; then the community shall offer a young bullock for a sin-offering and bring him before the Tent of Meeting, 15. And the elders of the congregation shall lay their hands upon the head of the bullock before the Lord, and *one of them* shall kill the bullock before the Lord. 16. And the anointed *High*-priest shall bring *some* of the bullock's blood to the Tent of Meeting; 17. And the *High*-priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle *it* seven times before the Lord, against the vail. 18. And he shall put *some* of the blood upon the horns of the altar which is before the Lord, that is in the Tent of Meeting, and shall pour out all the *other* blood at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offering which is at the door of the Tent of Meeting. 19. And he shall take all his fat from him, and burn

our text, is indeed the people itself, whose very elders (וְזִקְנֵי הָעֵדֻת, ver. 15) are named, and not, as Rabbinical interpreters, anxious to account for the difference just pointed out, have contended, the great sanhedrim, which might, from error, proclaim a decree calculated to mislead the whole nation (comp. *Mishn. Horay. I. 1 sqq.*; *Rashi* on ver. 13; *Maimon. Shegig. c. 14*).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—For reasons pointed out in the notes on vers. 3—12, the regulations on the sin-offering of the people ought consistently to precede those on the sin-offering of the High-priest; but the order is here reversed; and this illogical arrangement manifests the late origin and hierarchical character of this part of the Levitical legislation (*see infra*, notes on vers. 22—35).—The plain precepts contained in these verses have by Jewish tradition been even more strangely misunderstood than has above been mentioned. They were interpreted to mean that *twelve* (or *thirteen*) bulls were to be sacrificed, one for each tribe (and one for the sanhedrim); whereas this law centres in the notion of the *unity* of Israel as the nation of God (comp. לְעֵדֻתְךָ, vers.

14, 21; the term קהל יְהוָה in 2 Chr. XX. 5 does not prove that each tribe was like the congregation); and they have been supposed to imply a distinction between the crime of idolatry and other offences punishable with excision (כְּרִיתָהוּ), so that in the former case twelve (or thirteen) kids of the goats were to be presented in addition to as many bulls (in reference to Num. XV. 24), whereas the sanctity of the people which was measured by the perfection of God, was disturbed by even the least infringement of His commands (see ver. 13, אִחָה מִכָּל־עַמּוּת יְהוָה; comp. *Mishn. Horay. I. 5*; see also *Lightfoot, Oper. I. 706, 707*).—וְנִלְוָה (ver. 14) belongs to the first clause, like וְאִם (ver. 13), “and if the sin becomes known”, analogous to וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל in vers. 23, 28. The translation, “Si totus Israelis coetus aliquid deliquerit . . . culpam contraxerunt; si peccatum ab his commissum innotuerit, offerat coetus” etc. (Maurer) is partly languid (*see infra* on וְאִם ver. 23), and partly abrupt.—וְעָלֶיהָ (ver. 14) refers to וְאִם (ver. 13)—the sin which they (the community) have committed with regard to it; Jewish interpreters explain

*it* upon the altar. 20. And he shall do with the bullock as he did with the *first* bullock for a sin-offering, so shall he do with this: and the *High*-priest shall make an atonement for them, that they may be forgiven. 21. And he shall carry forth the bullock without the camp, and burn him as he burnt the first bullock: it is the sin-offering for the community.

22. A ruler who sins and does unawares anyone of all the prohibitions of the Lord his God which ought not to be done, and is guilty; 23. If his sin, wherein he has sinned, is brought to his knowledge, he shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a male without blemish; 24. And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the goat, and kill him in the place where they kill the burnt-offering before the Lord: it is a sin-offering. 25. And the priest shall take *some* of the blood of the sin-offering with his finger, and put *it* upon the horns

"the sin of the spiritual leaders (or sanhedrim), on account of which they (the individual Israelites) have sinned" (see Wessely *in loc.*); a conception forbidden by sound rules of exegesis.—The subject to וְהַזֶּה (ver. 15) is undoubtedly one or the first of the elders (Sept. *παῖδες*), in harmony with the general laws of slaughtering the victim (see p. 184). — וְהַזֶּה is, in ver. 17, joined with וְהַזֶּה (as in XIV. 16), although the construction with וְהַזֶּה is more usual (ver. 6; IX. 9; 1 Sam. XIV. 27; Ruth II. 14; etc.), and וְהַזֶּה may be rendered "to dip in some of the blood" (Sept. *βαπτίζω ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος*). — וְהַזֶּה (ver. 20) means, of course, "with the *first* bullock", or that presented for the High-priest; or וְהַזֶּה, comp. ver. 21. — The words וְהַזֶּה (ver. 20, comp. ver. 26; V. 13, 18), though not decisively proving in favour of the principle of substitution, are at least not against it. Rosenmüller (Excursus I ad Levit. p. 199) translates erroneously, "hoc modo sacerdos aboleat peccatum ejus et poena ei remittatur", misguided by

his incorrect conception of the nature of the sin-offering as *multa* or *abolitio criminis* in the same sense. — Some editions write וְהַזֶּה (ver. 13, and V. 2, 4), with dagesh in וְהַזֶּה, on which see Gramm. § II. 2. 6. — On the relation later established between king, High-priest, people, and sanhedrim, see *Mishn. Horay. I. 1 sqq.; II. 1 sqq.*

22—25. The "chief" or "ruler" (וְהַזֶּה), which term includes kings, Judges, military leaders, and the heads of the tribes or principal families (וְהַזֶּה, Num. III. 24, 30, 35; 1 Ki. VIII. 1), and perhaps also the elders (comp. Exod. XXIV. 1, 9, 11), was less directly concerned with the religious doctrines or the Divine sovereignty; his unintentional offence against the Law was, therefore, atoned for by a sin-offering inferior in solemnity to that of the nation, the High-priest, or the priest; the victim was not a bull, but a kid of the goats; the principal ceremony was not performed by the High-priest but by a common priest; and the blood was neither sprinkled before the veil of the Holy of Holies nor on the altar

of the altar of burnt-offering, and shall pour out his *other* blood at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offering.

26. And he shall burn all his fat upon the altar, like the fat of the thank-offering: and the priest shall make an atonement for him on account of his sin, that he may be forgiven.

27. And if any one of the common people sins un-awares, because he does anyone of the prohibitions of the Lord which ought not to be done, and is guilty;

28. If his sin, which he has committed, is brought to his knowledge, then he shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a female kid without blemish, for his sin which he has committed. 29. And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin-offering, and slay the sin-offering in the place of the burnt-offering. 30. And the

of frank-incense in the Holy, but on the horns of the brazen altar in the Court. Yet the "chief" was, in some degree, identified with the unity of Israel; he either represented an important fraction of the people, or the entire nation in a political or social respect; and as, in the theocracy, the worldly and the spiritual elements were inseparably allied, since every worldly institution was the embodiment of some spiritual truth or principle, and every spiritual truth was made the groundwork or support of some political arrangement; the sin-offering of the chief was higher in dignity than that of a private Israelite, which consisted, not of a male goat, but of a female victim, whether a goat or a lamb; yet both coincided in the ceremonies; no part of them was permitted in the Holy of Holies, which was reserved for acts directly theocratic; but all were performed in the Court, or near the altar of burnt-offering, which represented the ordinary religious life of the Hebrews.

Those who are accustomed to an historical analysis of ideas and institutions, will at once admit that the Hebrews could not arrive at the pure and

spiritual notions of atonement sketched here and elsewhere by a sudden bound or at an early epoch of their national existence. They had indeed to pass through almost all the stages by which untutored nations advance from rude materialism to intellectual elevation. What immeasurable distance separates the Israelite who sacrificed his only daughter in obedience to a blind and barbarous vow, from the Israelite who conceived the noble law which includes the native and the stranger in one bond of mercy, and assures both alike of Divine forgiveness for sins of human frailty! (Num. XV. 22—29; comp. XIX. 10; 1 Ki. VIII. 41—43). But the movement did not end there. The holy community, if it did not exclude, gradually ignored the stranger, unless he had, by conformity with the distinctive precepts of Mosaic law, altogether amalgamated with the Hebrew nation (comp. Comm. on Exod. p. 431); in our section, which systematically treats of expiatory offerings, the stranger is not mentioned; the idea of the *chosen people* had become the foundation of all Hebrew institutions. This was indeed by no means a progress or a

32. And if he bring a lamb as his oblation for a sin-offering, he shall bring it a female without blemish.  
33. And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin-offering, and slay her for a sin-offering, in the place

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Although the relative particle **וְ** sometimes precedes the noun to which it refers, and we might therefore translate **נֹדֵת נִשְׂאָה וְשָׂרָא** “the ruler who sins” (ver. 22; comp. Gramm. § LXXX. 1. b), the rather complicated construction of the 22nd and 23rd verses allows an easier analysis, if we take **וְ** in the sense of *if*, in which it occasionally occurs (f. i. distinctly in V. 2; Deut. XI. 27 compared with ver. 28; XVIII. 22; see 1 Ki. VIII. 31, analogous to  $\delta\tau\alpha$  in Greek), so that it would be equivalent to **דִּן** in vers. 3, 13, 27, “If a ruler sin” (Ebn Ezra. paraphrases **נֹדֵת וְשָׂרָא דִּין**).

נָשִׂיא (וְהָיָה); then a subordinate clause is introduced by וְ (ver. 23), which has there the meaning *if* (comp. ver. 28; Exod. XXI. 36; 2 Sam. XVIII. 13), "If hissin is brought to his knowledge" (וְהָיָה אֵלָיו חַטָּאתוֹ; comp. Gramm. § LXXI. 2. 2); and the apodosis begins with וְהָיָה, entirely analogous to וְהָיָה in ver. 3, or וְהָיָה in ver. 14; so also the Sept. (ὅταν δὲ ὁ ἀρχὼν ἀμάρταν... καὶ κατασθῇ αὐτῷ ἡ ἀμαρτία), Vulg. (si peccaverit princeps . . . et postea intellexerit), and others. The Hophal form הוֹרַע (comp. וְהוֹרַעַה ver. 14) is used for הוֹרַע (see Gramm. § LXIV. 3.a), and the construction is impersonal, which accounts for the masculine of the verb (see Gramm. § 77. 15; comp. also Ebn Ezra *in loc.*). Others (as Rashbam) render, "or if the sin has been brought to his knowledge"; but this would render it necessary to take וְהָיָה in the sense "and he felt his guilt", as indeed Michaelis proposes to translate: but both in our context and in the other passages in which the same meaning has often been attributed to the verb (Hos. V. 15; Zech. XI. 5), the usual signification is preferable. It is inadmissible to conclude a sentence with וְהָיָה, "if a ruler sins, . . . he has made himself guilty" (so Gesen. Thes. p. 160, "ubi princeps peccavit per errorem . . . culpam is contraxit"):



where they kill the burnt-offering. 34. And the priest shall take *some* of the blood of the sin-offering with his finger, and put *it* upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering, and shall pour out all her *other* blood at the bottom of the altar. 35. And he shall remove all her fat, as the fat of the lamb is removed from the thank-offering; and the priest shall burn them upon the altar, for offerings made by fire to the Lord, and the priest shall make an atonement for him for his sin which he has committed, that he may be forgiven.

which would be a feeble tautology. The sense of the words **אֶת הַדָּם אֲלֵיוֹ** is not materially different from that of **וְהָיָה יָדָע** (V. 3, 4), as has been denied by Ewald (Alterth. p. 62), who therefore proposes to alter **וְהָיָה יָדָע** in V. 17 into **וְהָיָה יָדָע**. — Saalschütz (Mos. R. I. 331) takes **אֶת** in the sense of *or*, and believes that the two cases which that disjunctive particle distinguishes are sins committed from *error* or from momentary *indifference* to the law; but on the one hand it is difficult to see how the words **אֶת הַדָּם אֲלֵיוֹ** imply the notion of indifference, and on the other hand, this would properly fall within the class of *intentional* offences, and would thus be entirely excluded from the operation of the sin-offerings. — It requires no proof that "the priest" (**וְהַכֹּהֵן**) who officiated at the sin-offering of the ruler or of the common Israelite (vers. 25, 30, 34), was not the High-priest but an ordinary priest; this is rendered certain by the term itself and by the tenour and spirit of the precepts (comp. VI. 19, 22). — **נָפֶשׁ מֵעַם הָאָרֶץ** (ver. 27) is any one of the people of the land (Gen. XXIII. 7) indifferently or a common Israelite (comp. 2 Ki. XI. 18, 19; XVI. 15; XXI. 24; Jer. I. 18; Ezek. VII. 27), a term in later periods employed to denote an illiterate and boorish person or class of persons neglecting, from ignorance or obtuseness, certain social and religious duties. —

In our text, a female "kid of the goats" (**שְׁעִירָה עֹיִם**, ver. 25) is prescribed for the sin-offering of the individual, in another passage "a goat one year old" (**עֵז בֶּת שָׁנָה**, Num. XV. 27): whatever the difference or the mode of conciliation may be (see pp. 40, 41), it cannot be found in the fictitious distinction between sins of commission and sins of omission, for the former of which a kid of the goats, for the latter a goat one year old is supposed to have been required (so Knobel); the text in no manner countenances such a view (comp. *supra* on vers. 1, 2). — The term "for a sweet odour" (**לְרִיחַ נִיחֹחַ**), pointing to an anthropomorphic origin of sacrifices (see p. 7), is used in this passage only (ver. 31) in connection with expiatory offerings. It may indeed partly have been avoided because sin-offerings were not designed as "food for God", but it probably did not occur so familiarly to the authors of these sections, because they, with their much more refined notions, no longer regarded the sacrifices as "food" at all; they had left the natural, and entered the spiritual sphere. It has, therefore, been plausibly supposed that the phrase in question "escaped the writer by mistake" (Knobel) because he had just mentioned the thank-offerings, in connection with which it is frequently employed (comp. on the other hand, *Über* in Herz. Real-Encycl. XVI. p. 646). Jewish and



other interpreters find in the use of these words in connection with the least valuable sin-offering the idea implied that the most modest gift of the humblest individual, if presented with feelings of sincere repentance, is as acceptable to God as the most costly sacrifice of persons in the highest stations. — The

plural suffix in  $\text{דָּנִים}$  (ver. 35) refers to  $\text{דָּבָר}$  which implies the fat and all the fat parts enumerated before (vers. 8, 9). — On the relative age and chronological arrangement of the different statutes of which the fourth and fifth chapter are composed, we refer to the Introduction.

## CHAPTER V.

1. And if a person sins, because he hears the voice of adjuration, and *might be* a witness, whether he has seen *the offence* or learnt *of it otherwise*, and if he does not tell *it*, and bears his guilt; 2. Or if a soul touches any unclean thing, whether *it be* a carcass of an unclean beast, or a carcass of unclean cattle, or the carcass of unclean reptiles, and if it is hidden from him, and he

1—13. When first the scope of expiatory sacrifices was widened and their nature refined, that is, when an advance was made from the trespass-offering ( $\text{זֶבַח עֲוֹן}$ ), to the sin-offering ( $\text{זֶבַח חַטָּאת}$ ), the leading idea towards which the expiatory sacrifices in general struggled — atonement for *unintentional* offences — had not yet prevailed entirely; tardiness and fluctuations were natural in the attainment of an aim so high that it might almost appear to lie beyond the stage of all sacrificial worship; and we cannot, therefore, be surprised that, in the earliest sketch of regulations concerning sin-offerings, these sacrifices were prescribed for intentional and undesigned transgressions indifferently. The section under discussion forms that earliest sketch (see the Introduction), and it was by the last revisers of Leviticus placed after the preceding ordinances (ch. IV), because they preferred beginning with that portion which displays the complete organisation of the theocratic community, and discloses, at a glance, the principles which they desired to

enforce and to see recognised. Now the first case in which a sin-offering was to be presented, still bore some affinity to the elementary class of expiatory sacrifices, the trespass-offerings; for it had a political rather than a religious character; and its object was as much the maintenance of temporal justice as the moral purity of the citizens. An imperfect machinery for the protection of society imposed the obligation upon every individual to aid the authorities to the utmost of his powers; when, therefore, some offence against the law had been committed, and the constituted tribunals were unable, from want of conclusive evidence, either to discover the offender or to convict him of the crime, it was justly regarded a dereliction of public duty if, on a solemn appeal or "adjuration" ( $\text{שְׁבוּעָה}$ ) of the judges, anyone who had seen the perpetration of the outrage, or had later, by any chance, become cognisant of it, failed to come forward as witness, and so helped to baffle the ends of justice. It is evident, that such neglect must be classed among the *intentional*

is unclean and guilty; 3. Or if he touches the uncleanness of man, whatever his uncleanness *may be* where-with *a man* defiles himself, and it is hidden from him, and he *then* learns *it*, and is guilty; 4. Or if a soul swears, rashly protesting with *his* lips to do evil or to do good, whatever *it may be* that a man rashly protests with an

sins; it belongs to this category from its very nature; it was necessarily considered as a graver offence in politics depending for security upon the co-operation of all; we have proofs to show that the expedient of public adjuration was very frequently resorted to (comp. Judg. XVII. 2; 1 Ki. VIII. 31; Prov. XXIX. 24; Matth. XVI. 63); and he who refused to respond to it, was regarded as having brought upon himself a guilt requiring a sacrifice of expiation. How such a precept can be reconciled with the general principle which permits no expiatory offerings for designed offences (Num. XV. 30, 31), we have examined in another place (pp. 272, 273).

The aim of creating a "holy" community was pursued by the more spiritual minds of the nation from a comparatively early time; it suggested laws and institutions designed to familiarise the mass of the people with the ideas both of physical and internal purity, and to train them to a religious conception of all earthly affairs. Therefore, when sin-offerings were introduced, they were not only made subservient to social and political ends, but employed to impress upon the Hebrews the necessity of the most perfect purity, if they desired to become indeed the people of Jehovah. Therefore, every contact, were it even accidental and unconscious, with unclean things, as the carcass of unclean quadrupeds or reptiles, or any one of the numerous conditions and ailments of man that cause uncleanness, was to be atoned for by a sin-offering (חטאת). This ordinance

suggested itself the more readily, as the older class of expiatory sacrifices, the trespass-offerings (עוון), had already, for some time, been used in several chief cases of impurity, as after the leper's restoration to health, and a Nazarite's defilement by the proximity of a corpse (XIV. 12, 21, Num. VI. 12). It is not improbable that, for a considerable period, trespass-offerings were presented for a variety of similar contingencies; but that, as the Levitical rigour increased, the more solemn sin-offerings were substituted, which however, except in the choice of the victim, generally differed little from the trespass-offerings, and not even in the mode of disposing of the blood (p. 42). This is no doubt the reason, why sometimes a sin-offering was superadded to the trespass-offering (XIV. 12, 19, 21, 31; Num. VI. 11, 12), because a custom long established and therefore difficult to suppress, was to be rendered more significant in accordance with the progress made in religious worship (see p. 275). However, the general and almost universal injunction contained in this section (vers. 2, 3) regarding sin-offerings in any case of Levitical impurity whatever, was later abandoned and very considerably restricted; it was retained in a few prominent instances only, while, as a rule, impurities were removed merely by ablutions (see pp. 41, 42; comp. Lev. XXII. 5, 6).

As the idea of expiatory sacrifices was mainly derived from the notion of the holiness of God, it was natural that they should have been demanded

oath, and it is hidden from him, and he *then* learns it, and is guilty in any one of these *things*: 5. If he is guilty in any one of these *things*, then he shall confess *the sin* which he has committed in that *thing*; 6. And he shall bring as his forfeited debt to the Lord for the sin which he has committed, a female from the flock, a lamb or a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering; and the priest shall make an atonement for him on account

whenever that holiness had been desecrated by pronouncing or implying the name of God in connection with some heedless oath or affirmation (comp. Comm. on Exod. pp. 352, 353). If perjury was deemed a cardinal crime, because involving defiance of the supremacy of the invisible King, and was, therefore, included in the fundamental code of the Decalogue, a reckless oath or vow, the purport of which was not clearly intended or understood when uttered, was, on theocratic principles, a reprehensible offence, and a sin-offering was required not so much to rebuke the levity of the act, but to restore the bond of sanctity which should unite God and every Israelite. — It is interesting to pursue the gradual growth of that singular and wonderful system which is sketched rather than propounded in the Pentateuch; and though we seldom find more than fragmentary and isolated precepts or statements, it is, in most cases, feasible to trace them to leading principles, and thus to combine them into a connected system. But this highly important task remains necessarily fruitless unless it is approached with that historical sense which discerns chronological periods and acknowledges development of ideas.

In the three cases of guilt just described, the ritual of the sacrifice was identical. The sin-offerings were themselves a new class, and gradations within this class were not yet contemplated. As the *ceremonial* of the sin-

offering entirely coincided with that of the older trespass-offering (VII. 7), it needed no detailed description; if perchance it had here originally been mentioned, it could well be omitted, when this section was placed immediately after the elaborate precepts contained in the preceding chapter. Confession, probably made to God during the imposition of the hand, is the only point peculiar to this portion (ver. 5, *וְהִתְוַדָּה*), whether it was later retained and deemed essential, or not (comp. Num. V. 7). But it was important that the *victim* of the sin-offering should be specified. For all the clean domestic quadrupeds had been appropriated to the earlier classes of sacrifice, and lastly the male sheep and goat to the trespass-offering (see on vers. 14—26); there remained, therefore, for the sin-offering no other characteristic victims but the female sheep and goat (see pp. 83, 84). It was not regarded inappropriate to fix the least valuable beasts for the most solemn sacrifices; on the contrary, such arrangement appeared desirable for various reasons; it recommended itself especially because it enabled persons of humbler means to participate in what was considered the highest exercise of religion. The same consideration suggested still more striking facilities — the substitution of two turtle-doves or two young pigeons, if a sheep or goat could not be afforded, and even of the tenth part of an ephah of flour, if the turtle-

of his sin. 7. And if his fortune does not suffice for a lamb, then he shall bring as his debt which he has forfeited by sin, two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, to the Lord, one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering. 8. And he shall bring them to the priest, who shall offer *that* which is for a sin-offering first, and wring its head behind its neck, but shall not separate

doves or the pigeons were above the offerer's means. If the idea, "You shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy", was to become a reality, the sin-offering could not be made too general. It is not quite easy to explain the reason why *two* birds, one as a sin-offering and one as a burnt-offering, were to be presented. We know that one bird was not deemed too insignificant for a sacrifice (l. 14—17; comp. *Talm. Chull.* 65a); nay, a small quantity of flour was accepted as a lawful sin-offering. Another explanation must, therefore, be attempted. In all ordinary sacrifices of expiation, the fat and the fat parts were burnt to God on the altar, while the rest of the victim belonged to the priests. These two acts, the burning and the priestly meal, were, in addition to the sprinkling of the blood, supposed to constitute the ritual. Now one pigeon or turtle-dove was not sufficient for these purposes. It was scarcely possible to burn less than one complete bird, and another one was, therefore, required as the portion of the priests. But the nature of the sin-offering suggested a peculiar proceeding with regard to the two fowls. Both could not be presented as sin-offerings; each bird, however trifling in value, is an independent sacrifice, because it possesses an independent life; if both had been killed as sin-offerings, not one, but two such sacrifices would have been offered for one sin; the same significant ceremonies would have been twice repeated for the same occa-

sion; and the individual offence, for which expiation was sought, would have received an undue weight. Therefore, it was deemed appropriate, to employ the second bird for that sacrifice which, in meaning and import, approaches nearest the sin-offering, namely for a holocaust which implied a confession of the *general* sinfulness of the offender, and which, at the same time, could represent the fat and fat parts of quadrupeds. The bird intended for the sin-offering was presented first (ver. 8), because the procedure with the blood performed in connection with it, was the principal ceremonial and the chief means of atonement; that procedure differed markedly from the mode of disposing of the blood of birds offered as holocausts (l. 15); it was in some way analogous to the treatment of the blood of quadruped sin-offerings; for a part of it was *sprinkled* on the side of the altar, while the rest was pressed out at its base (see p. 192). From the view which we have taken of the two birds, another ordinance with regard to these sacrifices may be intelligibly explained. It was commanded that the head of the pigeon or turtle-dove employed for a sin-offering should be wrung or broken at the neck, but not entirely separated. For the head was not to be burnt; it was partially severed from the body merely for the sake of obtaining the blood which alone was destined for the altar; while the bird mainly belonged to the priest. This was different if the pigeon or turtle-dove was a holocaust; in that case, the

head was entirely wrung off because it was burnt upon the altar, to represent, as if it were, the fat of the sacrifice; while the rest of the little bird was to rise upon the altar, as much as possible in its entirety, whence the wings were merely to be cloven, but not separated from the body (l. 14—17). No analogous regulations with regard to the wings of birds presented as sin-offerings were required, for the reason just alluded to, namely, because such birds, with the exception of their blood, were not disposed of upon the altar.

If the sin-offering was a cereal oblation, the ceremonial was, on the whole, identical with that adopted for ordinary bloodless offerings; the significant deviation — the absence of oil and frank-incense, the emblems of joyful elevation — is self-evident from the severe and solemn character of the expiatory sacrifices. — Offerings of birds were general among many other nations besides the Hebrews (see pp. 87 *sqq.*); and among some of them, provision was made for the sacrifices of the poor kindred in spirit to the laws under discussion. Among the Romans, several poor people might

of the right hand (c. 12; comp. *supra*

PHILOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE EXAMINATION OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN (חטאת) AND *trespass* have been aggravated by erroneous fusion by erroneous first part of this chapter to the latter, instead. But a close examination doubt on the subject are the immediate consequences of the preceding chapter therefore, like it, whereas the *חטאת*, kind of expiatory sacrifice induced by a separate exactly like the *חטאת* sacrifice is repeated is to be characteristic is always designated 11, 12, also 6, 7, 8 is, at least in one instance to be a female sheep (ver. 6; comp. IV. 28 of the trespass-offering ram (see *infra*); and in cases of poverty another and less valuable (7—13), which is peculiar

doves, or two young pigeons, then he shall bring *for* his offering which he has forfeited by his sin, the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin-offering; he shall put no oil on it, nor shall he put thereon

these verses, not *guilt-offering*, but simply *guilt*, or more precisely, *debt* contracted by some illegal act (comp. Num. V. 7, 8), in harmony with the nature of this class of sacrifice; it occurs in both meanings together — as guilt and trespass-offering — in the same phrase, as . . . וְהָיָה אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁנֶה (vers. 15, 25; comp. XIX. 21), where it is just the addition of אֲשֶׁר which renders the reference of the precept to *trespass-offerings* indubitable, whereas in vers. 6 and 7 the addition of אֲשֶׁר points as unmistakably to the *sin-offering*; and the words אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁנֶה (ver. 7) signify, therefore, “the guilt or debt which he has brought upon himself by sin” (comprising both אֲשֶׁר and עָלָה), and are almost identical with אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁנֶה (in ver. 11); for אֲשֶׁר is used in a transitive sense also, as אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁנֶה “thou makest thy soul guilty” (Habak. II. 10; comp. Prov. XX. 2). The import of the first 13 verses has, indeed, been correctly understood by earlier and later interpreters, as Abarbanel (Introd. to Lev. c. IV, p. 320 ed. Veil), Reland, Kurtz (Opfere. §§ 103, 104), Müller (Von der Sünde I. p. 229, note), Munk (Réflexions sur le culte des anciens Hébreux, p. 35, in vol. IV. of Cahen's Bible), Winer (Real-Wört. II. 431), Riehm (Stud. und Krit. 1854, pp. 93 sqq.), Keil (Archäol. I. 226, and Comm.), Knobel (Comm.), Öhler (in Herz. Real-Encycl. X. p. 643), Bunsen (Bibelwerk in loc.), a. o.; though it has for a long time been mistaken, and has by many been referred to the אֲשֶׁר, as by Michaelis, Bauer (Gottesd. Verf. I. 142), Gramberg (Rel. Id. I. 124, who boldly corrects אֲשֶׁר in ver. 7 into אֲשֶׁר), Bähr (Symb. II. 404, 412),

Saalschütz (Mos. R. I. 327), Hofmann (Schriftbeweis, II. 1. p. 263; comp. Kurtz, Opfere. §§ 103, 104), a. o. Some (and among them Abarbanel, Introd. to Lev. c. IV, p. 322) contend that this portion applies to private Israelites exclusively, since, with regard to the High-priest, the whole people, and the chiefs, it would be impossible to suppose that they were unable to afford a lamb or even two pigeons or turtle-doves (vers. 7, 11). But at the date when this portion was written, the theocratic gradation embodied in the fourth chapter did not yet exist; in the earlier ordinances on expiatory sacrifices, the Law speaks simply of “any individual” (אִשָּׁה vers. 1, 2, 4, 15, 17, 21), which includes every member of the community, even the priests, though these were, of course, already singled out as the sacred functionaries. — The text in no manner justifies the conjecture that the neglect of a witness who was able to testify to a crime, and failed to do so (ver. 1), refers to cases when it “did not arise from evil intentions, but only from weakness, as for instance, from fear of the criminal, or from unmanly regard of his own interests” (Knobel; comp. Rosenm.); such selfish considerations are, in phases of society such as we have described above, as culpable as evil intentions; and we must be prepared to find, in this section, reference made to designed offences likewise to be expiated by sin-offerings. — The guilt here alluded to is the silence of an eye-witness or of any well-informed person after he has heard the public proclamation. Therefore, י in אֲשֶׁר strictly implies causative meaning; the person sins because he has heard etc. (comp. Gen. XVII. 13; XX. 3;

*any* frank-incense; for it is a sin-offering. 12. Then shall he bring it to the priest, and the priest shall take

XXVI. 12; Exod. VI. 13; Dent. XVII. 16; see Gramm. § 107. 1.k). — The אלה or *adjuration*, which was probably proclaimed by the judges, consisted evidently of a solemn appeal coupled with an imprecation in case of neglect (comp. the שבעת הנהלות, Num. V. 21, pronounced at the “offering of jealousy”, pp. 285, 286; hence Ebn Ezra, והוא החרם; yet the rendering “the voice of cursing” is incorrect, because incomplete); it was no doubt addressed to the whole people or to that section of it which was likely to be best acquainted with the matter (comp. Prov. XXIX. 24, אלה שמע ולא יגיד; Judg. XVII. 2, וארצי אליה; see Comm. on Exod. pp. 352, 353). This is what our text expresses; it does not allow us to suppose that the *witness* was to be “sworn in” (as Michaelis and others believe); it is, on the contrary, certain that the law of the Pentateuch neither permits the witness to swear (comp. Exod. XX. 7 and 16), nor to be sworn upon the veracity of his declarations, which latter practice was made optional in the later Rabbinical law only, while then the custom of adjuration was greatly extended. This first verse has, therefore, no close affinity with the fourth, and a transposition of the verses is unnecessary (comp. *Choshen Mishp.* § XXVIII. 2; see *Saalschütz*, Mos. R. § LXXXVIII. 2, p. 605). The renderings of אלה קול שמעה by “if he heard the voice of some one swearing or cursing” or “reviling the name of God” (comp. *Corn. a Lapid.* on V. 1), are not only against the usage of the language, but are refuted by the following words “and he is a witness whether he has seen or learnt of it”, which would be superfluous additions, if he had himself heard the criminal utterances. — ו

... ו (vers. 1, 2) is *whether...or* (sive... sive; Gramm. §. 71. 4). — The exact meaning of וְהוּא נִשְׁמָע is, according to the context, “and he might be a witness”, that is, might be useful as such. If a person who in this way withholds the truth וְהוּא נִשְׁמָע and bears his guilt — this is manifestly the sense of these words; they are probably synonymous with וְהוּא נִשְׁמָע (vers. 2, 4, 23), with which they are indeed coupled (ver. 17); they can hardly mean, “then he shall experience the power and effect of his sin, or suffer his punishment” (Knobel, Keil); for this “punishment” consisted merely in the sacrifice by which the offence was to be expiated; while the phrase וְהוּא נִשְׁמָע or וְהוּא נִשְׁמָע, if really applied to punishments, is used only in connection with grave inflictions, trials, and misfortunes (comp. Gen. IV. 13; Exod. XXVIII. 43; Lev. VII. 18; XVII. 16; XIX. 8; XX. 17, 20; XXII. 9; XXIV. 15; Num. V. 31; IX. 13; XIV. 34; XVIII. 22, 32; etc.). The words וְהוּא נִשְׁמָע belong, therefore, to the first clause, as also vers. 2 to 4, and so and the first part of ver. 5 (וְהוּא נִשְׁמָע לְאִתּוֹ מֵאֵלֶּה) which once more comprehensively states the protasis; and we have translated accordingly (comp. IV. 2—4; so also Rosenm., De Wette, a. o.). The sense is — if a man sins, in the manner described, by culpable silence where his candour would promote the welfare of society, then if he later repents of this omission, he shall, as in the case of the other three offences, make a confession and secure atonement by a sin-offering (ver. 5). — On the division of animals into clean and unclean, and of the quadrupeds into כְּדָמָה and רֶגֶל (Gen. I. 24, 25; II. 19; VII. 21), see p. 78 note 4. The Vulgate renders וְהוּא נִשְׁמָע (ver. 2) as if the text



his handful of it, *as* a memorial thereof, and burn it on the altar for an offering made by fire to the Lord; it is a sin-offering. 13. And the priest shall make an

were נִבְלָה וְחִרְפָּה (VII. 24, sive quod occisum a bestia est aut per se mortuum), and מִטְּנֵה וְנִעְלָם inaccurately (et oblita fuerit immunditiae suae), and it is, in general, rather free and summary in the translation of these sections (so is the whole of the 23rd verse rendered by the two words "convicta delicti", whereas, in VI. 4, is added: "et in loco mundissimo usque ad favillam consumi faciet"). — אִשָּׁר (ver. 2) is identical with אִי if (in vers. 1, 3, 4; comp. on IV. 22). — לְ in לְלֵב (ver. 3) is *concerning* or *with regard to* (so also vers. 4, 5 לְכָל and לְאַחַח; see Gramm. § 105. 3). — It is questionable to assert that our verses (2, 3) treat of cases "when a person has defiled himself, but has omitted to perform the prescribed purification" (Rosenm., Knobel); our text plainly speaks of uncleanness to be removed by sin-offerings exclusively, which are here represented as the only possible means of purification. The difficulty which has prompted this untenable interpretation can only be removed in the manner indicated above. Nor does the passage refer to persons who, while in a state of uncleanness, have eaten holy food, or have entered the Sanctuary (see Rashi), but to persons affected by uncleanness alone which required the sin-offering. — אִשָּׁר (ver. 4) is *to pronounce heedlessly* or *thoughtlessly*, with the *lips*, not with the *heart*; therefore, an oath or vow so pronounced is termed מִכְתָּם שְׂפָתַיִם (Num. XXX. 7, 9). In the words כִּי חִשְׁבֵּה לְכַתֵּם בְּשִׁפְתָּיִם, the infinitive לְכַתֵּם qualifies more precisely the preceding general term חִשְׁבֵּה, and has the force of the latin gerund, namely, *if a person swears, speaking heedlessly with his lips*, that is, swears a heedless oath;

analogous is בָּרָא לְעֹשֶׂהוּ (Gen. II. 3) *he created producing* (see Gramm. § 98. 5). — לְדַרְעַ אוֹ לְהִטִּיב *to do evil or good*, that is, to do anything; for the categories of good and evil were believed to exhaust all possibilities (comp. Gen. XXIV. 5; XXXI. 24; Num. XXIV. 13; Isai. XLI. 23); it is hardly correct to understand two distinct cases, viz. that a person thoughtlessly either declared to do a good or a bad thing (Clericus; comp. Ps. XV. 4), because the two terms in question gradually came to express the one simple notion of *anything*, exactly as the two words "right and left" merely conveyed the idea of *anywhere* (Num. XX. 17; XXII. 16; Deut. II. 27; Jon. IV. 11; etc.); but the phrase is certainly not restricted to things which he who swears means to do with regard to himself (Rashi, לְדַרְעַ לְעַצְמוֹ אוֹ לְהִטִּיב לְעַצְמוֹ; Saad. לְדַרְעַנִּי to castigate himself or to fast; Fagius, se afflicturnm se ipsum, aut alteri benefacturum), or with regard to any class or section of men (Ebn Ezra לְדַרְעַ לְמִי שֶׁהוּא חַיִּיב, Grotius). — לְאַחַח מֵאֵלֶּה, in ver. 4, refers to the heedless oaths or vows; in ver. 5, to the cases of guilt enumerated in the preceding verses (1 to 4). — וְאִם-לֹא (ver. 7) is literally, "if his hand does not reach the sufficiency of a lamb", that is, if his power or fortune does not suffice for a lamb; but instead of וְאִם-לֹא the verb וְשִׁיב is more frequently used in this connection (ver. 11; XIV. 21, 22, 30—32; XXV. 26, 47, 49; XXVII. 8; Num. VI. 21), and sometimes אִשָּׁר (XII. 8, XXV. 28). — Various are the reasons which have by others been assigned for the two birds prescribed in cases of insufficient means; for instance, the one bird was intended to expiate a past guilt,

quadruped sin-offerings both conditions, which are indeed implied in the very nature of the offering. Or, the one bird was designed to secure pardon and remission of punishment, the other to regain Divine grace (Knobel) — an artificial distinction without a tangible difference, for if pardon is secured, the offender returns to his original relation to God, that is, to Divine grace. — Not more satisfactory are the explanations proposed to account for the peculiar precept regarding the head of the bird which was to be wrung at the neck but not separated. It has been supposed that the small and fleshless members of the pigeon could not well be placed before God as a distinct offering; but the head of birds presented as holocausts was always burnt. — As the whole of the ceremonial in connection with the sin-offerings of birds was performed by the priest (see on I. 14—17), the subject to וְהִקְרִיב (ver. 6) is גִּזְרֵהוּ. — He shall wring its head מִפְּנֵי צַוְנוֹ, liter., “from before its neck”, that is, as Rashi explains, “opposite the person who

the remaining part being employed as (XXV. 52) or קִרְבַּן אֲשֶׁר חָטָא (ver. 10) “offering which he bring” (comp. *supra* sinned shall bring (Engl. Vers.).— Oni Gramm. § LXVII. 14 that this section (least vers. 7—10), origin with the cor on the holocausts since the former the latter, “And second according to ver. 10; comp. IX. 13); for as probably are of later date quadrupeds (see on sin-offerings of later offerings. — The scribed, different poor, and the very termed by the Talm descending offering in contradistinction see p. 262 note 3).

## β. TRESPASS-OFFERING (עֹלָת הַחֵטִּי), V. 14—17

soul commits a misdeed, and sins unawares *by taking* from 'the holy things of the Lord, then he shall bring *as* his forfeited debt to the Lord a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy estimation by shekels of silver, after the shekel of the Sanctuary, for a trespass-offering. 16. And he shall pay what he has sinfully appropriated of the holy things, and shall add thereto the

naturally religious ideas advanced in process of time, the order in which the various classes of sacrifice are here introduced, is exactly the reverse of that warranted by their chronological origin (see the Introduction). In the compiler's or reviser's time, the political organisation of the state, established on a securer footing, had been rendered more independent of religious institutions; his object was, therefore, in this part of the legislative code, not the creation of a *people*, but of a *holy people*; and he readily gave precedence to those regulations which more directly contributed towards the latter aim, although he could not but be aware that he thus disturbed, nay inverted, the natural order of his documents. He was, therefore, not content with placing the laws of the sin-offering first (IV. 1—V. 13), and among them again giving precedence to their latest and highest form (ch. IV); but he arranged the regulations concerning the trespass-offering so that their origin and true nature are best recognised in the very last portion (vers. 20—26). For him frauds upon the sacred property, such as firstlings, tithes, portions due to priests, or devoted objects (דְּבָרִים, Josh. VII. 1), were the gravest offences of this class; he therefore commenced with them (vers. 14—16), though the precepts treat of an *unintentional* appropriation (לִשְׁגָגָה) of such property, and atonement for inadvertent sins marks a much later stage in the history of religious training. He then proceeded to unjust acquisition in the general spheres

of social life (vers. 17—19), though these cases are so vaguely defined, that he could hardly have hoped to convey to his readers a distinct notion and to afford them a practical guidance (see *infra*). But he concluded with ordinances, which evidently formed an independent portion (vers. 20—26); they are introduced by a separate heading (ver. 20); and they unmistakeably disclose the antiquity of their date. They treat of intentional offences, and of offences of such a kind as are both most frequent and most dangerous in primitive societies, of daring encroachments upon the rights of a neighbour, defalcation of lost or entrusted property, deceitful fraud or violent plunder, lying and perjury. It was for such crimes as these that trespass-offerings had at first been instituted, as an important and welcome aid in the administration of justice. Though strictly offences against fellow-men, they were regarded and described as offences against God, who had pronounced against them His solemn warnings and interdictions; and thus their gravity and reproach were enhanced. "If a soul sins, and commits a misdeed against the Lord, and lies to his neighbour" (ver. 21). Not only was the property to be restored and the fifth part of its value to be added to it, but an offering was to be presented to remind the guilty person of his transgression, and to deter him from a repetition of it by the consciousness that he thereby not only violated human laws, but incurred the displeasure of

a man steals an ox, or a sheep, and kills it, or sells it, he shall restore five oxen for an ox and four sheep for a sheep" (Exod. XXI. 37); or, "If the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep, he shall restore double" (XXII. 3; see Comm. on Exod. pp. 413—415). Again, with regard to entrusted property, the provisions of the civil code are equally plain (Exod. XXII. 6—12); a reasonable responsibility was imposed upon the depositary; multiple restitution was demanded in cases of neglect or fraud; and the judges were, in all cases, the arbiters, whether witnesses could be procured, or an oath was to be administered (see Comm. on Exod. p. 419); there no mention is made of sacrifices; the statutes are positive and formal; and in the third case set forth in our passage, that concerning found property, the restoration was simply made a moral duty enjoined with pathetic earnestness (Deut. XXII. 1—3; comp. Exod. XXIII. 4; Comm. on Exod. p. 444). How are these differences to be reconciled? We must again distinguish between the various documents and their authors. The legislation in Exodus (and Deuteronomy) is conceived in a secular and a strictly political. that of

advisable, and could the newly developed safely ventured upon traces of the gradual two additional ex our section may find here that perjury basely committed for merely by together with increase the property acquisition oath (vers. 22, 24). even a heedless or conscious defiance was to be expiated holier in import a ritual (p. 269); the longer a worldly, ritual end; while, of view, the sacrifice of God was merely mount duty of the guarded by ceremony (Lev. XIX. 12). The more striking still scope. Let the res unbiassed mind the "If a soul sins, and prohibitions of the not to be done (אשר לא תעשה) does not know it

his sin; 18. Then shall he bring to the priest a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy estimation, for a trespass-offering; and the priest shall make an atonement for him concerning his error which he committed unawares, and did not know it, that he may be forgiven; 19. It is a trespass-offering; he has indeed trespassed against the Lord.

20. And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 21. If a soul sins, and commits a misdeed against the Lord,

us to the conclusion that at the time when it was conceived, trespass-offerings were supposed to expiate *all* unintentional sins, whereas they were, later, almost superseded by the more solemn and sacred class of sin-offerings; yet as they were retained for the expiation of sins committed against the rights of property, the reviser here inserted that passage among the commands treating of offences of that nature; and from the contrast in which it stands to the preceding law on *holy* property, it was probably meant to refer to property in general. However, another step was made in the direction of the Levitical system. If the owner of defrauded property, at the time when the delinquent was discovered, had died without leaving a legal heir, the restitution was to be made to the priests, who then already could venture to claim it as the representatives of God (Num. V. 6—8). Thus everything tended to promote the rearing of an edifice which it required the struggles of centuries to complete.

In all cases of restitution, the fifth part of the value of the fraudulently acquired property was to be added to the original amount (vers. 16, 24; XXII. 14); the significance of the number *five* is derived from that of its double *ten* which typifies completeness and is usually employed in connection with Divine manifestations (see the Treatise on Priesthood, ch. III); the addition of one fifth is, therefore, also commanded

with reference to the redemption of property sanctified to God, whether of houses or fields, of tithes or animals (XXVII. 13, 15, 19, 27, 31); the number five occurs, besides, in some other Levitical ordinances (Num. VII. 17, 23, 29, etc.; XVIII. 16), and on the imposition of taxes (Gen. XLI. 34; XLVII. 24; comp. XLIII. 34). The valuation was to be made by the "holy shekel" (ver. 15; comp. XXVII. 25; Exod. XXX. 13; Num. XVIII. 16), which was of greater weight, and which was here prescribed in order to mark the sacrifice as a religious act, and not as a merely pecuniary transaction. The victim to be selected for the trespass-offering was to be a ram (אֵילִם); and it is not improbable that this animal naturally offered itself, because sheep, and especially rams, were from early times employed as means of exchange and currency, and would therefore be deemed peculiarly appropriate for a class of sacrifices which centred in the restoration of property (see pp. 53, 278). In conclusion, if an argument were wanted to prove how much the Levitical legislation fluctuated, we might point to a clear case of appropriation of holy property in which simply restitution, but no trespass-offering was prescribed (XXII. 14), whereas in our section, the latter appears of equal importance with the former (vers. 14—16).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—On מַעַל (from מָעַל to cover — comp. מַעַל

and lies to his neighbour concerning a trust or a deposit or plunder, or has defrauded his neighbour; 22. Or has found lost property, and lies concerning it, and swears falsely regarding any of all *the things* which a man does, to sin thereby; 23. Now, if he *so* sins, and

cloak —, to act covertly, insidiously, or faithlessly; comp.  $\text{בְּגֵן}$  from  $\text{בָּגַד}$  in the same meaning) see p. 267 note 20. — The words  $\text{וּמִכֹּרֶשִׁי יְהוָה}$  (ver. 15) contain a *constructio praegnans*, “and sins *by taking* from the holy things of the Lord” (see Gramm. § 104. 3). —  $\text{דְּבָרֵי קֹדֶשׁ}$  are *holy things, holy property*, all that is dedicated to God, or belongs to the Sanctuary, or is assigned to priests and Levites (comp. Exod. XXVIII. 38; Lev. XXII. 15, 16; etc.). — He shall bring as his debt ( $\text{כֹּדֶשׁ}$ , like ver. 6) a faultless ram *according to thy estimation by shekels of silver* ( $\text{כֶּסֶף שְׁקָלִים}$ ), which words cannot mean that the ram shall be so selected as to equal in value the debt contracted by the guilt or unlawful appropriation (so Riehm, Stud. und. Krit. 1854, pp. 118, 119, a. o.): for, besides the  $\text{כֹּדֶשׁ}$ , the actual or rather an increased restitution of the property was commanded. It is not clear whether the ram was to be worth *two* shekels ( $\text{שְׁקָלִים}$ ; Vulg., Rashi, Luther, Cornel. a Lapide, Mendelssohn, Arnheim, Bertheau — Gruppen p. 158 —, a. o.) or *at least two* shekels (Ebn Ezra, Abarb., Knobel, Öhler — l. c. p. 645 —, Keil — Lev. p. 41 —, see also Michael. Mos. R. V. § 244, p. 69); for  $\text{דְּבָרֵי קֹדֶשׁ}$  is too general to express either the one or the other with distinctness; so much is certain that the terms, “according to thy estimation by shekels of silver, after the shekel of the Sanctuary”, are meant to convey that the ram should be of a superior quality; but its value in relation to the amount of property in question was entirely unessential; the one needed, not even approxi-

mately, to be proportionate to the other; nor could it, in many instances, be so; for some frauds committed might possibly amount to a much larger sum than the price of even the most superior ram, whereas the cost of different faultless rams could not materially vary. The debt itself was to be actually paid, and the religious guilt was expiated by a sacrifice, which in all cases represented the offender, not the offence. It is, therefore, as needless as it is at variance with the spirit of the Law to suppose, that the victim, by the declaration of the priest, received “an imaginary value” (*Hengstenb. Pent. II. 216*) or “symbolical significance” (*Keil, Archäol. I. 236, Levit. p. 43; similarly Baumgarten, Comm. p. 138*). — There is no authority whatever for inserting  $\text{אֶל־}$  before  $\text{בְּעֵרְכָךְ}$  (as Clericus and Rosenmüller do; also Sharpe, Historic notes p. 21, “money was so far common and found convenient that the Hebrews were allowed to send the sin-offering of a ram in money instead of in kind”; comp. 1 Sam. XX. 12), so that the sense would be, he shall either offer a ram, or, if the debt be smaller or greater than the price of a ram, money according to the estimated value of the property; but irrespective of the obscurity and abruptness of the language inconceivable in a legal enactment, the ram was certainly to be presented in any case, however small or large the amount in question; for the trespass-offering was the necessary religious element in the transaction and the principal means of atonement. —  $\text{כֶּסֶף שְׁקָלִים}$  according to thy estimation is indeed here immediately

is guilty, then he shall restore the plunder which he has violently taken, or the spoil which he has acquired by fraud, or the trust which has been delivered to him to keep, or the lost property which he has found, 24. Or whatever it

addressed to Moses, but refers, as a general rule, to the officiating priest (comp. XXVII. 12; Num. XVIII. 16), not to the worldly authorities, as Michaelis (Mos. R. V. pp. 68, 69, § 244) and Rosenmüller suppose, misled by their erroneous "juridical" view concerning expiatory offerings (see pp. 257, 258). — The construction of כסף שקלים *is according to thy estimation of silver, namely, of shekels* (comp. 2 Sam. XXIV. 24; Neh. V. 15), so that כסף שקלים *is equivalent to כסף* (comp. 1 Chr. XXI. 25), and כסף is a genitive dependent on עֲרֵבָה, though the latter has a suffix; the meaning is not, as in similar cases, "according to the estimation of thy money" (Gramm. § LXXXVII. 11), and שקלים stands in apposition to כסף. — עֲרֵבָה gradually became so distinct a legal or technical term that it even took the article (הָעֲרֵבָה, XXVII. 23; comp. un monsieur, una madonna, etc.); it is not a noun of the form פֻּעֵל for עֲרֵבָה, nor much less a compound noun composed of עֲרֵב and כֶּלֶךְ "a value of so much" (Wessely, Wogue in loc.). — The multifarious ordinances and speculations, which Jewish tradition has based on our verses (14—16) in connection with Num. V. 6—8, may be seen in the Mishnah and Talmudical tractatus Meilah. — וְנִזְכָּר (ver. 17) connects this clause with the preceding one, and וְנִזְכָּר marks it as a distinct case; although, strictly considered, one of the two particles is superfluous. — The vagueness of the terms of the second case of trespass-offerings (vers. 17—19) has given rise to manifold interpretations. Some suppose that it refers to doubtful sins, that is, to sins, in regard to which the person is uncertain whether he has

committed them or not (so Jewish tradition which sees here אִשָּׁם חִלּוֹי in contradistinction to the אִשָּׁם וְדָאִי, according to the canon, that the אִשָּׁם חִלּוֹי was offered in cases שְׁדוּדָה כְּרִית וְשִׁנְיָה חֲטָאָה, *Mishn. Kerith. VI. 3; Horay. II. 3, 4; see p. 266 note 3; comp. Reland, Antiqq. pp. 559, 560, 566—569 ed. Rav.; so also Ranke, Untersuchungen, II. 77, in a laboured exposition*); but the words וְנִזְכָּר are evidently synonymous with וְנִזְכָּר (vers. 2, 3), if not with בְּשִׁנְיָה, so that they cannot form the distinctive feature of these commands (*Hengstenb. Pent. II. 219*), the less so as וְנִזְכָּר (in IV. 14) and אִשָּׁם וְדָאִי (IV. 23, 28) presuppose an anterior וְנִזְכָּר (comp. *Bertheau, Sieben Gruppen, p. 159*). Others understand offences against ceremonial precepts in opposition to moral duties treated of in the preceding chapter (Rosenmüller); but thus much is unquestionable from the context, that the rights of *property* are here concerned. Others again think of a curtailment of the claims which God is entitled to enforce upon His people Israel (*Keil, Archäol. I. 221; Levit. p. 41*); but this is not only artificial, but would also nearly coincide with the preceding enactment (vers. 14—17). Or it has been supposed that the trespass-offering was prescribed for sins that had remained unknown for a *considerable* time (*Hofmann, l. c. p. 259*), which is equally indefinite as a law and arbitrary as an interpretation; or that it was required for sins committed from *ignorance* of the law (*Saalschütz, Mos. R. I. 332, and Kurtz in Mos. Opfer*), but it is impossible to see why the same word וְנִזְכָּר is here to express ignorance of the law, and in the fourth chapter, with



*may be* about which he has sworn falsely; and he shall restore it in the principal, and shall add thereto the fifth part of it, *and* give it to him to whom it belongs on the

reference to the sin-offering (vers. 2, 13, 22, 27), inadvertency or unconsciousness. Or it is averred that here the offender sees his guilt at a later time himself and confesses it spontaneously, while in the case of the sin-offering, he is convicted of it "objectively", by witnesses or evidence (אֵלֶּיךָ הוֹדָע, *Winer*, Real.-W. II. 433); but the text nowhere intimates such a distinction, and as in both cases the sin was unwittingly committed (comp. IV. 2, 22, 27; V. 17, 18), there was no real difference between a confession and a conviction, for the offender was ready to confess as soon as he became conscious of his guilt. Or it has been maintained that our verses treat of the same class of offences as the preceding ones (vers. 14—16), that is, of unlawful appropriation of sacred property, but that they "give to those special laws a general validity", for which purpose the author applied a formula from the law of sin-offering (*Riehm*, Stud. und Krit. 1854, pp. 98, 99); however, not only the phrase אֵלֶּיךָ הוֹדָע, but the whole tenour of our verses, argues that they refer to a different category of sins; no unbiassed reader can understand them of sacred property exclusively, and the preceding clause is so distinct and comprehensive that it required no generalisation, which the framer of that opinion (*Riehm*) indeed deems it "possible, nay probable, to have been added by a later hand"—an opinion which has been adopted by subsequent writers (f. i. by Kurtz, *Opfer*. p. 166, who retracted in its favour his own view set forth in *Mos. Opfer* p. 211; he admits, however, in *Opfer*. p. 173, that both here and in IV. 27 כל מצות comprises all the Divine commands alike, yet that this term

is here limited to מִשְׁפָּטִים, and in IV. 27 to those מִצְוֹת which are not at the same time מִשְׁפָּטִים—comp. *supra* p. 265—conceptions which are wholly visionary and without any foundation in the wording of the precept). In this perplexity, one interpreter (*Michaelis*) boldly proposed to alter the received text and to read (in ver. 17) וְלֹא עָשָׂתָה אֶחָד מִכָּל־אֲשֶׁר הָעִשְׂתָּה, and explained the passage to refer to sins of omission, an expedient as arbitrary as it is ineffectual; another (*Geddes*) considered this clause as an interpolation from IV. 27, or as an imperfectly expressed ordinance deficient in some qualifying condition; and a third translated "if a person sins with regard to *any other* of the forbidden things" (*Dathe*, si quis peccatum commiserit in ullo alio eorum quae lege divina interdicta sunt). The most probable opinion is, that the compiler intended these verses to be understood of violation of secular, in contradistinction to violation of holy property treated of immediately before; although we have above attempted to point out, that they had originally a much wider import; and as they relate to any transgression whatever, no restitution, whether simple or increased, is commanded, since in many cases it was neither necessary nor feasible (comp. on the other hand, Num. V. 6—8). The אֵלֶּיךָ and אֵלֶּיךָ are not identical, and both terms are not synonymous (as *Vater*, Pentat. II. 170, III. 451, maintains); but the אֵלֶּיךָ was at first all but universal in application, till its sphere was gradually restricted by the more solemn, though more recent אֵלֶּיךָ; our passage and IV. 27 contain two different laws, and reflect two distinct stages in the sacrificial legislation.—More surprising still are

day of the confession of his guilt. 25. And he shall bring as his trespass-offering to the Lord a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy estimation,

the opinions proposed with reference to the next portion (vers. 20—26); some of them are not derived from an unprejudiced examination of the text, but suggested by preconceived theories, with which these verses were forced into an artificial agreement. Thus it has been extensively supposed that the sins were committed under mitigating circumstances; but these were differently defined. Philo (De Victim. c. 11), though understanding intentional sins, explains the command in the following manner: if a person is suspected of the offences specified, and then protests his innocence on oath, and if he thus appears to have escaped all conviction at the hands of his accusers, "he shall himself become his own accuser, and being convicted by his own conscience within, he shall reproach himself for the things which he has denied and concerning which he has sworn falsely, and shall come forward and openly confess his sin and implore pardon", then he shall obtain forgiveness by the means prescribed in the text. But this conception has evidently been devised in order to make the offences here enumerated, in some manner, analogous to unintentional sins, by attributing to the offender spontaneous repentance—of which, however, there is not the faintest trace in the wording or the spirit of our passage. Yet this untenable view of Philo recurs in various modified forms. Bähr (Symb. II. 404) and others who follow him, believe the *QDN* in general to have been set apart for sins "which had been revealed by the offender's own scruple of conscience and confession"; but his deduction is based upon the erroneous assumption that vers. 1—13 of this

chapter treat of *QDN*, not of *QNDN* (see *supra*). Riehm (l. c. pp. 103, 104) applies the command to violations of the law, which, for want of witnesses, could not be judicially punished, but were ascertained by the offender's self-confession only, when the repentance thus evinced deserved a greater leniency; but the absence of legal witnesses is an unwarranted assumption in no manner countenanced by the text. Ranke (Untersuchungen, II. 78) sees here "a beautiful clemency of the Law", which prescribes for designed offences against property, after having been confessed and amply amended, no other atonement than for unconscious sins. Knobel finds the mitigating point in the circumstance that "the unlawful acts are traceable to some weakness or failing, such as selfishness or levity, and not exactly to evil intentions" — an opinion which is overthrown by a mere perusal of our passage. Besides, various other expedients, all equally unsatisfactory, have been devised. Bähr (l. c. p. 403) refers the clause to theocratic property, like the opening one (vers. 14—16), to firstlings and tithes, which the proprietor had intended to offer to God, but which had been wrested from him by fraud or violence, an interpretation refuted by the words alone *כל אשר יעשה* *מכלל* *האדם לחטא ברגל* (ver. 22), besides being entirely unsupported by the context. And as if conscious of the inefficiency of this explanation, the same writer, attempting another one, maintains, that the sins, although intentionally committed, had remained unknown and concealed, and had, therefore, not been judicially punished; but the difficulty is just why they were

for a trespass-offering to the priest: 26. And the priest shall make an atonement for him before the Lord, that

not so punished when detected, but were expiated by increased restitution and a trespass-offering, contrary to the enactments of the secular code. Ranke tries to establish a distinction between the two verbs **לָשָׁג** and **עָלַף**, the former meaning *to err unintentionally*, the latter *to err unwillingly*, and he refers IV. 27 to unintentional sins, but V. 17 to transgressions at once unintentionally and unwillingly committed (l. c. p. 77); but that distinction is fictitious; for **לָשָׁג** and **עָלַף** are synonymous terms (comp. vers. 17 and 18). Hengstenberg (Auth. des Pent. II. 219) conveniently passes over the difficulty by omitting in IV. 22 **לָשָׁג**. In short, no exposition of these verses can be acceptable which does not recognise that they relate to *all* offences of fraud and violence committed against property, and committed intentionally. — The Sept. and Vulg. (and also Luther, Engl. Vers., a. o.) begin a new chapter with ver. 20, which is uncalled for, as vers. 20—26 relate to trespass-offerings, like vers. 14—19. A new chapter at ver. 14 would be more appropriate to mark the commencement of the laws of trespass-offering. — Offences against a neighbour are described as offences against God in the sense above indicated (p. 517); they are hardly so called because the whole land and all it contains were regarded as belonging to God (Lev. XXV. 23) who had only granted them as fiefs and loans to the Israelites, so that an encroachment upon a citizen's property was a fraud perpetrated against Jehovah Himself (so *Richtm.*, l. c. p. 102); the idea upon which this view is based is indeed unquestionable, but its application to practical legal injunctions is artificial, and is nowhere intimated in the text. — **אֲשֶׁר** (ver. 21) is a *trust* in general

(comp. Gen. XLI. 36); **תְּחַלֵּשׁ**, literally something that is placed (of **חָשׂ**) in the hands of some one else (Rashi **תְּחַלֵּשׁ מִיְּדוֹ דְּמִשְׁכָּן**), a *deposit* (Gr. Ven. *ἔμφολη*); it is, therefore, not materially different from **קָרַב** (the Vulg. renders **כִּי אִם קָרַב**, *depositum quod fidei ejus creditum fuerat*), for which reason it is not again mentioned in the general recapitulation (in ver. 23); it is hardly *partnership*, or *fellowship*, as it is rendered by Onkelos (**תְּחַלֵּשׁ מִיְּדוֹ**), the Septuagint (*κοινωνία*), Philo (De Victim. c. 11), Ebn Ezra, English Version, Rosenmüller (who explains, “*proprie significat positionem manus, deinde in genere omnem societatem, quae injecta manu solet confirmari, stipulationem, sponsionem*”), a. o.; comp. 2 Ki. X. 15; Jer. L. 15. — The Roman law was severer still with regard to found property; failing to return it, even without denying the possession by an oath, was punishable as a theft (Digest. L. 47, Tit. 2. leg. 43 § 4: *Qui alienum quid jacens lucri faciendi causa sustulit, furti obstringitur, sive scit ejus sit, sive ignoraverit; nihil enim ad furtum imminuendum facit, quod ejus sit ignoret*): but this enactment has an exclusively civil character, and implies a social organisation of the most perfect order and power. — **שָׁנָה** (ver. 24) is *the sum* or *capital* (Exod. XXX. 12; Num. I. 2, 49). The offender shall repay the unjust acquisition **שָׁנָה** “according to its sum or amount”, that is, simply, the amount (Exod. XXX. 12; Num. I. 2; etc.; comp. **שָׁנָה** and *capital*); and he shall add to it *the fifth part of it* (**חֲמִישָׁתוֹ**, the plural for the more usual singular **חֲמִישֵׁהוּ**, ver. 16; XXII. 14; XXVII. 13, 27, 31; Num. V. 7; see Gramm. § LXXXV, and on the plural termination **וֹ** § XXIII. 5. c. *β*); not *two fifths*, as Ebn Ezra con-

he may be forgiven for any of all *the things* which he has done *so as* to trespass therein.

tends (מיעוט רבים שנים), and much less *many fifts*, as Rashi believes (רכתה חורה חמשות הרכה). — The offender is to make the reparation זיון אשמתו *on the day of his guilt*, that is, on the day when his guilt is discovered or confessed (Sept. correctly, ἡ ἡμέρα

ἀλλεγορη), which is indeed, as regards the sense, on the day when he presents his expiatory sacrifice (Engl. Vers., *in the day of his trespass-offering*), but this is not correct as a *translation*, the Hebrew words being זיון אשמתו, not זיון אשמתו.

## B. ANOTHER CODE.

### CHAPTERS VI AND VII.

1. ON THE SERVICE OF THE ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING, VI. 1—6,  
AND
2. ON BLOODLESS OFFERINGS, VI. 7—11.

### CHAPTER VI.

**SUMMARY.**—This code contains 1. the law of the daily public burnt-offerings and of the perpetual fire to be kept on the brazen altar (VI. 1—6), and 2. The law of the bloodless offerings and the priest's share of them (VI. 7—11); 3. The ordinance regarding the bloodless offering to be presented by every High-priest, in all future time, on the day of his consecration (VI. 12—16); 4. The law of the sin-offering (VI. 17—23); and 5. of the trespass-offering (VII. 1—7); 6. Regulations concerning the portions of the priests in burnt- and bloodless offerings (VII. 8—11); 7. The law of the thank-offering (VII. 11—21); 8. The prohibition of fat and blood (VII. 22—27); 9. Precepts regulating the portions to be left to the priests in thank-offerings (VII. 28—34); and 10. A comprehensive conclusion of this code (VII. 35—38).

#### 1. And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Com-

1—11. It might appear that in the preceding part of the Book, the outlines of the sacrificial laws were completed, or if any addition seemed desirable, that it would be appended by distinct reference to the former sketch; for the four different classes of sacrifice have been introduced and treated of in the natural order of their origin — first the holocausts and bloodless offerings

(ch. I, II), then the thank-offerings (ch. III), and lastly the expiatory sacrifices (ch. IV, V). Yet we find here a new series of laws on burnt-offerings (vers. 1—6) and on bloodless offerings (vers. 7—11), in some respects coherent in themselves, and compiled from a new point of view. Now let us suppose that we read for the first time the following injunctions, without being

mand Aaron and his sons, saying, This is the law of the burnt-offering. This — the burnt-offering — *shall be* on the place of burning upon the altar the whole night till the morning, and the fire of the altar shall burn by it. 3. And the priest shall put on his linen

aware of the connection in which they here occur: "And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, Command Aaron and his sons, saying, This is the law of the burnt-offering: This — the burnt-offering — shall be on the burning-place upon the altar the whole night till the morning, and the fire of the altar shall burn by it." The character of these commands would not for a moment be doubtful; our impression would unavoidably be that we have before us a separate and independent ordinance on burnt-offerings; nor would that impression be unfounded. For both the language and the spirit of the portion disclose its anterior origin. The wording is unusual, archaic, hard, and partially obscure; and the contents are just such as would most likely be embodied in the earliest outlines of a law concerning the earliest class of sacrifice: they refer to the regular or daily holocausts to be offered for the nation; they are written for the exclusive guidance of the priests; they embody no precept or allusion that concerns the Israelite; they are, in fact, designed to regulate the public worship and to instruct the public ministers. Nor is it difficult to discover the reason why the compilers of Leviticus assigned to this portion the place it occupies. The enactments concerning burnt-offerings, contained in the first chapter, though not complete, are both more systematic and more intelligible; they suffice as a manual for the people whom it was above all deemed advisable to teach and to induce to acts of religious worship. They were, therefore, placed at the beginning of the Book, together

with the laws on the three other classes of sacrifice, with which they had for some time formed one code (ch. I to V). It may be that the revisers omitted here some details which they deemed it unnecessary to repeat; nor is it unlikely that they desired to have this section considered as a supplement or appendix to the more comprehensive precepts of the first chapter; but the general nature of the portion cannot be mistaken; it relates to the priests and to the Sanctuary; and it bears the stamp of a higher antiquity.

If the Sanctuary was to be marked as the centre of the religious life of the nation, nothing was of greater importance than the perpetual and uninterrupted exercise of some significant act of devotion. But nothing appeared to serve this purpose better than daily and regular sacrifices designed for no other end than to express, in the name of the whole people, God's unlimited sovereignty (see pp. 234, 235). Therefore, when a law had ordained, that a holocaust should be offered in the Tabernacle every morning, and another in the evening, the Sanctuary was emphatically described as the Tent of Meeting between God and Israel: "And there I will meet with the children of Israel, that it be hallowed by My glory . . . And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God" (Exod. XXIX. 38—46; comp. Num. XXVIII. 2—8); for wherever the odour of sacrifices might ascend to heaven, God promised to appear and to bless the worshipper (Exod. XX. 24). The victim was in-

garment, and *his* linen drawers shall he put upon his flesh, and take up the ashes to which the fire has consumed the burnt-offering on the altar, and he shall

variably to be a lamb one year old, which represented the usual animal food of the nation, and was hence by general custom so decidedly used for ordinary sacrifices, that it was here not even mentioned. But another and even more striking symbol was adopted for conveying the idea of the constant and incessant worship of God, a symbol which a general Eastern or rather ancient custom readily offered, but which, among the Hebrews, assumed a peculiar character and meaning, in accordance with their monotheistic views. An old and intelligible conception assigns to the deity the attributes of fire, and declares the nature of both as entirely kindred (*Porph. De Abst.* II. 5, *ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμοιότατον*). It arose among tribes which worshipped the sun because they considered it as the central fire of the universe or as the great god himself; or because they regarded fire as the primary element of creation, and the preserving and vivifying power of nature. The Hindoos raised fire, separating it from the nature and person of Shiva, to a distinct deity under the name of *Agnis*, that is, the Swift, who bore also the names of *Hutisas* or Consumer of Sacrifices, and *Paraka* or Purifier, and was looked upon as one of the guardians of the world and the mediator between men and gods (comp. the sacrificial prayers of the Rig- and Sama-Veda; and *Bohlen*, *Alt. Ind.* I. 237; *Rhode*, *Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, II. 31). The deity was frequently supposed to have appeared in the form of a brilliant fire or light (*Hom. Od.* XIX. 36—40; comp. *Exod.* III. 2—4; XXIV. 17). The Persians, in common with many other nations, maintained a perpetual fire

upon their altars; they carried some of "the sacred and eternal fire" with them on their military expeditions; to whatever god they intended to sacrifice, they first addressed a prayer to fire; and whoever blew the flame with his breath instead of fanning it, or threw upon the fire any carcass or unclean thing, was punished with death (*Strabo*, XV. iii. 14, 15; *Curt.* III. 3 or 7; comp. IV. 13 or 49, 14 or 55; *Diod. Sic.* XVI. 66; *Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gent.* p. 43 ed. Colon. 1688; *Comm. on Exod.* pp. 234, 235). Therefore, like some other nations both of the old and the new world, they considered it a profanation of the holy element to burn the dead (*Diog. Laert.* Prooem. 6 or 7). King Darius requested the Carthaginians by special messengers to bury the dead instead of burning them (*Justin.* XIX. 1); and when Cambyses ordered the mummy of the Egyptian king Amasis to be burnt, he did, as Herodotus (III. 16) declares, an "impious" thing and one "repugnant both to the Persians and the Egyptians"; for the Persians, he says, "consider fire to be a god, and they deem it not right to offer to a god a dead body of a man; and by the Egyptians fire is held to be a living beast, devouring all it can lay hold of, and then expiring with what it has consumed"; and even at present the Parsi, evidently in observance of a very old custom, in order to prevent the pollution of a sacred element, neither bury nor burn their dead but expose them on a high scaffolding, to be consumed by the birds of prey (comp. *Herod.* I. 140; *Porph. Abstin.* IV. 21; *Procop. Bell. Pers.* I. 7; *Bohlen*, *Altes Indien*, II. 179, 180). The Hindoos kept a perpetual flame in that apartment of the house which was de-



put them beside the altar. 4. Then he shall put off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth

voted to sacrificial and other sacred rites (*Manu*, III. 64; Rig-Veda-Sanhita, Hymn. 73, ver. 4, p. 195 of Wilsons translation); the offerings poured into the fire were deemed more particularly devoted to the gods (*Manu*, III. 70, 76, 81); and the Brahmans were believed to possess the same purifying power as that element (*Manu*, III. 212; comp. also *Colebrooke*, Essays, pp. 32, 33, ed. 1858). The Japanese hold that, in order to please the Spirits or *Kamis*, it is necessary to keep up a pure fire in the firm conviction, that the prayers pronounced before that symbol of the highest deity are most efficacious to secure remission of sins, innocence of the soul, and removal of the five chief evils fatal to mankind, namely, the devastations of the elements, disease, poverty, exile, and premature death (comp. *K. F. Neumann* in Ersch und Gruber's Encyclop. II. xiv. 375). The Greeks considered the fire, divine in its origin and therefore rising heavenward, to have at first been in the exclusive possession of the gods, till it was either spontaneously granted by them to men, or stealthily taken by Prometheus from the celestial abodes. Hence they extensively maintained a sacred flame in their temples, and were particular even in the selection of the wood or the oil to be used as fuel (*Pausan.* I. xxvi. 7; V. xxvii. 3; xv. 5; VIII. ix. 1; xxxvii. 6; etc.); they considered it as the most efficient means of purification and of symbolical removal of sin, and therefore devoted to the gods sacrifices almost exclusively through the flames of the altar; "fireless offerings" (*ἀστυα*) were extremely rare exceptions, as those presented to Athene at Lindus (*Hermann*, Gottesd. Alterth. § 25, note 6). But they deemed "pure" fire only fit for the service of

the altar. When after the battle of Plataeae, they desired to celebrate the victory by sacrifices, they were commanded by the oracle of Delphi, to erect an altar to Jupiter, but not to sacrifice before they had extinguished the fire in the whole neighbourhood because it had been polluted by the presence of the barbarians, and to kindle a pure flame from the common hearth at Delphi (*Plut.* Arist. 20). In some parts, it was the general custom to fetch fire for religious festivals from certain temples of special sanctity (*Pausan.* VIII. xv. 9). If anyone died in a house, the fire was deemed "defiled" (*μεισάντρον*), was extinguished, and other fire was brought from an adjoining house (*Plut.* Quaestion Gr. 24); even the sin of man was held to contaminate the fire; therefore, at the annual festival of purification celebrated at Lemnos, the fire of the whole island was extinguished, and was replaced by that fetched from Delos (*Philostr.* Heroic. XIX. 14). The Lacedaemonians, when marching out on a war-expedition, took with them from Sparta some of the fire of the last sacrifice, never allowing it to be extinguished, and employing it for all sacred acts (*Xenoph.* Rep. Laced. XIII. 2). The colonies brought the fire to be used for the sacrifices from the public hearth of the mother town (comp. *Welcker*, Götterlehre, I. p. 480; *Schömann*, Griech. Alterth. II. 214, 215). Almost identical with these views were those of the Romans. Numa, so observes Florus (I. 2), entrusted the charge of the hearth and the perpetual fire to the Vestal virgins, that "the flame might watch as guardian of the empire after the image of the heavenly stars"; the same ordinance was renewed in the laws of the Twelve Tables



the ashes without the camp to a clean place. 5. And the fire upon the altar shall be burning by it; it shall not be extinguished; and the priest shall burn wood on

(*Cic. Legg. II.* 8 or 20, *virgines Vestales in urbe custodiunt ignem foci publici sempiternum*), and the custom was noticed and approved of by later historians and poets (*Hor. Od. III.* v. 11; *Virg. Aen. II.* 297; *IV.* 200). Often the sacred fire was traced to a miraculous origin; it was supposed to have descended from heaven (*πῦρ οὐρανοπεσόν*), whether as a free gift of the deity, or in consequence of fervent prayer; it was hence most scrupulously guarded, and its extinction was believed to cause the inevitable downfall of the commonwealth (*Pausan. V.* xxvii. 3; *Sueton. Tiber. c.* 14; *Val. Max. I.* i. 6, 7; *Hor. Sat. I.* v. 99; *Plin. H. N. II.* 107 or 111; *Appian, Syriac. c.* 56; *Plut. Cicer. c.* 20; *Ammian. Marcell. XXIII.* 6, 34; *Serv. ad Virg. Aen. XII.* 200; comp. notes on *IX.* 22—24). If it still happened to die away, it was not to be lighted again from another, but a new fire was to be made by producing from the sun, by means of burning-lens or mirrors, "a pure and undefiled flame", a mode of obtaining the sacrificial fire regularly adopted by several ancient tribes at their vernal festivals (comp. *Douglass, Anal. Sacr. I.* pp. 79—81, *Excurs. XLVI.*; *E. B. Tylor, Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, pp. 248, 249). It is related that the *Sagnicas*, a Hindoo sect numerous at Benares, when entering the priestly order, light with two pieces of the hard wood *semi*, a fire which they never allow to go out during the whole of their lives, but which is used for their sacrifices, the nuptial ceremonials, the obsequies of their relations, and their own funeral pile (*Jones, Asiat. Res. II.* 60). It was generally held that "fire purifies, while water sanctifies" (*τὸ πῦρ καθάρει, τὸ*

*δὲ ὕδωρ ἁγνίζει*, *Plut. Quaest. Rom. 1*; comp. *Eurip. Herc. fur.* 937, *καθάρσιον πῦρ*; *Helen.* 865, 872; *Iphig. in Taur.* 1193, *θάλασσα κλύει πάντα τὰνθρώπων κακά*; *Strabo XV.* iii. 14: indeed the word *πῦρ* fire is believed to be etymologically connected with the root *pû* to purify, lat. *purus*; comp. *Pott, Etymol. Forschungen*, I. 217; *Curtius, Griech. Etym. II.* 317; and on the purifying character of the water see p. 232, and *Hermann, Gottesd. Alterth. §* 23 notes 7—9). Yet at the rites of initiation in certain mysteries, fire was employed, while water was avoided mainly because the latter is the opposite of the former (*Porphyr. De Antr. Nymph. c.* 15); or the water was hallowed by immersing in it a burning log taken from the altar (*Eurip. Herc. fur.* 928, 929; *Athen. IX.* 76). Leaping over the fire, a rite observed on the Roman festival of the Palilia, was supposed to have a purifying effect (*Ovid, Fast. IV.* 727, 781, 782; *Tibull, II.* v. 90; *Prop. V.* iv. 77, 78; *Dion. Hal. I.* 88; comp. p. 381 note 19). Among the Greeks, children were, on the fifth day after their birth, purified by being carried round the fire on the domestic hearth (by the ceremony of *ἀμφοδρόμια*; comp. *Preuner, Hestia-Vesta*, pp. 52—59, and in general pp. 64, 65, 125—140, 190—201, *et passim*). It was a rule both among the Greeks and Romans, that no sacrifice could possibly be performed without the use of fire (*Serv. ad Virg. Aen. I.* 292, *Nullum sacrificium sine igne est, unde et Vesta et Janus in omnibus sacrificiis invocantur*). The bright and rising blaze of the flame was regarded as auspicious, the dull and smoky fire as ominous (*Soph. Ant.* 1005—1011; *Virg. Ecl. VIII.* 105, 106; *Sueton. Octav. 94*; *Tib. 14*; *Lucan.*

it [the fire] every morning, and arrange the burnt-offering upon it — and he shall burn thereon the fat of the thank-offerings. 6. A perpetual fire shall burn upon the altar; it shall never be extinguished.

Phars. I. 550 *sqq.*; *Senec.* Oedip. 309 *sqq.*); and the sacrificial fire was, therefore, a common means of augury (comp. *Hermann*, l. c. § 39 note 12). Now the Hebrews shared with other nations some of the conceptions just stated. Fire was with them the pure and purifying element. It was called the purest of all essences (*Philo*, Vit. Mos. c. 18, καθαρώτατον τῆς οὐσίας). When Isaiah was initiated as prophet, a seraph took a live coal from the altar, laid it on Isaiah's mouth, and said, "Behold this has touched thy lips, and thy iniquity is taken away, and thy sin is purged" (Isai. VI. 6, 7; comp. Mark IX. 49, πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται). God is described as "a devouring fire" (Ex. XXIV. 7; Deut. IV. 24; IX. 3; Ps. XVIII. 9, 13; Hebr. XII. 29). He reveals Himself in fire (Gen. XV. 17; Exod. III. 2; XIX. 18; XXIV. 17; 1 Ki. XIX. 12; Ezek. I. 4, 13; Dan. VII. 9; see Comm. on Exod. p. 45); and His word is fire (Deut. XXXIII. 2; Jer. XXIII. 29; etc.; comp. Acts II. 3; 1 Cor. III. 13, ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται κτλ.). It was no doubt this train of ideas which suggested the perpetual fire upon the altar of burnt-offering in the Court, and the perpetual light (נֶר־לְנֶחֱדָר) in the Holy of the Sanctuary (Exod. XXVII. 20); yet according to the Pentateuch, the fire on the altar did not represent the Deity, but His worship; it was no symbol of God, much less identical with Him; it could, therefore, not possibly be watched and examined as a means of augury (see p. 313); it was no more than a permanent proof that the Israelites were earnest in their endeavours to be the holy people, and an incessant exhortation to urge them on towards that grand

aim. But Jewish tradition, as if unable to appreciate the simplicity of the Biblical notions, invented fabulous accounts nearly approaching the pagan ideas; it contended that the perpetual fire on the altar of burnt-offering had fallen from heaven (comp. IX. 24; X. 2; and notes *in loc.*); that it was clear and pellucid, like the sun; that it emitted no smoke; that it did not require the care of the priests, but miraculously fed itself; that it was never extinguished by the rain (*Mishn.* Avoth V. 5), and that its rising column of smoke was never disturbed by any wind or tempest however violent (*Mishn.* l. c.; *Talm.* Yom. 21a); that it rested on the altar like a lion; that it consumed fluids no less than dry things (comp. *Talm.* Yom. 21b); that it burnt uninterruptedly to the time of Solomon, when it was renewed (comp. 2 Chr. VII. 1), and then lasted to the reign of Manasseh who removed it (*Talm.* Zevach. 61b); but that, at the destruction of the Temple, it was by the priests concealed in an empty cistern, and then, after the return from the Babylonian exile, recovered in an extraordinary manner (2 Macc. I. 19—22, 33; II. 1). But independently of this sacred fire, they fabled of "the fire of the burnt-offerings", lighted indeed from the former, but requiring fuel, especially the wood of the wild fig-tree; and of "the fire of fumigation", from which the coals were taken for the burning of incense (see *supra* p. 478; comp. *Buxtorf*, *Historia ignis sacri*; *Cramer*, *De Ara extera*, cap. 6; *J. G. Bohn*, *De igne Gentil. sacro*, in *Ugolini Thes.* X.; *Van Dale*, *De Idolatr.* c. 8, pp. 149 *sqq.*; *Deyling*, *Observ.* II. 167—177; V. 47—63; etc).

As, according to the Bible, the day

7. And this is the law of the bloodless offering: the sons of Aaron shall offer it before the Lord, before

begins with the evening (and is, therefore, called *νυχθημερον*; see Comm. on Gen. pp. 66, 67), the evening holocaust is here exclusively prescribed, "it shall be ... on the altar the whole night till the morning"; but it naturally follows, that the morning holocaust was to burn on the altar, during the day, till the time of the next evening sacrifice, which took place between the declining and the setting sun (לַבֹּקֶר, see p. 171).—While performing his holy functions, the priest was to wear his sacred garments, of which, though consisting of four pieces, two only are here mentioned — the *tunic* (כִּתְיֹנֶת, here כִּתְיֹנֶת; comp. Ps. CXXXIII. 2), the long tight robe of fine white linen or byssus (לִבְשֵׁי לִיָּן), without folds, covering the whole body, and reaching down to the feet, with sleeves, woven as one entire piece, and with forms of squares intermixed and hence called tessellated (מְשֻׁבָּבִים; see Comm. on Exod. p. 526); and the *drawers* (מִכְשֵׁיכִי, reaching from the loins to the thighs, and principally designed for decency (עֲלֵי צִדִּים; see Comm. on Exod. p. 527). The two other articles of the priestly dress are not referred to — the *girdle* (מִצְבָּעֵי) tied over the tunic, and the *turban* (מִצְנֵפֶת). It is uncertain whether they are omitted accidentally and for the sake of brevity, or because they had, at the early date of our portion, not yet been fixed as essential and indispensable, whereas the tunic at least seems to have then already been the common and ordinary vestment of the priest ("he shall put on his linen garment"). It is undoubted that sacerdotal garments were subject to manifold changes, as the descriptions of Josephus, himself a priest, compared with those of the Old Testament sufficiently prove (comp. Comm. on Exod. p. 528).— It is

unnecessary to point out that *linen*, because absorbing perspiration and not easily harbouring vermin, like wool, was a favourite material for priestly robes among ancient nations. The dress of the Egyptian priests especially was entirely of linen; their ministers were therefore frequently designated by Latin poets *linigeri* (grex liniger, linigera turba, etc.); and the linen of their long robes was of a texture so wonderfully fine as to be perfectly transparent, for which reason it was put over a short kilt of thicker quality reaching to the knees, while the chief priest of the temple usually wore a leopard-skin over it. The ordinary garment of common Egyptians even was a linen tunic fringed below; they indeed wore generally over it a white woolen raiment; but this they were obliged to take off when entering a temple; and nothing that was made of or contained wool was permitted to be buried with them. The same rules were adopted by the votaries of Isis in Rome; and a similar custom was rigidly maintained by the Hebrew priesthood (comp. Gen. XLI. 42; *Herod.* II. 37, 81; *Ovid*, *Metam.* I. 747; *Ex Ponto* I. i. 51, 52; *Ars Am.* I. 77; *Juven.* VI. 533; *Martial*, XII. xxix. 19; *Senec.* *Vit. beat.* c. 26, *lindeatus senex*; *Sil. Ital.* III. 24, 25; *Sueton.* *Otho* c. 12, and *Perizon.* in loc.; *Lucan*, *Phars.* IX. 158, 159; *Phil.* *De Isid.* cc. 3, 4; *Lucian*, *Syr. Dea* c. 42; *Plin.* *H. Nat.* XIX. 1 or 2; *Saubert*, *De Sacrif.* I. 9; *Braun*, *De Vestit. Sacerd.* I. cc. 6, 7, pp. 116—157; *Celsius*, *Hierob.* II. pp. 283—312; *Spencer*, *Legg. Ritt.* III. 5, pp. 682—693; *Hengstenberg*, *Die Bücher Moses und Aegypten*, pp. 149—154; *Commentary on Genesis* p. 650, on *Exodus* pp. 487—489; *Exod.* XXVIII. 39, 42; XXIX. 27—29; 1 *Sam.* II. 18; XXII. 18, כִּתְיֹנֶת;

the altar. 8. And *one of them* shall take of it his handful, of the flour of the bloodless offering and of its oil, and all the frank-incense which is upon the bloodless

comp. Ezek. IX. 2; XLIV. 17, 18, (לֹא יִחַגְרוּ בָרוֹחַ). The reason of the preference given to linen over wool for priestly raiments is hardly because the former has its origin in the purified interior of the earth, while the latter comes from the most indolent animal (so *Douglaci*, Anal. Sacr. I. p. 78); wool was not in itself despised; it was interwoven in the hangings of the Tabernacle; but it was, from considerations of cleanliness, less eligible for garments than linen. Now the priest, dressed in the prescribed manner, was commanded to approach, in the morning, the brazen altar in the Court, to take off the ashes, into which the holocaust of the preceding evening had, in the mean time, been converted, and to put them temporarily in the appointed place, eastward of the altar (l. 16; see p. 205). He then had to supply the altar with fresh wood, and to arrange and to burn upon it the holocaust of the morning, and the fat and the fat parts of the thank-offerings which might be presented by members of the community. Herewith ended his functions at the Sanctuary; it remained for him only to remove the ashes from the Court to a spot appropriated for them without the camp; and as he was never to wear his holy garments beyond the precincts of the Sanctuary, he was ordered, before proceeding with his last task, to exchange them for his common or ordinary dress (comp. Ezek. XLIV. 19). Whether he took the ashes every day to the place without the camp, or whether he did so from time to time only, is immaterial, although the context of our passage would lead to the former inference. And lest the spirit and essence of these commands be misunderstood,

the text emphatically concludes with the repeated injunction, "A perpetual fire shall burn upon the altar; it shall never be extinguished" (ver. 6); it was meant to serve at once as a monitor and a witness of Israel's piety and of their unremitting zeal in the service of their God, as a visible symbol of their spiritual aspirations and their religious duties. — We have little historical evidence to prove to what extent the idea of a perpetual fire was really carried out among the Hebrews. Granted even that it was conceived in so early a time as that of Moses, it could not be acted upon during the wanderings in the desert, where the scarcity of fuel alone would have rendered it impossible, or during the earlier wars of conquest in Canaan. It is expressly stated that, whenever the Israelites changed their encampments, the altar with all its vessels was carefully wrapped up in purple cloth and badgers' skins, and carried on poles (Num. IV. 13, 14). Jewish tradition tries to explain the difficulty by the supposition of a constant miracle which caused the fire to glimmer on without fuel and without injuring the cloth and the skins (comp. *Witsius*, Miscellan. Sacr. vol. I. p. 406, II. i. 16); and later apologists curiously confine the "perpetual" fire to the time when the Tabernacle was at rest (*Clericus* on Num. IV. 14, p. 304; a. o.). The holy fire that accompanied the Persians and other ancient nations on their military expeditions, is analogous to the "column of fire" which is said to have preceded the hosts of the Hebrews, but not to the "perpetual fire" to be kept on the brazen altar (see *supra*). Thus much is certain that burnt-offerings were presented, at some chief or national sanctuary, from the time

offering, and shall burn it upon the altar *for* a sweet odour, its memorial to the Lord. 9. And the remainder of it shall Aaron and his sons eat; unleavened shall it

of the Judges down to the period of the captivity (pp. 27, 238, 239); and after the return, we have distinct information with regard to the wood that was offered and gathered for the brazen altar (Neh. X. 35). From this time the sacred fire was no doubt kept up with constant continuity which was only interrupted, for a short interval, during the Syrian war against Antiochus Epiphanes (comp., however, *Talm. Yom. 21b*). In these later periods, the wood was collected by appointed persons nine times every year (*Mishn. Taan. IV. 5*); on one day a festival (*ἑυλοπόρεια*) was celebrated, when it was "customary for every one to bring wood for the altar, that there might never be a want of fuel for that fire which was unquenchable and always burning" (*Joseph. Bell. Jud. II. xvii. 6*); and the wood was deposited in a special cell (*לשכת העצים*) in the north-eastern corner of the Court of the Women; the latter task was fulfilled by Aaronites afflicted with some bodily defect, and therefore unfit for the immediate service of the Temple. Wood that was worm-eaten was strictly excluded from the altar (comp. *Mishn. Middoth II. 5*).

It is not improbable that the bloodless offering (*קרבן יבש*) here described (vers. 7—11) is meant to be understood of that cereal oblation which, in the Tabernacle and Temple, was to accompany the daily holocausts, and which was to consist of the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour mingled with the fourth part of a hin of beaten oil (*Exod. XXIX. 40, 41*). But the intention of the compiler or reviser of the different documents is one thing, and the original import of these documents individually is another; and it cannot be

doubted that the precepts here stated refer to bloodless oblations in general: "And this is the law of the bloodless offering; the sons of Aaron shall offer it before the Lord, before the altar" (ver. 7); the succeeding verses do not contain a single allusion to morning or evening sacrifices, whereas the holocausts are distinctly and repeatedly described as such; and the injunctions possess a variety or almost completeness of detail which points to their universal application. Cereal offerings were indeed frequently presented alone and independently of animal sacrifices (p. 220); it was, therefore, important to define their ritual and their character, and to fix the portions that could be claimed by the priests. They probably consisted at first of simple flour (comp. *II. 1—3*), neither prepared in an oven, pan, or pot (*II. 4—10*); but oil and frankincense, sacred emblems throughout the East, were from early times deemed indispensable, as the one was used for libations, the other, extensively, for separate offerings (pp. 90, 116—120). They were considered as "most holy", because they had always been entirely appropriated to God and His servants, and had thus been wholly surrendered by the worshipper. They could be dealt with by sacred persons only; "every one that touches them shall be holy" (ver. 11). They are here even described as equal in solemnity to the expiatory offerings (*קרבן יבש, קרבן יבש*, ver. 10); this is indeed not literally correct; for some kinds of sin-offering (*קרבן חטאת*) were regarded as so pre-eminently holy that not even the priests were allowed to partake of them, and were therefore to be delivered entirely to the flames; but this inaccuracy corroborates interestingly a conjecture which

be eaten in the holy place; in the Court of the Tent of Meeting they shall eat it. 10. It shall not be baked

offers itself from other and larger considerations, namely, that this comparison "like the sin-offering and the trespass-offering" is a later addition (see *infra*, Phil. Rem.), yet not so late as to fall into the time when the highest forms of the sin-offering were developed (comp. ver. 23).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — It cannot be doubted that the portion under discussion (ver. 1—11) formed originally a little document for itself, embodying some general laws on the two earliest, and probably coeval, classes of sacrifice, the holocausts and the bloodless offerings; it has its own heading (ver. 1), and is clearly separated from the following sections by a similar introduction (vers. 12, 17). But a later reviser seems to have missed in this document an allusion to the two other classes of sacrifice, the eucharistic and the expiatory offerings, and he found means, in some measure, to supply the deficiency; for he manifestly interpolated, in ver. 6, the words **והקטיר והשלים עליו חלבי השלמים**, and in ver. 10 the words **כחטאת וכאשם**. The priest is commanded to burn on the brazen altar, every morning, not only the daily holocaust, but also "the fat of the thank-offerings" (comp. Exod. XXIX. 25). Every one must feel that these words, occurring in a section headed "this is the law of the burnt-offering" (ver. 2), are extremely strange in their place; they pre-suppose, moreover, the assumption that private thank-offerings, which were wholly voluntary, would unfailingly be presented every morning. Again, the **מנחה** is, inaccurately, described as most holy "like the sin-offering and like the trespass-offering"; the mention of *expiatory sacrifices* can have found no

place in so old a document; while it cannot be surprising that a later compiler should try to enhance the sanctity of the **מנחה** by comparing it to that of the **חטאת** and **עשה** familiarly known in his time. Both additions, though fragmentary and insufficient, are meant to secure at least the rights of the altar. — That ch. VI and VII are *additions* to ch. I to V (as even Vater believes), is entirely out of the question; that they describe the "ritual" of the sacrifices, while the preceding chapters contain their "classification", is erroneous; their character has, on the whole, been correctly stated by Bertheau (Sieben Gruppen, p. 161), who, however, fails to point out their exact relation to ch. I—V, and divides them in accordance with his fanciful principles (see the Introduction). — It is too superficial to say that the permanent fire was intended to prevent the possibility of the necessary fire ever failing on the altar through negligence of the priests (Clericus, Rosenmüller); but monstrous is the opinion that the fire, by which a sweet odour was to rise to God, and the peace and happiness of man were to be restored, typifies the eternal flames of hell that await the sinner (see p. 207 note 15), a conceit which Bähr (Symb. II. 349) has taken the trouble seriously to refute (comp. also Kurtz, Opfere. § 73). — The words **והעלה על מוקדה** (ver. 2) are literally, *it—the burnt-offering—shall be on the burning-place* all the night, that is, on the part of the brazen altar set aside for burning the sacrifices; and **העלה** is an apposition or qualification to **והעלה** (Gramm. § XIV. 4). It is erroneous to render **והעלה** *that burnt-offering*, namely that described in I. 1—9, as our section treats of public, the first chapter of private holocausts. — **מוקדה**, derived



leavened; I have given it *to them for* their portion of My offerings made by fire; it is most holy like the sin-offering and like the trespass-offering. 11. All the males

from **לֵבַד** *to burn*, with **בְּ** *locale* (like **בְּמִזְבֵּחַ** the place of sacrificing, the *altar*, **בְּסֵדֶנֶךָ** the place of sitting, the *seat*, etc.), is the *place of burning* (De Wette, Brandstelle), not simply *burning*, which permits but a very vague conception (Sept. *ἐν τῇ καύσει*, Engl. Vers. because of the burning; Vulg. cremabitur in altari; Luther, Das Brandopfer soll brennen). Nor can the words **וְהָיָה אֵשׁ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֹּרֶחַת בּוֹ** mean, "and the fire of the altar shall be burning in it" (Sept., Engl. Vers., Knobel), which would be a tautology — the fire of the altar shall burn on the altar —, or it would necessitate unwarranted additions (as Vulg. ignis ex eodem altari erit; Luther, es soll aber allein des Altars Feuer darauf brennen; and so Rosenmüller, "non assumetur ignis alienus et extraneus sed sacer"; Ebn Ezra, **וְלֹא חֵטִי מִמֶּנּוּ**, evidently with an allusion to the sacred or heaven-sent fire, see *infra*); it is equally simple and appropriate to refer the suffix in **בּוֹ** to the burnt-offering, that is, the victim, itself, and to render, "and the fire of the altar shall burn by it." The masculine **בּוֹ** in connection with the feminine **עָלָה**, is not surprising (comp. ver. 8 **וְהָיָה** in reference to **הַמִּזְבֵּחַ**; Exod. XI. 6; XXVIII. 25, etc.; see Gramm. § 77. 21; comp. also p. 463. — **כִּדְּבָרָא** (ver. 3) *his linen garment*, stands for the more usual **כִּדְּבָרָא** (see Gramm. § LXXXVII. 11), the **א** being really the suffix and not the mark of the construct state (Gramm. § XXVI. 1.6), as Ewald (Krit. Gram. § 348, p. 636) contends. — Some take here **בְּ** in a collective sense as *garments* or *dress*, in order to account for the omission of two articles of the sacerdotal attire (Targ. Onk. and Jonath. render **לְבָשָׁתָא**, the Samaritan reads **לְבָשָׁתָא**, etc.), but the girdle and the turban

(**מִגְבַּעוֹתָא**) can hardly be understood by the term **בְּ**, and a complete enumeration was perhaps not even intended. On the different Hebrew names by which linen is expressed (**שֵׁשׁ**, **פְּשִׁטָּה**, **בָּר**, **בִּיץ**), see Comm. on Exod. p. 487. — The priest shall put his drawers **עַל־בְּשָׁרֹוֹ** upon his flesh, a euphemism instead of **עַל־בְּשָׂרֹוֹ** (Exod. XXVIII. 42) *the flesh of his nakedness*, the *pudenda* (comp. XV. 2, 3). — According to Jewish tradition, a priest appointed to the function by lot, had to take off (**הָרִים**) every morning a *part*, at least a shovel full of the ashes, and to carry it without the camp, whereas from time to time, when the ashes had inconveniently accumulated, they were to be *entirely* removed (**הִצִּיָּא**) to the same place: a distinction which our passage does not warrant (comp. *Talm. Zevach*. 46a, 105, 106; *Yom*. 20a, 24a, 68a; *Sanhedr*. 42b; *Kerith*. 6a; *Meil*. 11b). — In the phrase **וְהָיָה אֵשׁ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עָלָה**, the verb **הָיָה** governs two accusatives, one being the simple object (**הַמִּזְבֵּחַ**), and the other the thing into which the fire changes or transforms it by burning (**עָלָה**, sc. **אֵשׁ**); the literal translation is, therefore, "the ashes into which the fire has consumed the burnt-offering", that is, the ashes produced by the fire which consumed the burnt-offering (Ebn Ezra correctly **מִכִּילֹת** **הַשֵּׂפָתָה**); and **הָיָה** is, here construed like a verb of *forming* or *creating* (Gramm. § 102. 5; comp., however, Am. II. 1; Luther correctly as regards the sense, "und soll die Asche aufheben, die das Feuer des Brandopfers auf dem Altar gemacht hat"). It is not easy to discover the meaning of some translations (as Sept., *καὶ ἀπολαί τῆς κατακαύσεως, ἣν αὖ κατακαύσει τὸ πῦρ, τὴν ἀποκαύσειν αὐτὸν τὸ θεοῦ κατακαύσειν*).



where they remained and again required for the service in the Sanctuary (Ezek. XLIV. 19; comp. Ezra II. 69; Neh. VII. 70). — That the original design of the permanent fire of the altar was not the perpetuation of the heaven-sent fire (IX. 24), will be obvious from subsequent remarks (on IX. 22—24), although that opinion has been very extensively maintained (comp. *Philo*, Vit. Mos. III. 18; *Douglaci*, Anal. Sacr. I. p. 79; *Öhler*, l. c. p. 633; *Kurtz*, Opfere. p. 126; etc).

The absolute infinitive **וַיִּקְרַח** (ver. 7) has the force of the imperative (comp. II. 6; see Gramm. § 97. 4). — **וַיִּקְרַח** expresses motion more distinctly than **וַיִּקְרַח** (comp. IX. 5). — The subject of **וַיִּקְרַח** (ver. 8) is *one* of the sons of Aaron, or he who officiates. — The masculine suffix in **וַיִּקְרַח** points to the material of the **וַיִּקְרַח** collectively, and has almost the force of the neuter (comp. Gramm. § 84. a); the reading **וַיִּקְרַח** is unnecessary. — **וַיִּקְרַח** on the altar; comp. II. 2, **וַיִּקְרַח**. — **וַיִּקְרַח** (ver. 11), *statute*, is here *portion fixed by legal statute*; and **וַיִּקְרַח** *they have been given as thy legal portion and the legal portion of thy sons* (X. 14; comp. VII. 34; X. 15; Num. XVIII. 8; Ezek. XLIV. 14). — The bloodless offerings were to be eaten by the male descendants

to the other pass same phrase occurs. to the flesh of the 20), to the altar of b XXIX. 37), and t Tabernacle (Exod. of which cases is to ours, while, in t who "touch" the sa persons officiating that is, the prier however, understa discussion to mean. the offering shall given over to the S "to be instantaneou destroyed by it" (E p. 85) "or to be ob at it" (so Theodor. Ebn Ezra, Kurtz, I with a certain modif shall thenceforth t aloof from unclean manner as the ord 1—8), without, how in priestly honours a a law than which n or more troubleso received. To lessen t it has indeed been person who had thus "forfeited" to the s

Lord made by fire: every one that touches them shall be holy.

12. And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 13. This is the offering of Aaron and of his sons, which they shall offer to the Lord in the day when he is anointed —

evolved from the words **כָּל אֲשֶׁר יִגֹּעַ בְּדָם יִקְרָשׁ**, which can legitimately have no other sense than that above indicated. The Talmud understands them to mean — all the profane meat that touches the bloodless or the expiatory offerings, shall become holy like these: but the antithesis of **כָּל זָכָר בְּבֵנֵי אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** and **כָּל אֲשֶׁר** proves, that the latter words also refer to *persons*, not to *things*. It was reserved for Ghillany to discover that the layman who by chance touches holy things was to be *sacrificed* to God (comp. p. 413). The case of a private Israelite coming unwittingly into contact with sacred

food or sacred utensils, was not provided for, and was indeed not easy to deal with; for the layman could not become unclean by touching most holy things, and could, therefore, not be ordered to submit to any of the ordinary modes of purification; nor could he become holy by a mere and accidental contact; as, therefore, none of the fundamental laws applied to him, he was probably left to decide upon the proper manner of rectifying the mistake, and a sin-offering, which was ordered for all involuntary sins falling within the theocratic sphere (IV. 27), was most likely the usual means of atonement.

### 3. ON THE BLOODLESS OFFERING OF THE HIGH-PRIEST ON THE DAY OF HIS CONSECRATION, VI. 12—16.

12—16. From a comparatively remote period, some fixed ceremonial was observed at the consecration of the religious chief of the people; it was extremely simple and contrasted strikingly with the complicated, solemn, and highly symbolical ritual that was adopted or recommended at a later epoch and a more advanced stage of theocratic institutions (ch. VIII). How this striking change could be made, although the ordinance is here enjoined *for ever* (**לְדָוָם**, ver. 13), and as an *eternal* statute (**חֻק עוֹלָם**, ver. 15), and how yet both sections so contradictory to each other could be inserted by the compilers of Leviticus almost successively, will not surprise those who have made themselves familiar with the composition and gradual growth of the Book. It is hardly pro-

bable that our passage was desired to be understood of the consecration of the *later* High-priests, and the eighth chapter of that of Aaron himself; for here also we read, "This is the offering of Aaron and his sons" (comp. ver. 15). Now this sacrifice was to consist simply of two bloodless offerings, one presented in the morning, and the other in the evening, probably in analogy to the two daily holocausts burnt from an early age. It was indeed so unpretending that the quantity of flour used for each oblation was below the minimum later prescribed for even the very poorest of private individuals, which was an omer or the tenth part of an ephah (V. 11); for it was no more than half an ephah (ver. 13); this circumstance has given rise to the supposition that both offerings, that

divide it afterwards (*misnah*. Menach. IV.5); however, each oblation was complete in itself; and the double offering, at the beginning and the conclusion of the day, was evidently designed to impress the idea that the High-priest's whole existence should be devoted to his sacred duties and to the glory of God (comp. p. 40). It was prepared in the following manner. The flour was put into a pan, soaked or saturated with oil (מִדְּבַקֵּה), and of course mixed with salt (II. 13); this mass was divided into pieces, and so baked or toasted (ver. 14, see *infra*); for the "pieces" were meant to be analogous to the limbs into which the animal holocaust was divided before it was burnt (pp. 197, 198, see also p. 483). This ceremonial was to be repeated at the consecration of all the descendants of Aaron that might succeed him in the pontifical office (ver 15). But the offering could not be eaten by the High-priest because he presented it in his own name, nor by an ordinary priest, who was subordinate to the chief of his order; and it was, therefore, to be burnt entirely. With this individual case the writer or compiler connected the general rule, "Every bloodless offering of a priest shall be wholly

The term מִדְּבַקֵּה is decisive; for it is appropriate alone (see on IV singular מִדְּבַקֵּה (in the p מִדְּבַקֵּה, ver. 13) points priest; and the wo (ver. 15) can only be same supposition. (terms מִנְחָה מִדְּבַקֵּה (ver (ver. 15) imply mere here detailed shall 1 times whenever a ne initiated (comp. *R. Antiqq.* p. 621). I referring our law both priests and the High that the former had 1 tion here described c consecration only, but namely after the regul its *minchah* and before ing; (comp. *Mishn.* M 5; XI.3; *Rashi* in loc. it is not improbable later the practice among it is also mentioned (Ant. III. x. 7, οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδίον ἀναλωμάτων, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιῶντι Vict. c. 15, Opp. II. 25 ἡ ἐνδελεχὴς θυσία ἐστὶ ἱεροῦ τὸ δέοντα καὶ

with oil; thou shalt bring it well soaked; roasted cakes, an oblation of small pieces, shalt thou offer *for* a sweet odour to the Lord. 15. *And he who will be the anointed*

χῶς δὲς, where possibly the same custom may be referred to; comp. *Origen*. Homil. IV. in Levit., jubetur pontifex ex die qua unctus fuerit, semper et in perpetuum offerre similaginem etc.; *Outram*, De Sacrif. p. 90; *Reland*, Antiq. p. 621 note 7, p. 623 note 8; *Lundius*, Jüd. Heiligth. III. ix. 17, p. 514; *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. I. 212; *Baumgarten* in loc.; *Öhler*, l. c. p. 636; *Kurtz*, Opfere. pp. 302—305, containing many specious assertions, a. o.; and on the other hand, Ebn Ezra, Rashbam, *Kliefoth*, Liturg. Abhandl. IV. 111, 112; *Knobel* in loc.; *Keil*, Archaeol. I. 174, 175; *Thalhofer*, Unblut. Opfer, pp. 139—156, whose results are questionable, while his argumentation is feeble and unhistorical; *Delitzsch*, Hebräerbrief, pp. 315sqg., 761): but these later testimonies prove nothing as to the meaning of the Biblical statement and the earlier usage; מִיּוֹם הַמִּשְׁחָה cannot signify "from or after the day of his being anointed" (so Arab. Polygl. من يوم مسحه. Rosenm., Kurtz, who vainly refers to several inconclusive passages and among them to VII. 36, בַּיּוֹם מִשְׁחָה אֹהֵן, see notes in loc.); the circumstance that the High-priest himself, and not, as in the eighth chapter, Moses is reported as officiating, affords no argument, as the sacrifice here ordained stands in no connection whatever with the ceremony later described; the words מִנְחָה חֹמֶת, the only support for the supposition of a daily sacrifice, does certainly not necessitate that conception; nor do they mean "during the seven days continuously" in which the anointment was performed (*Keil*, l. c.), as the rite set forth in our passage is limited to one day, and is neither mentioned in the detailed command in Exodus (ch.

XXIX), nor in the full account of its execution (in ch. VIII), and can, therefore, have formed no part of the seven days' consecration; much less do they point to the ordinary daily *mincha* that accompanied the morning and evening holocaust (*Philo*, Quis Rer. Div. Her. I. c., τὰς ἐνδελεχῆς θυσίας ὁρᾷς εἰς ἰσὰ διηρημέναις, ἥν τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνάγουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς διὰ τῆς πεμδαλεως, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθρους τῶν δυνεῖν ἀμνῶν, οὗς ἀνατίθαι διαλεγεταί; *Cleric*. in loc., a. o.), since that oblation consisted merely of flour mingled with oil (Num. XXVIII. 5) and not of the differently prepared gift here described. As regards the untenable conjecture that the offering here ordained was to be presented by the High-priest daily, but by the common priests on the day of their consecration only (when they were 20 years old, *Abarbanel*, Introd. to Lev. c. 2, a. o.); nothing in the tenour of our verses justifies such distinction; and the 16th verse, the only one which alludes to the common priest, is a general remark suggested by the words just preceding with regard to the total burning of the offerings of the High-priest; nay that verse is possibly a later addition or gloss, the character of which it apparently bears, exactly as the following portion on the sin-offering (vers. 17—22) concludes with an addition of a general import (ver. 23, see *infra*). אֲרֹן וְכֹהֵן (ver. 13) is, therefore, *Aaron and his descendants*, a meaning of כֹהֵן which it has in ver. 15 also (מִכֹהֵן). — The construction מִיּוֹם הַמִּשְׁחָה, the passive of the verb (מִשְׁחָה) with the accusative מִיּוֹם, on the day of his being anointed, must be explained by the active form of expression which was in the writer's mind, "on the

priest in his place among his sons shall offer it: *it is* a statute for ever to the Lord; it shall be wholly burnt. 16. And every bloodless offering of a priest shall be wholly *burnt*; it shall not be eaten.

when they anoint him", a mode of speech not unusual in Hebrew; comp. יִשָּׂרְף אִתּוֹ (Josh. VII. 15) *he shall be burnt*, that is, you shall burn him (see Gram. § 76. 2). — מִנְחָה הַמִּיד *a perpetual offering* for מִנְחָה הַמִּיד (comp. עֹלֶה הַמִּיד Exod. XXIX. 42), see Gramm. § 87. 10. — For בָּעֵר the Samar. text has בִּין הָעֵרִים (comp. Exod. XXIX. 41; see p. 171). — On מְרֻבָּח *soaked*, see p. 105 note 23. — The words מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים (ver. 14) are difficult chiefly on account of the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον מִנְחָה, which has been referred to very various roots. It has been derived 1. From נָפַח *to become hard*, so that מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים are cakes which by frying are covered with a hard crust (so *Ravins* in *Relandi Antiqq.* p. 623); but that root does not exist in Hebrew. 2. From נָפַח (Arab. نفى) *to put upon, to raise* (comp. Targ. in 2 Ki. IV. 38; Ezek. XXIV. 3), referring here either to the tripod or the stones upon which the pot or pan was put to the fire, or to the shape in which the cakes were heaped or piled up, like the *strues* of the Romans (comp. *Fest.* p. 310; *Cato*, R. R. 134, 141, *struem commovere* or *facere*; *Ovid*, *Fast.* I. 276), which usage is, however, not applicable to our passage, although a certain arrangement was customary with regard to the shew-bread (hence called לֶחֶם הַמַּעֲרֵכֶת, Neh. X. 34). 3. From נָפַח *to diminish*; thus Rosenmüller who (followed by Thalhofer a. o.), believes that מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים is identical with מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים, and explains this word as "*comminuta, frustulatim concisa muneris frustorum*"; but to diminish is not equivalent with to break or divide in pieces; and the latter meaning

has evidently been given to the word on account of the accompanying מִנְחָה (comp. II. 6) with which it was supposed to be identical; and so already the Sept. (ἰσχυρά, *fracta, confusa, frusta*, though Vat. et Complut. have ἰσχυρά, and Gr. Venet. κλεβανίσματα *coctilia*), Samar., Pseudojon., Targ. Jerus., Syr., Saad.; and so Maurer a. o.). 4. From נָפַח *to cook or bake* (Rashi, Kimchi, Rashbam, Ebn Ezra, Mendelssohn, Gesenius), so that מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים would stand for מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים, with *nun formativum* (Gesen. Thes. p. 136), and מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים would be *cooked things or cakes* (Gr. Venet. *supra*); so explain Rashi and others, "thoroughly cooked; for the priest, after the frying, cooked the pieces in an oven, and then he fried them again in a pan"; and מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים have hence been translated *placentae biscoctae*, or *biscuit* (Mendels. *Zwieback*). But the radical objection to this etymology lies in the impossibility of a formation מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים for מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים from נָפַח, of which there is no analogy. More satisfactory is the derivation 5. From נָפַח *to burn, to roast* (comp. מִנְחָה and מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים *a place for burning the dead*, 2 Ki. XXIII. 10; Isai. XXX. 33, etc.; see p. 366), so that מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים or מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים would be something *roasted or baked* (so Fürst; comp. Aram. מִנְחָה *cake*, מִנְחָה *hearth*), and the words מִנְחָה פְּתִימִים would mean "roasted cakes of an offering of pieces", that is, an offering consisting of small roasted cakes, obtained in the manner described above. The construction is obvious (Gesen. *coctiones ferti in frusta comminuti*, i. e. *more ferti in frusta comminuti*). Josephus (*Antiqq.* III. x. 7) vaguely describes the offering ἀλευρον ἁλῆς μεμιγμένον, καὶ παρυγὰς ἐστίς

17. And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 18. Speak to Aaron and to his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin-offering: In the place where the burnt-offering is killed, shall the sin-offering be killed before the Lord; it is most holy. 19. The priest that offers it for expiation shall eat it; in the holy place shall it be eaten,

*βραχίλα*; the Vulgate renders quite inaccurately, "offeret autem eam calidam"; and absurd is a Talmudical explanation (reproduced by Saad., Ben Gannach, a. o.) that *לֶחֶם* is identical with *לֶחֶם חֲמִשָּׁה* or *לֶחֶם חֲמִשָּׁה* "it shall be baked half-raw." Knobel (Lev. p. 403) proposes to read *לֶחֶם*; but the Samar. and Onkelos already have *לֶחֶם*; and his arguments in support of *strues*,

which meaning he adopts in a modified form, do not accord with his usual simplicity of conception and soundness of judgment.—And the anointed priest *אֲדָמָה אֶת־בְּנָיו אֲדָמָה* (ver. 15) among his sons in his place shall do it, that is, that son or descendant of Aaron who will occupy his place (*אֲדָמָה*) as the anointed or High-priest (comp. Exod. XXIX. 30).

#### 4. ON SIN-OFFERINGS, VI. 17—23; and

#### 5. ON TRESPASS-OFFERINGS, VII. 1—7.

17—23 and VII. 1—7. To the laws concerning the holocaust and the bloodless offering (vers. 1—16), regulations regarding expiatory sacrifices (ver. 17—VII. 7) and eucharistic gifts (VII. 11—21) were later appended by a reviser desirous to complete the code in accordance with the progress which the sacrificial system had in the mean time made. Thus a certain consistency and fitness of arrangement are observable in these sections. Yet that arrangement is far from perfect. While the first two portions of this chapter (vers. 1—11) treat of general classes of offering, the third relates to a very particular and special case (vers. 12—16), but is again followed by laws on several great divisions of sacrifice (vers. 17—VII. 21). The sin-offering (*חַטָּאת*) precedes the trespass-offering (*עֲוֹנוֹת*), contrary to the natural sequence of their respective origin; and more anomalously still, the thank-offering follows after the expiatory sacrifices, though it is considerably anterior to them in antiquity. From the compiler's point of view,

however, these incongruities may be easily explained. He left the regulations concerning the High-priest's offering in the place in which he found them (vers. 12—16), because he saw that they could be understood as an appendix to the preceding laws on bloodless oblations (vers. 7—11), especially as he desired the latter to be referred to the regular cereal gift which was to accompany the daily holocausts (see *supra*); but he gave to the expiatory sacrifices the precedence over the eucharistic offerings, because he attached to the former far higher religious importance; and from the same consideration, he placed the sin-offering, in which the theocratic worship culminated, before the less solemn trespass-offering.

However, the ordinances respecting the expiatory sacrifices are quite general in their nature; there is indeed the main division into sin-offering and trespass-offering; but the distinction between these two species is vague and little defined; the victims are in both cases to be

in the Court of the Tent of Meeting. 20. Whoever shall touch its flesh shall be holy: and if anyone sprinkles of its blood upon any garment, thou shalt wash that whereon he has sprinkled it in the holy place. 21. And the earthen vessel wherein it is cooked shall be broken; and if it be cooked in a brazen vessel, then it shall be scoured and rinsed in water. 22. All the males among the priests shall eat it; it is most holy. 23. But no sin-offering, whereof *any* of the blood is brought into

killed in the same place (VII. 2; VI. 18); they are both "most holy" (VII. 1, 6; VI. 18, 22); they are both to be eaten by male priests alone, in the holy place or the Court (VII. 6; VI. 19, 22); the same parts of the animal were burnt in either sacrifice, though they are mentioned in the law of the trespass-offering only (VII. 3, 4); it is, in fact, expressly urged, "The sin-offering is like the trespass-offering, there is one law for them" (VII. 7); which rule, though immediately referring to the portions of the priests, appears to have a much larger scope. If there is a difference intended, it can be conjectured rather than ascertained. From the force and emphasis with which the writer cautions non-Levites against any contact whatever with the sin-offering, especially its blood (VI. 20, 21), it appears that he attributed, in some respect, a higher degree of sanctity to the sin-offering than even to the trespass-offering; but by what ceremony that superiority was conveyed, if it was conveyed at all, is in no way indicated. It may be contended that it was expressed by a different mode in the disposal of the blood, and that a statement to this effect was deemed unnecessary, because it had been previously made (IV. 30, 34). But such assertion is based upon an erroneous estimate of the relative ages of the present and the previous sections (ch. IV), and is in no way borne out by the tenour and spirit of our verses (comp. pp. 40—42). On the con-

trary, these regulations betray a time when the latest class of sacrifice had not been introduced long. Evidently to render them more intelligible to the reader, they are connected with the oldest and most familiar kind of offering, the holocausts, "In the place where they kill the burnt-offering, shall they kill the trespass-offering" (VII. 2), and, "In the place where the burnt-offering is killed, shall the sin-offering be killed" (VI. 18; comp. IV. 24); it is commanded that all the blood (דָּמָא) of the trespass-offering shall be sprinkled "on the altar round about" (עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סָבִיב, VII. 2), or on all its sides, exactly as was the case with the burnt-offerings (I. 5, 11), to which they were thus rendered equal in a most essential point; and the comprehensive maxim, "The sin-offering is like the trespass-offering, there is one law for them" (comp. XIV. 13), almost compels the conclusion that, at first, there was scarcely any distinction between the two beyond the choice of the animals and the nature of the offences for which they were respectively presented. From all this it seems manifest, that the general rule with which the chapter concludes, "But no sin-offering, whereof any blood is brought into the Tent of Meeting, to make atonement in the Holy, shall be eaten; it shall be burnt in the fire" (ver. 23) — that this rule is the addition of a much later time, when the gradation between the sin-offering of the High-priest, the



the Tent of Meeting to make atonement in the Holy, shall be eaten; it shall be burnt in the fire.

# CHAPTER VII.

1. And this is the law of the trespass-offering: It is most holy. 2. In the place where they kill the burnt-offering, shall they kill the trespass-offering; and its blood shall he [the priest] sprinkle round about upon the altar. 3. And he shall offer of it all its fat; the tail, and the fat that covers the bowels, 4. And the two

whole nation, the ruler, and the common Israelite (ch. IV), had been established, and was chiefly indicated by the manner in which the blood, the medium of atonement, was applied, whether it was disposed of in the Court or in the Holy, and whether it was sprinkled round the whole altar or put on the horns, its most characteristic part. This addition caused the precepts under discussion (VI. 17—22), which were originally meant to have general application (ver. 18, *וְהָיָה כְּחֹלֶט*), to be restricted to the sin-offering of the common Israelite only. But it was considered the more necessary as, from the tenour of the preceding verse (22), it might have been inferred that all sin-offerings alike could be eaten by the priests, and thus mistakes, deemed very grave from a theocratic point of view, might easily have been committed.—As sin-offerings became customary for transgressions which more immediately concerned the character of the holy community, they were naturally invested with greater sanctity and were more scrupulously guarded against every possible defilement. Not only were priests alone permitted to touch the flesh, but if by chance some blood was sprinkled upon a garment, it was to be washed out by the priest in the holy place, that is, in the Court of the Sanctuary, not by the Israelite to whom the garment

belonged; because the holy blood could be touched by none but priestly hands, and it would be profaned were it taken, with the garment, beyond the precincts of the Sanctuary. If the flesh was cooked in an earthen vessel, the latter was to be broken, because the juice of the holy meat might soak into the unglazed earthenware, and then by cooking enter into a layman's food, or be applied to some unworthy use; but if the utensil was of metal, especially of brass, it required merely to be thoroughly washed and scoured with water (Jewish tradition says, with *boiling* water), because its hardness did not admit the holy fluid (VI. 20, 21).

The ritual of both sin- and trespass-offering is but imperfectly stated; but it appears, that the ceremonies necessarily common to all sacrifices and well-known from the practice of the *earlier* classes, particularly the holocaust, were designedly not specified in detail; so for instance is the rite of imposition of the hand omitted, though it was undoubtedly performed; for the personal connection which it typifies between the offerer and the victim, was preeminently essential and significant in expiatory sacrifices (see pp. 175, 176). Nor are the animals mentioned, though the allusion to the "fat tail" (*וְהַזָּנָה*, VII. 3) in connection with the trespass-offering, proves that, for this class,

kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the flanks, and the great lobe of the liver, which he shall take off by the kidneys. 5. And the priest shall burn them upon the altar *for* an offering made by fire to the Lord; it is a trespass-offering. 6. Every male among the priests shall eat it; it shall be eaten in the holy place; it is most holy. 7. As the sin-offering is, so is

sheep were the ordinary victims (see pp. 83, 489, 490). If a priest presented a trespass-offering, it was, no doubt, entirely burnt, like the bloodless oblation of a priest (VI. 16), and for the same reasons (see *supra* p. 538).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The construct state (בְּקִדְשִׁים) before the relative (וְשָׂרֵף, VI. 18; VII. 2; IV. 24, 33) is not unusual in Hebrew, because, in such cases, the logical relation exists as between a noun and a dependent genitive (Gramm. § 87. 8); so here “in the place of the killing of the burnt-offering”; although וְשָׂרֵף has, in this connection, less the power of a relative pronoun, than of the adverb *where* (comp. Gramm. § 107. 3). — The verb שָׂרַף, in Piel (VI. 19) usually signifies *to expiate*, and is synonymous with שָׁפַךְ (see p. 476); but it has here the wider meaning *to perform a sin-offering*, and הַכֹּהֵן הַמִּשְׁחֵם אֹתָהּ is *the priest who offers it* (the מִשְׁחֵם) *for expiation* (comp. IX. 15; Sept. ὁ ἀνατίθων αὐτήν, Vulg. qui offert, but Onkel. כהנא דמכפר בדמה “the priest who makes atonement with its blood”, and Ebn Ezra הזורק דם כאלו אמר המסיר חטא החוטא, etc.). — The words וְשָׂרֵף יזה to the end of the verse (20) are an *anacoluthon* (Gram. § 104. 5), but only as regards the general construction, not the persons of the verb whom it is important to understand quite literally, “and he who sprinkles of its blood on any garment — thou shalt wash in a holy place that on which he has sprinkled”, that is, if any one (any common Israelite) sprink-

les of its blood upon a garment, thou (Aaron or the priest, not he, the Israelite) shalt wash in a holy place that on which he has sprinkled. The Samar. has, therefore, erroneously יכבש. Ebn Ezra explains, “or if somebody *else* sprinkles upon *the meat*” (עליו), which is forced and objectionable. — The Talmud observes, that a garment on which blood not destined for sprinkling was put, did not require to be washed; but this is against the spirit of the ordinance; for הַדָּם is, quite generally, *any of its blood*. — On הַבְּשָׂמָה (with the article) *any garment* see Gram. §. 83. 6. — The Hebrews used, for cooking, utensils of earthenware (כְּלֵי-חַרְצִית), of wood, and of copper (כְּלֵי-נְחָשׁ, ver. 21; XI. 33; XV. 12); the law concerning the two former was, of course, identical, as the same considerations applied to both. Utensils of copper could hardly be dangerous to a people trained and induced to cleanliness by a ceremonial law of great minuteness and rigour. — On the addition of ver. 23, see *supra*. — The later Jewish conception and development of the law concerning the blood of sin-offerings that fell on a garment or a vessel, may be seen in *Mishnah*, Zevach. XI. 1—8. The Sept. renders (in VII. 1), correctly as regards the meaning, καὶ οὗτος ὁ νόμος τοῦ κριοῦ τοῦ περὶ τῆς πλημμελείας, on account of הַבְּשָׂמָה (in ver. 3, see *supra*; comp. *Maimon*. Maas. Hakkorban. VIII. 1—10). — The victims were killed by those who offered them, but the blood was sprinkled by the priests, hence

the trespass-offering; *there is one law for them: the priest that makes atonement therewith, shall have it.*

8. And the priest that offers any man's burnt-offering, the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt-

the plural **וְהָיָה**, but the singular **וְהָיָה** (VII. 2). — The silence of the text with regard to imposition of the hand, has led some critics to suppose that this rite was not performed in trespass-offerings, because "it was excluded by their character as sacrifices of compensation and restitution" (*Rink, Stud. u. Krit.* 1855, pp. 375, 376); or because "the imposition of the hand which expressed the free surrender of the victim, was inappropriate in a sacrifice which was presented as a forfeited debt" (Knobel); but the imposition of the hand did not, in all cases, denote surrender, and the notion of *debt* for which restitution is required, does not exhaust the character of the trespass-offering (pp. 175 note 18, 273, 274). The rite is not mentioned in the corresponding short statements regarding the sin-offering either (VI. 18, 19); but as this omission does not prove its

non-observance, so is the silence in the laws of the trespass-offering inconclusive. — The Sept., the Syr., and Targ. Jerus. read (in ver. 3) **וְהָיָה לַכֹּהֵן**, instead of **וְהָיָה לַכֹּהֵן** (*and it shall be for the priest*, etc.), and the Vulg. has merely, *offerent ex ea causam* etc., leaving out **וְהָיָה לַכֹּהֵן**, from considerations that have been specified above (p. 494). — The Samaritan text reads, and the Sept. expresses, at the end of the third verse **וְהָיָה לַכֹּהֵן מִן הַחֵלֶב אֲשֶׁר עַל הַקֶּרֶב**, which addition is appropriate (III. 3, 9, 14; IV. 8, etc.), though not indispensable, as it is implied in the general term **וְהָיָה לַכֹּהֵן**, at the beginning of the verse. — The equality of the sin-offering and trespass-offering (ver. 7) consists indeed, in the first instance, in the equality of the portions falling to the share of the priests; but the terms point to a greater and more general affinity.

## 6. THE PORTIONS OF BURNT-OFFERINGS AND BLOODLESS OFFERINGS TO BE LEFT TO THE PRIESTS, VII. 8—10.

8—10. One of the principal ends of the second code of laws (ch. VI and VII) is to define the portions which should belong to the priests in the various classes of sacrifice. With this view, some small but significant interpolations were inserted in preceding sections (VI. 5, 10); and with the same view some additions are here made, designed to further that object. They concern the holocausts and the bloodless offerings, which, in the writer's time, appeared to require more definite regulations. In holocausts, all the meat and fat were indeed to be consumed upon the altar (I. 6, 9, 12, 13); but no

law seems to have existed with respect to the hide of the victim, which, for obvious reasons, was not burnt in the sacred flames. It is not impossible that originally the skin, not claimed by the Deity, remained the property of the worshipper. But when the character of the holocaust, as an offering *entirely* to be delivered to God (**לַיהוָה**, p. 236), was more decidedly urged, it was deemed appropriate that the offerer should renounce the skin of the victim also, and surrender it to the priests, who in the mean time had grown into a numerous order, and required more ample provision. This arrangement

offering which he has offered. 9. And every bloodless offering that is baked in the oven, and every one that is prepared in the pot and in a pan, shall belong to

must have appeared both more natural and more practicable at a time, when the introduction of expiatory offerings accustomed the Israelite to give up the whole animal to the sacred service, whether a part of the flesh was eaten by the priests, or the whole, including the skin, was burnt either on the altar or in a clean and appointed place (IV. 11, 12). But the hide of animals presented as thank-offerings, was most probably returned to the offerer, since it is nowhere alluded to as a priestly appurtenance. (comp. *Mishn. Zevach. XII. 3*). Among other nations also, as the Greeks, the skin of victims, though occasionally burnt on the altar (*Plut. Sympos. VI. viii. 1*; *Lucian, De Sacrific. c. 13*), generally belonged to the priests (*Schol. ad Aristoph. Plut. 1181*; *Vesp. 715*), who, however, superstitiously used it for seeking prophetic dreams by sleeping upon it (p. 377); in some instances, the offerer knelt upon the hide, and placed the victim's feet and head upon his own head, in order to indicate the animal's vicarious death (p. 298).

In a preceding section of this code (VI. 8-11), portions of the most simple kind of offerings only, those consisting of flour, oil, and incense, were assigned to the priests. It was deemed essential to secure for them the corresponding shares in all other classes of cereal oblations, especially those prepared in the oven, the pot, or pan (comp. II. 4-10); and the reviser, therefore, here supplied this omission (ver. 9). Now, it was the most natural practice, that the legal share in the offering should be allowed to the priest who performed the ceremonies of its presentation; this is expressly mentioned, in the earliest regulations on the sacrifices, in reference

to the trespass-offering, "The priest that makes atonement therewith shall have it" (VII. 7), and to the sin-offering, "The priest that offers it for expiation shall eat it" (VI. 19); and now the same injunction is added with regard to the holocaust, "The priest that offers any man's burnt-offering, he shall have to himself the skin of the burnt-offering which he has offered" (ver. 8), with regard to many kinds of bloodless oblation, "Every bloodless offering that is baked in the oven, and every one that is prepared in the pot and in the pan, shall belong to the priest that offers it" (ver. 9), and to the thank-offering, "And he shall offer of it one out of each oblation as a gift to the Lord; to the priest who sprinkles the blood of the thank-offering shall it belong" (ver. 14). But when the order of priesthood was, or was to be, better organised, it was found expedient, to reserve a part of the revenues to those priests also who did not exercise sacrificial functions, whether they were occupied at the Sanctuary, or were, for any reason, prevented from assisting in its work; therefore, some of the perquisites were to be collected for all priests alike, as a common stock, and to be distributed among them equally, thus affording subsistence to all; these perquisites were the simplest kind of the cereal oblations, "Every bloodless offering, mingled with oil, or dry, shall belong to all the sons of Aaron, to one as well as to another" (ver. 10), an ordinance later extended to all classes of cereal offering (II. 3, 10); and the right shoulder of the thank-offering, "He among the sons of Aaron, that offers the blood of the thank-offerings, and the fat, shall have the right shoulder for his portion" (ver. 33); whereas

the priest that offers it. 10. And every bloodless offering, mingled with oil, and dry, shall belong to all the sons of Aaron, to one *as well* as to another.

11. And this is the law of the sacrifice of thank-offerings, which shall be offered to the Lord. 12. If a man offer it for praise, then he shall offer with the sacrifice

the breast belonged to all the priests alike (ver. 33; comp. notes on II. 1—13, and the Treatise on Priesthood, sect. III. 13).—The “bloodless offering mingled with oil” comprises not only the cereal oblation which accompanied the burnt offering (Exod. XXIX. 40; Num. XXVIII. 5), but also all independent cereal gifts so prepared; whereas the “dry bloodless offering” (לֶחֶם) embraces only the cereal sin-offering (V. 11) and the “offering of jealousy” (Num. V. 15), to which neither oil nor frank-incense was to be added (p. 283). The reason why the bloodless oblations dressed in an oven, pan, or pot, belonged to the officiating priest exclusively, was no doubt, because the latter assisted in, or at least directed, their preparation, and had, therefore, greater labour to bestow upon them; evidently not, because they were to be consumed more rapidly, which end would have been better secured by their distribution among all priests; or because they were but rarely and sparingly offered, whereas the simpler oblations were presented in such abundance that the officiating priest could not possibly consume them (Keil) — an unsupported conjecture, weakened by the circumstance that each oblation might have been presented by

a different priest. — It is a matter of course, though here not mentioned, as it is omitted elsewhere (ver. 14), that of all the bloodless offerings “a memorial” (זִכָּרֹן) was to be burnt to God (II. 2, 9, 16); for it is of the very nature of sacrifice that at least a part of it is to be devoted to the deity.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The force of the injunction by which the hide of holocausts was to be secured to the officiating priest (ver. 8), is reflected in the peculiarly emphatic wording, which almost proves that the ordinance was new or unfamiliar: it is to the priest, and to none else, that the skin should belong; and therefore לֵבַד begins the sentence, the construction is then inverted — לֵבַדְּךָ, to which the personal pronoun or suffix, לְךָ, is again added to enhance the weight of the sentence (comp. Gram. § 75. 4). — “The command to leave the hides to the priests, assumes a greater significance by a reference to the first garments of men made of the skins of animals by the mercy of God (Gen. III. 21)” — observes Baumgarten with gravity. — The Vulgate renders לֵבַדְּךָ לְךָ (ver. 10) correctly, cunctis illis Aaron mensura aequa per singulos dividetur.

## 7. REGULATIONS REGARDING THANK-OFFERINGS, VII. 11—21.

11—21. The thank-offerings have, in the preceding part of this document, but incidentally and rather incongruously been alluded to in what is probably a later insertion (VI. 5). They

are now treated of with considerable minuteness, yet more in reference to their ritual and their nature than with regard to the shares to be claimed by the priests. They were divided into

of praise unleavened cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil, and fine flour soaked in oil and made into cakes mingled with oil. 13. Besides *unleavened* cakes, he shall offer *for* his offering leavened bread with the sacrifice of praise of his thank-offering. 14. And he shall offer of it one out of each oblation as a gift to the Lord; to the priest who sprinkles the blood of the thank-offering shall it belong. 15. And the flesh of the sacrifice of his thank-offering for praise shall be eaten on the day of its sacrifice; he shall not leave *any* of it until the morning. 16. But if the sacrifice of his offering *be* a vow or a voluntary offering, it shall be eaten on the day that he offers his sacrifice; and on the morrow the remainder of it shall be eaten. 17. And the remainder of the flesh of the sacrifice shall be burnt with fire on the third day. 18. And if *any* of the flesh of the sacri-

two chief classes, those presented in grateful acknowledgment of some Divine favour, or "for praise" (לְחֵלֶב עֹלָה, ver. 12), and those offered in consequence of a vow or as a free-will gift (לְחֵלֶב נֶדָבָה, ver. 16). The former was the more sacred kind, evidently because it was the spontaneous expression of pious devotion, whereas the vow rendered the sacrifice dependent on some future boon and was then compulsory, and even the free-will gift was probably regarded as a covert or indirect mode of supplication, and thus bore a less unselfish character. The animal praise-offering, connected as it was with a social repast, was accompanied by a very copious bloodless oblation which consisted not only of three kinds of unleavened cakes, but, besides, of leavened loaves, because the thank-offering had indeed a religious aspect, like every sacrifice, but as it generally referred to temporal prosperity, to rescue and safety, it was appropriately coupled with the ordinary staple of subsistence, or the daily bread. But though the latter was offered up together with the unleavened cakes,

no portion of it was burnt on the altar as a part of the memorial (לְחֵלֶב עֹלָה), because the prohibition that nothing leavened should rise in the sacred flames "as an offering made by fire to the Lord", or "for a sweet odour" to Him, was universal and admitted of no exception (ll. 11, 12). Now the priest who performed the sacrifice or "who sprinkled the blood of the thank-offering", received one cake or loaf of each of the four kinds presented, while the rest belonged to the worshipper, to be consumed by him and his guests together with his share of the victim's meat. But the meals were to be held within a certain specified time so limited that their connection with the sacrifice remained vividly impressed upon the offerer and his associates, and that, though joyful and convivial, they were to be felt as *sacrificial* repasts and as endowed with a character of holiness. How the law arose that the praise-offering (לְחֵלֶב עֹלָה) was to be consumed on the day of sacrifice itself, while the vow- and voluntary offerings were permitted on the following day also; why the contravention of this



fice of his thank-offering be yet eaten on the third day, he that offers it shall not be accepted, it shall not be imputed to him; it shall be an abomination, and the person that eats of it shall bear his iniquity. 19. And the flesh that touches any unclean *thing* shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire; and as for the flesh, everyone *that is* clean may eat *of the* flesh. 20. But the

injunction was threatened with the awful penalty of excision (כְּרֵת); how the extreme sacredness of the flesh was guarded (vers. 19—21); how we may discover traces of an earlier character of the מִנְחָה as offerings for the confirmation of treaties, oaths, and vows, and as offerings of supplication; these questions and others connected with thank-offerings have been discussed in another place (pp. 36, 37, 211, 248).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The Septuagint (except the Ed. Complut.) commences the seventh chapter with the eleventh verse, which is not inappropriate, as at least the law of the מִנְחָה (vers. 1—7) ought to be connected with that of the חֻמֶּת (VL 17—23). — The thank-offering לַיהוָה אשר יקריב ליהוה, “which one offers to the Lord”, that is, אשר יקריב *the offerer*, or *he who offers it*, an ellipsis not unusual in Hebrew; comp. בואו יתהלל המהלל (Jer. IX. 23) *in this let him glory who glories*, that is, let men glory in this (see Gramm. § LXXVI). — It is well known that על has the meaning of *besides, in addition to, or together with* (ver. 30; Gen. XXVIII. 9; Ex. XII. 8. 9; Lev. XXIII. 18; comp. Gramm. § 105. 5), and in this sense it is repeatedly used in our passage: he shall offer *with the praise-offering* (על זבח תודה) unleavened cakes etc. (ver. 12); and *besides these unleavened cakes* (על חלה, ver. 13), he shall offer leavened bread for his offering (יקריב קרבנו), *together with the animal killed for the praise-offering* (על זבח תודה שלמים). This is the meaning of the injunctions;

the words על חלה do not, therefore, prove the prevalence of the custom “of placing unleavened cakes prepared with oil upon a leavened cake as upon a plate or saucer” (*Winer, Real-W. II. 494; Michael, a. o.*); nor was the leavened bread an unessential part of the oblation “which the offerer brought with him as a matter of course to eat with the meat” (Knobel, Keil), as we have above alluded to its peculiar significance in connection with thank-offerings; in fact, the לחם חמץ is distinctly designated קרבנו (ver. 13), which word, according to the context as just explained, does not refer to the unleavened, but to the leavened bread. Indeed חלה and לחם חמץ are contrasted with each other as the two necessary, if not equally important, ingredients of the cereal oblation; and for this reason חלה, though referring to the unleavened cakes described immediately before, has not the article — “besides unleavened cakes he shall bring leavened bread for his offering.” The third sort of unleavened cakes, though rather incoherently described (סלת קרקפת סלת בלולה בשמן) ver. 12, literally, *fine flour soaked, cakes, mingled with oil*), may be ascertained with safety, as in some passages it is more simply termed סלת שמן (VIII. 26; Ezek. XXIX. 23): *fine flour soaked with oil was baked into cakes, which were again softened and mingled with oil*. The Sept. renders inaccurately *καὶ σπιδανον παρυφαντον ἐν ἑλαίῳ*, omitting two words (חלה בלולה); Vulg. coctamque similam et collyridas



i. e. one cake of each of the four kinds of cereal offerings (comp. VIII. 26; Exod. XXIX. 23: חֶלֶת מִצֶּה אֶחָד וְחֶלֶת (לֶחֶם שֶׁמֶן אֶחָד וְרִיקָה אֶחָד), not "one of the whole oblation", which would require מִזֶּלֶל דִּקְרָה (comp. Gramm. § 83. 13); nor is it probable that the law would have left it uncertain from which of the four kinds the priest was to take the "gift" (הִרְזָקָה; for "gift", not "heave-offering" is here, as in almost all passages, the meaning of הִרְזָקָה, see p. 203, note 10); the singular הִרְזָקָה refers to אֶחָד, which has distributive meaning (Gramm. § 75. 7. c, d). According to the Talmud, 40 cakes were to be offered, so that the priest, receiving one of each sort, had the tenth part. — The meat of the thank-offering presented as a vow or a free-will gift was to be eaten on the day of the sacrifice וְעֹפְרִיתוֹ וְהַעֲוִיָּה מִצֶּה יֵאָכֵל "and on the following day the remainder of it shall be eaten" (ver. 16), for after expressions of time capable of being resolved into a first clause, the other part of the sentence may be introduced by וְ as a second clause, "and when the following day comes, then the remainder of it shall be eaten" (comp. וְכֵן יִבְנֶה אֶת־בְּיָתָא Prov. XXIV. 27. "afterwards thou shalt build the

prose; nor does it contain any want of accuracy in its use of the word quid in crastinum licitum est; Luth bleibt auf den and doch essen), or in וְדִי וְדִשְׁחֵא וְכִי completeness of merely וְדִי וְדִשְׁחֵא וְכִי מִן הַיָּאֵל וְכִי if it be eaten on the day it is perfectly adequate. Artificial is the Mishnah (Zevach Talmud (Zevach. writers (as Rashi Mendelssohn in laboriously but by Wessely in the meat of the thank-offering time of its being the offerer to be eaten (Mendelssohn. Hätte der Freudenopfer gegessen werden וְכִי would thought or intended meditated and was not to be expected in a pious sacrifice inclined to a remark as disapproving

people. 21. And if a person touch any unclean *thing*, *whether* uncleanness of man, or *any* unclean beast, or any unclean abomination, and eat of the flesh of the sacrifice of thank-offerings, which *belong* to the Lord, that person shall be cut off from his people.

sacrifice beyond the power of the worshipper, rendering it dependent not on his own piety but on extraneous circumstances. The words in question mean clearly, "it (the offering) *shall not be imputed or counted to him* (the offerer), who has to present another one instead; Onkel. correctly לא יתחשב ליה, and Jonath. more clearly לא יתחשב ליה לזכו, it shall not be imputed to him as righteousness or merit (comp. Gen. XV. 6; etc.). — The offerer to whom the meat belonged was responsible for its lawful disposal; therefore, if it was eaten by any one beyond the prescribed time, he had to bear the consequence of his negligence which annulled the effect of his sacrifice, while he who ate of the meat after the legal period "bore his guilt" (עונה) — On ירצה, comp. I. 3, 4, pp. 8, 475. — The flesh eaten on the third day after the sacrifice is described as פגול (ver. 18; comp. XIX. 7), the meaning of which is certainly *abomination, abhorrence, nauseousness* (from פגל used in the Talmud in Piel to render *foetid*, and Hithp. to be made *foetid*, comp. Arab. فحل, بعل, and perhaps kindred to פגר, which word Targ. Jonath. renders in 1 Sam. XVII. 46 by פגול); it is used in parallelism with נבלה וטרפה flesh of animals that died of themselves or were torn by wild beasts (see *infra* on vers. 22—27; comp. Ezek. XIV. 14, (פגול פגול), and in connection with חזיר pig, in reference to idolatrous sacrifices (Isai. LXV. 4, מרק פגלים broth of abominable things, coupled with קשׁר and חזיר); and so Sept. μασμα, or in Ezek. IV. 14 σφαλας βιβλους (al. lect. σφαλας); Parch. סמא; Luth., De. Wette,

a. o. Gräuel; less strongly Onkel. מְרִיץ, Targ. Jerus. and Uzz. פְּסִיל, Talm. (Pesach. 82b) change of appearance (עֵינֹר צוּרָה), and so Kimchi רִבְשָׁר וְרִבְשָׁרָה שְׁנִשְׁחָנָה רִדָּה וּמִרְאָהָ. — The sense and construction of the nineteenth verse are clear and appropriate, "the flesh that touches any unclean thing shall not be eaten, it shall be burnt with fire; and as for the flesh, every one that is clean may eat of it" (וְהִבְשָׁר כֹּל) (וְהִבְשָׁר), the principal notion, though the accusative, being put at the beginning (וְהִבְשָׁר), but repeated in its due place (בֶּשֶׁר, Gram. § 196.6); the latter word has not the article, because it has indefinite meaning, *any part of the flesh*, or simply *of the flesh* (similarly Onk., Jon., Ven. Gr., Ar. Exp.). The received text is, therefore, quite satisfactory, and requires no emendations; some read בֶּשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהִבְשָׁר (Sam., Syr., Houbigant), so that the conclusion of the verse is בֶּשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל; while Michaelis proposes בֶּשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהִבְשָׁר בֶּשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל, adding to the last word בֶּשֶׁר the ל of the first word of the following verse (וְהִבְשָׁר), evidently on account of the wanting article in בֶּשֶׁר, the omission of which, however, may be explained in the manner indicated. — Nor is the alteration of בֶּשֶׁר (ver. 21) into בֶּשֶׁר called for (an alteration adopted by the Samar., Onkel., Syr., Saad., and found in 6 mss. of Kennicot and 2 of De Rossi; comp. V. 2), and certainly not on account of the adjective טָמֵא with which it is connected; for בֶּשֶׁר טָמֵא is no un-Hebrew tautology (Knobel compares רָעָה רָעָה, Ezek. VI. 11; VIII. 2; Sept. ὅλην ὅλην, Vulg. omnia

22. And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 23. Speak to the children of Israel, saying, You shall not eat any fat, of ox, or of sheep, or of goat. 24. And the fat of *the beast* that dies of itself, and the fat of that which is torn *by beasts*, may be employed for any *other* use: but

rei quae polluere potest; and so Pers., Ar. Esp., Gr. Ven., etc.), so that שֶׁקֶץ נִמְסָה is almost equivalent to כָּל דָּבָר נִמְסָה, but includes especially the unclean fishes, birds, and the reptiles

(comp. XI. 10—13, 20, 23), in contradistinction to the impurity of *man* and *animal* נִמְסָה אָדָם וְכָל חַיָּה נִמְסָה (comp. Ezek. VIII. 10; see the Treatise before the eleventh chapter).

### 8. PROHIBITION AGAINST EATING THE FAT AND BLOOD OF ANIMALS, VII. 22—27.

22—27. The aversion rooted in the Hebrew mind against partaking of what was supposed to be the seat or the emblem of animal life, was too strong and too universal, not to be embodied in a series of laws relating to animal sacrifices. Therefore, just as the interdiction against eating the blood and fat was appended to the code which begins the Book (III. 17), so it was inserted in the second code, but with greater fulness of detail. As the unlawfulness of eating fat was probably of later date and less familiar to the people, it was treated of first, and with unmistakable clearness: the fat of the sacrificial quadrupeds, the ox, the sheep, and the goat, was to be avoided, even if these animals were not killed as sacrifices, and of course if they died of themselves or were torn by beasts (נִבְלָה וְצִדָּה), since then they were entirely unclean (XVII. 15; XXII. 8); in the latter case, however, the fat was permitted for other purposes, "it may be employed for any *other* use" (יֵעָרֵךְ לְכָל-דָּבָר אֲחֵר); but in what manner that of clean sacrificial animals, whether slaughtered for the altar or not, was to be disposed of, is not specified in the Pentateuch. However, it must be observed that the laws with regard to fat seem to have arisen from the sacrificial system;

therefore, the fat of other clean quadrupeds which were not offered, such as stags and roes, or of clean birds, was lawful; the fat on the bowels, the kidneys, and the flanks only (III. 4) was forbidden, not that imbedded in the flesh and remaining invisible unless the latter is cut; and the prohibition was probably at first limited to the places where offerings were presented, and but gradually extended universally (III. 17; see p. 131). More comprehensive still is the precept concerning blood; it relates to all quadrupeds, whether sacrificial animals or not, and to all birds, and it is applicable to all times and countries: but the blood of fishes, and according to the Talmud, of the clean locusts (XI. 22), is not interdicted, probably because they were never presented as offerings; and thus we see here the partial operation of the same rule which pervades the regulations on fat. Hence Jewish tradition, though acknowledging the unlawfulness of all blood (ver. 26), restricted the dread punishment of excision to "the blood of life" (דָּם חַיָּה, XVII. 11), that is, to the blood the loss of which causes the cessation of life; while it attributed a more lenient penalty to eating the blood found in

you shall certainly not eat it: 25. For whoever eats the fat of the beast, of which *men* present an offering made by fire to the Lord, the person that eats *it* shall be cut off from his people. 26. And you shall eat no blood in all your habitations, *whether it be* of fowl or

the limba, the liver, or the spleen (Yoreh Deah § 67); as indeed atonement also was wrought by "the blood of life" only, and not by any other (see p. 124). Why the prohibition of blood and fat is enforced with such vehement severity, and how it arose and took root, has been explained before (pp. 123—129).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — The injunction of the law against eating fat and blood both here and in III. 17, especially as that injunction occurs in either place in a modified form, must be regarded as one of the various proofs to show that the first seven chapters of Leviticus consist of at least two independent codes. The defence of their unity which has been attempted, is extremely vague and artificial; so observes Ranke, one of the calmest and clearest apologists (Untersuchungen, II. 79), that all classes of sacrifice are, in the seven chapters, discussed twice, first from their Divine, and then from their human side; thus in III. 17 the blood and fat are forbidden because they belong to God, in VII. 22—27 because they are unlawful food of men; for this reason, the prohibition occurs both times in connection with the thank-offerings, which were associated with public repasts; and the second passage is the natural and legal development of the first, so that both stand in their proper place. But all this is utterly untenable. 1. Not all classes of sacrifice are discussed twice; the laws concerning the oblation of the High-priest on the day of his consecration (VI. 12—16), has no corresponding enactment in the earlier chapters; moreover, more or less important deviations

have been pointed out with regard to almost all the other passages. 2. In III. 17 also the prohibition is entirely restricted to the *eating* of fat and blood, "it shall be an eternal statute for your generations throughout your dwellings, You shall eat neither fat nor blood"; and in VII. 25, the interdiction of the fat is distinctly connected with the laws of sacrifice and the altar. 3. The section VII. 22—27 can hardly be considered to stand "in connection with the thank-offerings", as it has its own heading and is followed by a new introduction; it must, therefore, be regarded as a distinct precept in itself, and helps to prove the compound character of these chapters. 4. So far from being "the legal development" of III. 17, it is rather a restriction of that command (see *supra*). — נבלה, from נבל, kindred to נפל to fall, to fade or die away, is properly a corpse or carcass, like נבלה (Judg. XIV. 8; comp. Jer. IX. 21; Sept. *saipa*, *saipos*, *συναμαρτω*), whether of men (Deut. XXI. 23; XXVIII. 26; 2 Ki. IX. 37; Isai. XXVI. 19; Ps. LXXIX. 2; etc.) or of unclean animals (Lev. V. 2; XI. 11, 24, 27, 28, etc.); and, therefore, the flesh of a beast that had fallen or died of itself (Kimchi explains הנייה הניחה הנופלה, and adds נבלה היא מענין נפילה, and so Parchon); while נבלה, from נבל to tear, is the flesh of an animal torn by beasts of prey, and is frequently coupled with נבלה (XVII. 15; XXII. 8; Deut. XIV. 21; Ezek. IV. 14; XLIV. 31). — The preposition ל in לענין (ver. 26) means *with regard to*, as in ver. 30; V. 3, 4 (Gram. § 105.8). — Ibn Ezra (note on ver. 18) believes

of beast. 27. Any person that eats any blood, that person shall be cut off from his people.

28. And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 29. Speak to the children of Israel, saying, He that offers the sacrifice of his thank-offering to the Lord shall bring his oblation to the Lord of the sacrifice of his thank-offerings. 30. His *own* hands shall bring the offerings of the Lord made by fire, the fat with the breast shall he bring, the breast to be waved *for* a wave-offering before the Lord. 31. And the priest shall burn the fat upon the altar; but the breast shall belong to Aaron and his sons. 32. And the right shoulder shall you give to the priest as a gift from the sacrifice of your

that the fat of *thank-offerings* only, not that of other animal sacrifices is here forbidden, an opinion utterly at variance both with the words and the spirit of these commands (vers. 23, 25); the place which they occupy in the midst of the ordinances of thank-offerings, affords no proof, since they form a separate law introduced by a separate heading (ver. 22). — The curious opinion of Michaelis who discovered in the interdiction of fat an indirect measure for encouraging the cultivation of the olive-tree, and who, strange to say,

has found many adherents, and several other untenable views on the motive of our law, have been above alluded to (p. 132). — It has been contended that the words "in all your habitations" are meant to express that the Hebrews were indeed to abstain from blood *in their homes*, while they were permitted to eat the blood of *sacrifices* (*Ghillany*, *Menschenopfer*, p. 610), an opinion connected with a complete system of absurd and perverse, if not malignant, distortions of the Old Testament (pp. 403—416).

## 9. THE PORTIONS OF THANK-OFFERINGS TO BE LEFT TO THE PRIESTS, VII. 28—34.

28—34. As with regard to the holocausts and the bloodless offerings (vers. 6—10), so with regard to the thank-offerings, it appeared important to the reviser to add injunctions on the share which the priests were entitled to claim. The offerer was to bring the gift which belonged to God and to His servants, with his own hands, spontaneously and cheerfully (see p. 249). On the altar were burnt the fat and the fat parts; the officiating priest was rewarded with the right shoulder; and the common order of the priests re-

ceived the breast (comp. *supra* on vers. 8—10). The shoulder was a portion (תְּרִיבָה) or a present (תְּנִיבָה) for the acting Aaronite, and was, therefore, "taken from" the whole victim (מִכָּל הַזֶּבֶחַ); but the breast was to be devoted to God by the peculiar rite of "waving" (תְּנִיבָה), which marked the offering as consecrated to the Lord of heaven and earth (see pp. 199—201). The right shoulder was intended as a peculiar distinction; for the right side was, among ancient nations, generally regarded as pre-eminently honourable

thank-offerings. 33. He among the sons of Aaron, that offers the blood of the thank-offerings, and the fat, shall have the right shoulder for *his* portion. 34. For the wave-breast and the gift-shoulder have I taken of the children of Israel from the sacrifices of their thank-offerings, and have given them to Aaron the priest and

or auspicious; right hand and happiness became identical terms — notions which were partially shared by the Hebrews from early times (see p. 176, note 2; and on the subject of this section in general see the Treatise on Priesthood, ch. III).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The term **תִּתְּנֶה** (in ver. 29) means that part of the thank-offering which the worshipper devotes to God as his gift (see p. 72; Sept. τὸ δῶρον αὐτοῦ), not, as the Vulg. renders, the drink-offering which is to accompany the thank-offering (offerat simul et sacrificium, id est libamenta ejus). — As not the offerer but the priest had to perform the rite of waving (**וַיִּנָּח**, see p. 199), the infin. Hiphil **יִנָּח** (ver. 30) must be rendered in the passive, “he shall bring the breast to be waved before the Lord”, and the expression is, therefore, properly impersonal, “that one might wave it”; and so **וַיִּנָּח** in ver. 35, “on the day when they were presented”; comp. Gramm. § 101. 2. — **וַיִּנָּח** (from **נָח**, kindred to **נָחַץ**, to separate or distinguish, comp. Meier, Wurzelwörterb. p. 125; according to others from **נָחַץ** in the sense of *ad spectui patere*, or the part moved and agitated by the pulsation of the heart) is properly the middle part, that is, the breast, which was particularly prized as a dainty (comp. Athen. II. 70; IX. 10, *σπύριον τε σπύριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σπύριον*); thus the Sept. *σπύριον* (l.e. according to Pollux, Lib. II. col. 123 ed. Basil. 1536, *τὸν σπύριον τὸ μέσον*), Josephus (Ant. III. ix. 2), and Venet. Gr. *σπύριον*, Vulg. *pectusculum*, Onkel. and Jonath. **וַיִּנָּח**,

Arab. **قَص**. — **וַיִּנָּח** is the *shoulder*, that is, the upper part of the fore-legs (Sept. *σπῆλαιον*, Vulg. *armus*), which most valuable part of the animal was generally apportioned to honoured guests (comp. 1 Sam. IX. 24; etc.), and for this reason delivered to the priests. It is impossible to take **וַיִּנָּח** as “the part of the body from the knee to the foot” (Gesen.), or as the shin-bone or tibia (*σπῆλαιον*, Joseph. l. c. or *σπῆλαιον* Venet. Gr.), which is of very little value; **וַיִּנָּח** is indeed occasionally used for *foot*, that is, the medium of *running* (comp. the verbs **וַיִּנָּח** and **וַיִּנָּח**), but it is so employed in poetical passages only (Isai. XLVII. 2; Cant. V. 15; comp. Ps. CXLVII. 10), where one part of the leg is, by way of metonymy, taken for another, or a part for the whole (Prov. XXVI. 7); even the proverbial phrase **וַיִּנָּח** (Judg. XV. 8) seems to imply that **וַיִּנָּח** is adjoining the thigh (**וַיִּנָּח**), that is, the upper and not the lower part of the leg; nor is it *hæule* (that is, the ham, or hough, or the quadruped's hind leg, Knobel, Fürst, Bunsen, and others), which meaning has been shown to belong to **וַיִּנָּח** (p. 478). — For the sake of completeness and easy survey we add here at once the explanation of the term **וַיִּנָּח**, although it occurs only in later sections of the Law (Num. VI. 19; Deut. XVIII. 3). It obviously denotes a part of the animal connected with the fore-legs, since it corresponds to the arms of human beings (Isai. XVII. 5; XL. 11), or more particularly the fore-arm (*brachium*, as distinguished from *lacertus* **וַיִּנָּח**; comp. Job XXXI.

22, אֵילַעִי מִקְנֵה חֶשֶׁבֶר; Exod. VI. 6; Deut. IV. 34; etc.). Again, it is certain that זָרַע is different from שֶׁוֹק, as both are mentioned together as distinct parts of the victim (Num. VI. 19, 20). It is, therefore, undoubted that זָרַע in animals signifies the joint, by which the shoulder is connected with the neck (comp. ἀρμός from ἄρω to join together, Lat. armus, and corresponding to humerus in man; see *Plin. Hist. N.* XI. 43 or 98; *Ovid, Met.* X. 700, ex

humeris armi flu  
where it is fitted  
or scapula, or  
contradistinction  
hind-legs; *Plin*  
70; XI. 45 or 10  
(vers. 32, 34) sig  
simply the gift  
from the sacrific  
ing presented by  
nor this rite itse  
context (see p.

## 10. CONCLUSION OF THIS CODE, VI

35—38. Now the reviser considered that he had fully accomplished his object; he had supplemented the document, which he found treating of the ritual of the chief classes of sacrifice, by the insertion or addition of regulations regarding the share which the priests could demand in each case; and therefore, desirous that this sacrificial code so enlarged and qualified, should be looked upon as complete in itself, he appended a double formula of conclusion, one comprising the portions assigned to the priests (vers. 35, 36) which he is careful to describe as granted "the

ing of consecra  
16), and the tha  
21, 28—34), bes  
blood and fat a  
alike (VII. 22—2  
these ordinance  
municated to M  
(פָּרִי הַזֶּה), wh  
the later code, v  
complete theory  
lation, declared  
proclaimed "fr  
(מִזֶּה הַזֶּה), p. 4  
first outlines and  
were an early eff



offering, of the bloodless offering, and of the sin-offering, and of the trespass-offering, and of the offering of consecration, and of the sacrifice of the thank-offering; 38. Which the Lord commanded Moses in mount

the portion of Aaron and the portion of his sons from the offerings of the Lord made by fire" (הִנֵּה, וְשֵׁנִי, ver. 35) to the thank-offerings only (Keil a. o.); they manifestly include the share of the priests in all the offerings treated of, and form, therefore, a part of the general conclusion. — It seems unquestionable that these final sentences were originally written for the code only after which they follow (ch. VI and VII); for the thank-offerings (תְּנוּפֶה) are named last, as they indeed are explained last; whereas in the preceding code (ch. I—V) they stand before the expiatory offerings; and the revelation "from mount Sinai" marks this collection of laws as distinct from the preceding one which purports to have been conveyed to Moses "from the Tent of Meeting": yet when the two codes were arranged in the order which they occupy in the Book, that formula was understood, and meant to be understood, to include all the laws from the beginning of Leviticus (I—VII). — הַרְּשִׁיבָה (ver. 38) signifies plainly *on mount Sinai* (comp. Ex. XXXI. 18; XXXIV. 32; Gen. XXII. 14, etc.), not "*in the vicinity of* or *in the mountainous region of Sinai* (comp. Gen. XXXI. 23, 25; Exod. IV. 27; etc.); though it must in this latter sense be understood by those who attribute ch. I—VII to one author, or who, like the revisers of Leviticus, desire them to be so regarded (comp. Num. XXVIII. 6; see *supra*). — הַקֶּדֶשׁ (ver. 35) or הַקֶּדֶשׁ (Num. XVIII. 8), from קָדַשׁ in the sense of *measuring*, as it occurs in Chald., Syr., and Arab., means the *measured* or *fixed portion*, the *appointed share* (Saad. *ḥaḥ* portion).

Whether this word is designedly used because it recalls to the mind the anointment of the Aaronites (VIII. 12), and therefore the elevation (Onk. מִנְיָה) of the priests who receive their revenues from the people as the king does as the *anointed* of God (Knobel), this we leave undecided, though either explanation appears rather artificial; but the translation *anointment* (Sept. *χρίσις*, Vulg. *unctio*, Luther *Salbung*, etc.) is unmeaning in our context, and requires forced interpretations and expansions to render it at all suitable, as the "rewards" and "privileges" of anointment, which fell to the lot of the priests on account of their being anointed (Sept. in Num. XVIII. 8 *χρίσις*, Ebn Ezra, Rashb. שֶׁכֶּר מִשְׁמַח, Mendels. *Salbungrecht*, Engl. Vers. the portion of the anointing; Vulg. *pro officio sacerdotali*, and so Luther in Num.). — הַיּוֹם הַהוּא or הַיּוֹם הַהוּא *on the day* or *at the time when he presented or anointed them* (comp. Gen. II. 4; etc.; see Comm. on Gen. p. 44), not "*on the eighth day after the anointment*" (Wessely), on which the priests first received the sacrificial portions (VIII. 31), nor even precisely on the first day of their anointment, when they acquired the right of demanding their revenues, and certainly not "*from the day*" (דִּינָה, see on VI. 13). — The translation of הַיּוֹם הַהוּא הַיּוֹם הַהוּא by "*as often as they offer sacrifices and perform their priestly office, that is, every day*" (Vater), is grammatically impossible. — הַיּוֹם הַהוּא is derived from מָלַךְ se. מָלַךְ 'D to fill the hand, or to place into it the emblems of authority (see Comm. on Exod. p. 553), to strengthen it, to give it power, and therefore, to install

Sinai, in the day that He commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations to the Lord in the wilderness of Sinai.

into an office, and more specially the sacerdotal office (Exod. XXVIII. 41; XXIX. 9, 29, 33, 35; Lev. VIII. 33; XVI. 32; XXI. 10; Num. III. 3; Judg. XVII. 5, 12), different from  $\text{לִמְנוֹחַ}$ , literally, to fill one's own hand for somebody, to provide one-self with something for another, that is, *to offer a present or to dedicate* (1 Chr. XXIX. 5; 2 Chr. XXIX. 31; XIII. 9; Exod. XXXII. 29; see on VIII. 33—36);  $\text{לִמְנוֹחַ}$  is, therefore, *the act of installation* (Exod. XXIX. 22, 26; Lev. VIII. 22, 29, 33) or *the offering that attended the installation* (Ex. XXIX. 34; Lev. VIII. 28, 31), and it refers here (ver. 37) undoubtedly to the bloodless offering presented by the High-priest on the day of his consecration, and described in the earlier part of this code (VI. 12—16). Its mention in this place does not therefore deserve the censure of Clericus, "*perpetua haec est Hebraeorum veterum*

*ἀποθόσεν*". To assert that it points back to Exod. XXIX. 29—31, or forward to ch. VIII. IX, as a means of connection or transition, is to betray a complete want of insight into the composition of Leviticus. It cannot be introduced here merely because it probably was "little different from the other, especially the expiatory sacrifices" (Ewald, *Alterth.* p. 73), which would impute to the author a blamable looseness of style. — Michaelis (Typisch. Gottesgel. p. 60) strangely connects with the term  $\text{לִמְנוֹחַ}$  the idea of punishment for sin, ("*der Gedanke gab zu figürlichen Ausdrücken Anlass*"); and Vatke (Theol. des A. T. I. 273) supposes that it originally referred to a bounty or present which the priest received, but that later the meaning was lost, and the act replaced by a symbol; however, there is no proof to support this conjecture.

## B. THE CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND ITS UTENSILS, AND OF AARON AND HIS SONS AS PRIESTS.

CHAPTERS VIII TO X.

### PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

#### ON THE HEBREW PRIESTHOOD.

##### I. SURVEY OF THE ORDINANCES OF THE PENTATEUCH WITH RESPECT TO THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

In order to arrive at a distinct view of the origin and progress, the nature and value of the order and system of priesthood among the Hebrews, it appears expedient to commence with a plain and accurate sketch of the ordinances of the Pentateuch regarding the priests and Levites; then to attempt an impartial estimate of these laws and arrangements; next to prove how they varied and fluctuated within the compass of the Pentateuch itself; and then to proceed to the testimonies of history tending either to support or to disprove their existence; after which we shall be enabled to draw, at least in general outlines, a picture of the gradual growth of priestly and Levitical institutions among the Israelites.

1. It is not difficult to deduce the nature and character of the Hebrew priesthood from the statements of the Pentateuch. The definitions are so distinct and the allusions so unmistakeable, that they scarcely leave room for conjecture or hazardous combination. It is true that the etymology of the Hebrew term of priest (כֹּהֵן) is doubtful; but at the time of

<sup>1</sup> The most plausible derivation seems yet to be from the Arabic root which signifies *to predict the hidden future*, so that the noun (كاهن) means a *soothsayer* (Koran LII. 28; LXIX. 42), since the offices of priest and prophet were usually combined in early ages, and sacrifices were means of augury (p. 313); or it may be traceable to the same root in the sense of *acting in the interest of others and promoting their objects*, so that the

substantive would signify *interpreter, representative*, since priests were regarded as the mouth-pieces of the deity. The meaning of *ministering* or *serving*, which has been attributed to the verb in Arabic (Giggeus, Lex. III. 1691), so that כֹּהֵן would be *deinsec, administrator, official, servant* (Buttmann, Lexil. p. 219; Meyers, Chron. p. 301; Saalschütz, Mosaisch. Recht, I. 107, 108; comp. Talm. Bab. Bathr. 110a), or even *prince or noble*,

## 560 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

even the oldest part of the Pentateuch, the etymological meaning, even if it were still preserved in the consciousness of the nation, was less considered than the notion with which the word had gradually been invested. Now when the priests were consecrated to their office, they are said to have been *brought near* (הקריב) *God*.<sup>1</sup> It was their function *to come near God* (קרב),<sup>2</sup> or *to approach Him* (נגש).<sup>3</sup> They are, therefore, those that are *near God* (קרובים ליהוה,<sup>4</sup> or קרבים).<sup>5</sup> They live and work in His presence, ready both to bring before Him the pious or penitent devotions of Israel, and to convey to the latter from Him peace and atonement. They preserve the purity of the Divine abode which is constantly defiled by the transgressions of the community.<sup>6</sup> They receive, in particular, the flesh of the sin-offerings, in order "to remove the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord."<sup>7</sup> They are appointed to fill up the vast chasm that separates the holiness of God from the sinfulness of His people. They "belong"

because the קריב had the right of ministering to the king, this meaning is more than questionable (*Kamus*, p. 1799); the word has in all passages often quoted in support of the latter meaning (2 Sam. VIII. 17, 18; XX. 25, 26; 1 Ki. II. 35; IV. 2—6; 2 Ki. X. 11), the sense of *priest*, though the occurrence of the word in several of these texts has given serious offence from the earliest time (see *infra* Sect. IV. 10). With still less probability, some refer the word to the verb קרן *to be near* (*Coccej. Lex. sub verb.*; *Schultens, Orig. Hebr.* p. 228; *Clavis* p. 250; *Vitranga, Comm.* in Jes. II. p. 974; *Venema ad Ps. XCIX.* 6; *Bähr, Symb.* II. 15; *Plumptre* in *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, II. 914), so that קרבים would be "those that are near God", as they are indeed described in the Old Testament (קרובים or קרבים); for this is not the primitive, but a much later meaning which was connected with the term at the time when the priesthood was fully developed (see *infra*). The derivations from קרן in the sense of קרן *to stand by* or *to assist* (*Hitzig* on Isai. LXL 10), or *to perform* (קרן), viz the sacrifices, like קרן (*Ewald, Alterthümer*, p. 272;

comp. Isai. LXL 10; *Ohler* in *Herzog's Real-Enc.* XII. p. 174), or of קרן or קרן *to bend, to incline oneself*, a rite frequently performed in divine worship (*Maurer*), appear quite unacceptable, although *Gesenius* (*Thea.* p. 662) is disposed to adopt them; and *Hupfeld* (*Psalmen*, IV. 179) tries to support at least the former one by various modifications, interpreting both actively *stator* or *apparitor*, and passively *constitutus* and *institutus*, which double explanation proves sufficiently the questionable nature of either. On the later use of the word *presbyter* or *priest*, see *Stanley, Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, II. 405.

<sup>1</sup> Lev. VII. 35; Num. XVI. 5; comp. Exod. XXVIII. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XXI. 17; comp. Ezek. XLIV. 15, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. XIX. 22, קרבים רגשים; comp. Ezek. XLIV. 13 (ישש אלהי לבן לי).

<sup>4</sup> Lev. X. 3; Ezek. XLII. 13; XLIII. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. XL. 46; XLV. 4; comp. Jerem. XXX. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. XVI. 16; Num. XIX. 13, 20.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. X. 17; comp. Exod. XXVIII. 38; Num. VIII. 19; XVIII. 1.

to God,<sup>8</sup> and to Him alone, for whose sake they must desert father and mother, and fight and suffer.<sup>9</sup> They are His "servants" or ministers.<sup>10</sup> They have been "chosen" by Him,<sup>11</sup> not on account of their merit, but by a free act of His mercy.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, whoever opposes them, is guilty of revolt against the majesty of God.<sup>13</sup> No other or "stranger" (גֵּר) is permitted, under penalty of death, to perform the priests' functions.<sup>14</sup> Hence their chief characteristic must be *holiness*, since they were elected to be perpetually near the Holy One and to serve Him;<sup>15</sup> they were singled out from the rest of their brethren "to be sanctified as most holy".<sup>16</sup> To hallow and to install as priests are used as correlative terms.<sup>17</sup> By neglecting what contributes to their sanctity they profane the holiness of God;<sup>18</sup> and the High-priest is himself "the holy one of the Lord".<sup>19</sup> Thus "to bring near God" means, in its deeper and more internal sense, to approach to His sanctity, and to remove, by securing pardon for the sins of the people, the distance by which they are separated from God, and to hallow them by expiation.—It is obvious that all these attributes of the priests coincide, in nearly every particular, with the characteristics by which the Pentateuch distinguishes the people of Israel. God bore the Hebrews on eagles' wings, and brought them to Himself.<sup>20</sup> He has designed them as an instrument of blessing for all nations.<sup>21</sup> He has chosen them to be His peculiar people,<sup>22</sup> not on account of their power and greatness, but from the love He feels towards them,<sup>23</sup> since He has declared Israel to be His firstborn son.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Num. XVI. 5, וְדַע יְהוָה אִתָּךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ.  
<sup>9</sup> Exod. XXXII. 27—29; Deut. XXXIII. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Deut. XXI. 5; Ezek. XL. 46; XLIII. 19; 1 Chr. XXIII. 13.

<sup>11</sup> Num. XVI. 5, 7, וְאֵת אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר בּוֹ, וְיִקְרֶיב אֵלָיו; XVII. 5, 20; comp. Ps. LXV. 5; Exod. XXVIII. 1; Deut. XXI. 5; 1 Sam. II. 28; Hebr. V. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Num. XVIII. 7, "I have given your priest's office to you as a service of gift", עֲבֹדָה מִתְּנָה אֲתָן אֶת־כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם; comp. Hebr. V. 4; see also Joseph. Contr. Ap. II. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Num. XVI. 19; XVII. 5, 28; comp. Bammidbar Rabb. 18, pp. 148, 149, ed. Stettin 1863; Schölgen, Hor. Hebr. p. 948; Grotius, Opp. III. 209.

<sup>14</sup> וְלֹא יִקְרֶיב יָסוֹף, Num. III. 10, 38; IV. 15, 19; XVIII. 7. Some doctors of the Mishnah understand death "by the hand of heaven" (בְּיַד שָׁמַיִם), *Mishn.*

*Sanhedr.* IX. 6), that is, death through the direct intervention of God, as in the case of Korah, or Nadab and Abihu; but this view, which is upheld by recent writers also (as *Saalschütz*, *Mos. Recht*, I. 317), is against the spirit of the Biblical statements.

<sup>15</sup> Num. XVI. 5, וְדַע יְהוָה אִתָּךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְךָ וְאֶת־דִּקְדּוֹשׁ.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Chr. XXIII. 13, וַיִּבְרַח אֲהִרָן לְהַקְדִּישׁ קֹדֶשׁ קִשְׁיִם.

<sup>17</sup> Exod. XXIX. 33, לְמַלֵּא אֶת־יָדָיו, לְקִדְשׁ אֹתָם; comp. vers. 1, 44; XXVIII. 41; XL. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Lev. XXI. 6—8.

<sup>19</sup> קֹדֶשׁ יְהוָה, Ps. CVI. 16.

<sup>20</sup> Exod. XIX. 4. <sup>21</sup> Gen. XII. 3; XXVIII. 14; Comm. on Gen. p. 330.

<sup>22</sup> Exod. XIX. 5; Deut. VII. 6; XIV. 2; XXVI. 18; Ps. XXVIII. 9; CXXXV. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Deut. VII. 7, 8; comp. VIII. 17, 18.

<sup>24</sup> בְּנִי בְּכֹרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Exod. IV. 22.

## 562 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

Holiness is to be their aim and constant yearning;<sup>1</sup> they shall be holy, because God is holy.<sup>2</sup> They were, in fact, intended to be a "kingdom of priests."<sup>3</sup> Every Israelite was, therefore, meant to be able to "come near God", or to act as priest for himself. Yet this great scheme of converting into a holy nation a people just redeemed from degrading bondage, was, according to the Pentateuch, too arduous to be at once accomplished. The Hebrews themselves felt their own unfitness for the mission. When they heard the Ten Commandments proclaimed from Sinai with thunder and lightning, they fled in consternation from the mountain, and implored Moses, "Speak thou with us, and we will readily hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die;" and then "they stood afar off,"<sup>4</sup> while Moses "drew near to God."<sup>5</sup> They renounced, not only spontaneously but eagerly, the full exercise of their sacerdotal rights, and God approved of their diffidence.<sup>6</sup> Hence arose the necessity of electing and appointing certain persons authorised and endowed to approach God as the mediators between Him and His people; but though the latter were still far removed from holiness, they were irrevocably chosen and unchangeably loved by God.<sup>7</sup>

Now, from this character assigned to the priests by the Pentateuch, all the arrangements and laws prescribed with regard to them in that Book, may be easily deduced.

2. The idea of *election* is, in the simplest manner embodied and conveyed by establishing an *hereditary* right, which, irrespective of personal merit, secures the succession to the son simply on account of his birth. Therefore, Aaron and his descendants were appointed priests for all future time. Though belonging to a tribe which, on several occasions, had proved devoted zeal in the cause of God's worship,<sup>8</sup> Aaron himself had been guilty of culpable weakness in abetting the folly of the people anxious to make the golden calf;<sup>9</sup> and his two eldest sons, Nadab and Abihu, deserved sudden death by their wanton disregard

<sup>1</sup> Num. XVI. 3; Deut. VII. 6; XIV. 2; XXVI. 19; Exod. XIX. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XIX. 2, קדשים וזהו כי קדוש; XX. 26; comp. XI. 45; Exod. XXII. 30; Deut. XIV. 21; 1 Peter I. 15, 16.

<sup>3</sup> מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים, Exod. XIX. 6; comp. Num. XVI. 3; see also Joseph. Contr. Ap. II. 22, πάντες μὲν τοῦ πλήθους κατασκευασμένοι πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβείαν... ὥσπερ δὲ τελειῆς τινος τῆς ἁγῆς πολιτείας εὐνονομούμενης.

<sup>4</sup> ויעמד העם מרחוק.

<sup>5</sup> ומשה נגש אל־הערפל אשר שם; Ex. XX. 16, 18 (19, 21); comp. XIX. 21—24; Deut. V. 21—24 (קרב). (אמה וכ').

<sup>6</sup> Deut. V. 25, רָחַם אֱלֹהֵינוּ; comp., however, 1 Petr. II. 5, 9.

<sup>7</sup> See, however, *infra* Sect. II. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Exod. XXXII. 26—29; Deut. XXXIII. 9; see Comm. on Gen. p. 742.

<sup>9</sup> Exod. XXXII. 2—4, 21—25, and Comm. in loc.

of the laws of the Sanctuary.<sup>10</sup> He owed, therefore, his installation evidently to an election by the mercy of God. The priesthood was to remain strictly and exclusively not only in his family, but in his own branch of it; thus not only all the posterity of Gershon and Merari were excluded, not only all Kohathites who were not born from the line of Amram (as the offspring of Izhar and Uzziel), but also those members of the latter who were not Aaron's lineal issue; so that Moses and his family were rigidly banished from the priesthood, in reference to which they were classed among those "strangers" (דִּיּוּטִי) certain to forfeit their lives by arrogating to themselves priestly functions.<sup>11</sup> In fact, the priests are simply designated "the sons of Aaron."<sup>12</sup>

The matrimonial alliances were, therefore, too important a point to be left without legal directions. It was ordained that a priest must marry a Hebrew virgin or a widow of unblemished character; but no unchaste or defamed, nor a divorced woman, "for he is holy to his God;" while in one case (that of the High-priest), the choice was restricted to virgins, for "he must not profane his seed among his people."<sup>13</sup> If the daughter of a priest married an Israelite, she lost the privileges of her birth, but regained them when she returned into her father's house as a childless widow or divorced wife.<sup>14</sup> Hence the pedigree of Aaron's family was most carefully guarded and searched.<sup>15</sup> The purity of sacerdotal families was so scrupulously watched that a priest's daughter guilty of immoral conduct while still in her father's house was to be burnt to death.<sup>16</sup> Though a priest might marry from any tribe of Israel, yet, in later times, alliances with daughters of priests seem to have been preferred.<sup>17</sup> — The question why Aaron and not Moses was hon-

<sup>10</sup> Lev. X. 1, 2; Num. III. 1—4; see notes on X. 1—7.

<sup>11</sup> See *supra* p. 561; comp. Exod. VI. 16—25; Num. III. 15—20; XXVI. 57—61; 1 Chron. XXIII. 6—23.

<sup>12</sup> בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן הַכֹּהֲנִים or כֹּהֲנֵי אַהֲרֹן, Lev. I. 5, 6, 8, 11; II. 2; III. 5, 8, 13, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. XXI. 7, 8, 13—15; comp. Ezek. XLIV. 22 (who limits the choice of all priests to Hebrew virgins, though permitting widows of priests); *Philo*, De Monarch. II. 10; *Mishn. Sol.* VIII. 3; see also Ezra X. 18, 19; Neh. XIII. 28—30.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. XXII. 12, 13; comp. *Mishn. Temur.* VII. 2; *Sol.* III. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Ezra II. 62; Neh. VII. 64; comp. X. 39; XII. 47; *Mishn. Midd.* V. 4. In

later times, the lists, duly authenticated, had to be sent to Jerusalem from all the countries where Jews lived in dispersion; *Joseph. Ap.* I. 7; comp. VII. 1 (τῶν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διανομήν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀποδείμασι δέδοται ἀναγεγραμμένον εὖρον καὶ).

<sup>16</sup> Lev. XXI. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Luke I. 5; *Joseph. Ap.* I. 7 (ἕνα τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων ἀμύμον καὶ ἀσπαρῶν διανομῇ ἀποδείματα); in the former case, the mothers four degrees upwards both on the side of the father and the mother, were to be examined and declared legitimate; whereas if a priest married the daughter of a Levite or an Israelite, five degrees were required (*Mishn. Kiddush.* IV. 4—6; comp.



oured with the priesthood is not adverted to in the Pentateuch. Moses was scarcely rejected because he had defiled the nobility of his race by marrying Zipporah, the Midianite, but evidently because he was the younger brother.<sup>1</sup> Indeed Aaron, the firstborn, and as such of higher authority, and prominent in the earlier stages of the struggle against Pharaoh, is simply denominated "the Levite" (לֵוִי), as if he were the representative of his tribe.<sup>2</sup> It has been remarked "Moses could not be invested with the priestly dignity; for he was the mediator of the Old Covenant, and, therefore, beyond the pale of the theocracy; his vocation was of an exceptional character, and could not, from its nature, be permanent or hereditary."<sup>3</sup> However, it was not the dignity of "mediator of the Old Covenant" that was to be perpetuated; and there is no conceivable reason why one who had fulfilled such an august mission, should not have been the first High-priest — an arrangement which might appear peculiarly appropriate.<sup>4</sup>

3. The ceremonies prescribed to be performed at the first *consecration* of the priests consisted of "bringing them near" the Tent of Meeting, the abode of God, washing them, clothing them with their holy garments, and anointing them with the sacred oil, the emblem of the Divine spirit;<sup>5</sup> and these rites, pointing to the nature of their office

*Philo*, De Monarch. II. 8, ἐκ καθαρῶν γενέων καὶ πάππων καὶ προγόνων; and c. 9, ἵνα... μὲν εἰς ἄβατον καὶ καθαρὰν ἄρουραν ὁ ἱερεὺς σφόδρος χωρήσῃ καὶ μηδεμίαν κρᾶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς ἑτέραν εὐκλείαν λαμβάνουσιν; and λέγω δὲ πάρεσθαι οὐ μόνον ἢ μὴ ἕτερος οὐχ ὀμίλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' ἣ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀνερμάσθῃ διὰ τινων ὁμολογιῶν, καὶ ἂν ἀγνώῃ τὸ σῶμα). Some doctors, however, ordained only that a priest must not marry the daughter of a foreigner, or of a released slave even in the tenth generation, except if her mother be Hebrew; and that he may marry the daughter of an Israelite and proselyte woman or of a proselyte and an Israelite woman (*Mishn. Bikkur. I. 5; Kiddush. IV. 7*); and Josephus (*Ant. III. xii. 2*) includes among the prohibitions, besides slaves or captive women, "such as obtain their living by a cheating trade or by keeping inns." The Hindoo law prescribes many similar restrict-

ions; the first wife of a Brahman must be a virgin of a pious and healthy family of his own caste, must have no reddish hair nor any deformed limb, neither too much nor too little hair, a pleasing and auspicious name, "whose gait is graceful like that of a flamingo or a young elephant"; but a second or later wife may be chosen from the lower castes (*Manu, III. 6—12*; and on the Hindoo priests in general *ibid. ch. II, and IV—VI passim; Rhode, Relig. Bildung der Hindus, II. 529—545; Bohnen, Alt. Ind. II. 2—4, 12—18; Lassen, Ind. Alterthumskunde, I. 801—807*). <sup>1</sup> Comp. 1 Chr. XXIII. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. IV. 14; and Comm. *in loc.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bahr, Symb. II. 19.*

<sup>4</sup> We here argue of course merely within the sphere of the conceptions of the Pentateuch; the historical view will be developed later; see Sect. V.

<sup>5</sup> Exod. XL. 12—15; Levit. VIII. 6—13.

and its responsibilities, were accompanied by a sin-offering, a holocaust, and a thank-offering the blood of which was partially employed in sprinkling the hands, the ears, and the feet of the priests, an act of a plainly symbolical import.<sup>6</sup>

4. During their ministrations, the priests were clad in garments which, by their number — for *four* typifies completeness and absolute perfection<sup>7</sup> —, their materials, their shape, their workmanship, and the symbolical figures woven into them, were designed to recall the character and holiness of their office as one of Divinely-instituted mediatorship between God and the Israelites; they had indeed to wear these vestments “for glory and distinction;”<sup>8</sup> but they approached God and His service unshod, in all humility and in trembling veneration.<sup>9</sup>

5. As the priests were appointed to approach God in the name of the Israelites, their *duties at the Sanctuary* may be easily defined. These were comprehensively stated to embrace the whole service in connection with the sacred utensils, from the altar in the Court and in the Holy, to the functions within the veil which separated the Holy from the Holy of Holies.<sup>10</sup> The priests had, therefore, to perform the more significant operations incidental to offerings, namely, in animal sacrifices, all the rites which succeeded the killing of the victim, especially sprinkling the blood and burning the flesh, and heaving and waving the dedicated portions; and in cereal oblations, taking off and burning “the memorial” (אֵזָכָרָה),<sup>11</sup> and perhaps partly the preparation of the offering itself.<sup>12</sup> They had, in the Court, to preserve the perpetual fire on the brazen altar,<sup>13</sup> there to offer the two regular daily holocausts,<sup>14</sup> and to take away the ashes, as they accumulated.<sup>15</sup> They had, in the Holy, to burn on the golden

<sup>6</sup> See Comm. on ch. VIII. 6—13.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> לְכָבוֹד וְלִתְפָּאָרָה, Ex. XXVIII. 40.

<sup>9</sup> See Comm. on Exod. pp. 525—530; comp. *ibid.* pp. 46, 47; *Mishn. Horay.* III. 4; *Maimon.* Kele Hamikd. VII. 14. The priests of the second Temple had a special physician for diseases of the bowels (עַל רֹאשֵׁי מַעֲיִם, *Mishn. Shekal.* V. 1), to which they were particularly liable, because they trod the pavement unshod, wore thin linen garments, ate much meat, and drank only water. — It is a matter of course that those Aaronites only were so dressed who were fully qualified for the priestly office; whereas the rest had common clothes even in the precincts of the

Sanctuary (*Joseph. Bell. Jud.* V. v. 7); and according to Jewish tradition, the qualified priests wore these garments constantly while in the Sanctuary, and even when not performing priestly functions, but were not permitted to sleep in them (*Mishn. Tam.* I. 1). The garments were later preserved in the Temple (*Ezr.* II. 69; *Neh.* VII. 70), under the supervision of a special officer (*Mishn. Shekal.* V. 1).

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Num. XVIII. 1, 3, 7; see also *Ezek.* XLIV. 11, 14—16.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 185.

<sup>12</sup> See notes on VII. 8—10.

<sup>13</sup> See notes on VI. 1—11.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 235.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 532.

in later periods, the regular duties at the Sanctuary assigned to the priests by lot,<sup>8</sup> under the supervision of the lots."<sup>9</sup>

6. The Books of Chronicles<sup>10</sup> attribute to David and his descendants into 24 classes,<sup>11</sup> — the progeny of Eleazar and Ithamar into 8 — each of which was presided over and performed, by lot, the service during one week, from Sabbath to Sabbath. But this division to which the older Books of the Hebrew Bible make no allusion whatever, was undoubtedly not introduced

<sup>1</sup> Exod. XXX. 7, 8; Num. XVII. 5; Deut. XXXIII. 10; 1 Chr. XXIII. 13; see Comm. on Exod. p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. XXVII. 20, 21; XXX. 7, 8; XXIV. 2—4; Num. VIII. 2, 3; see Comm. on Exod. p. 482.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. XXIV. 5—9; see Comm. on Exod. p. 481.

<sup>4</sup> Num. III. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Num. IV. 4—15.

<sup>6</sup> שמרי הסף, 2 Ki. XII. 10; XXV. 16; Jer. LII. 24.

<sup>7</sup> נגיד בית האלמים or נגיד בבית דמה, Jer. XX. 1; 2 Chr. XXXI. 13; or προεστώς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, 2 Macc. III. 4; or, in the N. T. and Josephus, στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Acts IV. 1; V. 24, 26; Joseph. Bell. Jud. VI. v. 3; comp. Luke XXII. 52; and in the Talmud אִישׁ הַר הַבַּיִת or ראש הַמִּשְׁעָר, Mishn. Midd. I. 1, 2; comp. Shab. I. v. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Luke I. 9; 1 Tamid I. 2, 4; III.

<sup>9</sup> Mishn. Shab. הַפִּיטוֹן.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Chr. XXIV. 1—19; VIII. 14; XXXV. 4—6.

<sup>11</sup> מִחְלָקוֹת or τμήματα or ἐφημερίαι 5; πατριαί in Jos.

<sup>12</sup> שָׁר or שָׂר; 7; 1 Chr. XXIV. 5.

ἀρχὴν τῶν ἱερῶν perhaps ἀρχιερεῖς

8; Bell. Jud. II. xvi. II. 4; XVI. 21; Luk

1; V. 24 (comp. ἄνους, Versuch

Commentars zur pp. 32 sqq.).

but was by the Chronist, in accordance with his usual method, ascribed to David and invested, besides, with the sanction of Solomon,<sup>14</sup> in order to give prestige to the new arrangement, which was so preserved up to the time of Josephus.<sup>15</sup> Each class was, according to Jewish tradition, divided into sections (כְּרִי אֲבוֹת), 5 to 9 in number, which officiated successively, either singly or in groups, during the first six days of the week, one on each day, while the whole class acted on the sabbath. For the service on the festivals, the aid of additional priests was called in.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> 2 Chr. VIII. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. pp. 31—34. On the return from the Babylonian exile, indeed four sections of priests only, of about 1000 each, are mentioned (Ezr. II. 36—39; Neh. VII. 39—42; comp. XII. 1 *sqq.*), but they were divided so as to constitute 24 classes (comp. also Neh. XIII. 30; *Joseph. Vit.* 1). Jewish tradition asserts even that Moses himself divided the priests into 8 classes, 4 from the line of Eleazar and 4 from that of Ithamar, that Samuel increased them to 16, and David to 24 (*Talm. Taan.* 27a), a statement devoid of historical basis; see also *Fatke*, *Theol. des A.T.* I. pp. 350—352; *George*, *Jüd. Feste*, p. 65; *Zunz*, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 602; *Kuenen*, *Histoire critique des Livres de l'Ancien Testam.* (trad. par Pierson), I. 485, who urges that David as a dying old man could not have made such complicated arrangements.

<sup>16</sup> *Mishn. Succ.* V. 7; *Talm. Menach.* 107b. Josephus observes (*Contr. Ap.* II. 8), that "there are four courses of priests, each of which include above 5,000 men, yet do they officiate on certain days only; and when those days are over, other priests succeed in the performance of sacrifices, and assemble together at mid-day, and receive the keys of the Temple and the vessels by tale" (see also *Antiq.* VII. xiv. 7).—In *Jer.* LII. 24, a כֹּהֵן שֵׁנִי is mentioned (comp. 2 Ki. XXV. 18), which seems to be simply a priest of second rank

(comp. כֹּהֵן שֵׁנִי in 2 Ki. XXIII. 4), and to be used in opposition to the High-priest (see *infra*); but that term has by some modern critics been interpreted "superintendent of the Temple" (נָגִיד בְּבֵית יְהוָה; compare *Hitzig* in loc.; see *supra* p. 566, note 7), while it was by the ancient Jews understood to mean an assistant of the High-priest and the overseer over the whole order of priests (נָגִיד הַכֹּהֲנִים or כֹּהֵן, *Mishn. Avoth* III. 2; *Tamid* VII. 3; *Yom.* III. 9; IV. 1; comp. *Sot.* VII. 7, 8; *Targ. Jerus. Jerem.* XXIX. 26; *Targ. Sheni Esth.* I. 2), who has been supposed to be identical with the *συνεργὸς τοῦ ἱερεῖς*, or the *προεστάρχης τοῦ ἱερεῖς*, or even, though no doubt erroneously, with the *ἀρχιερεὺς* of the New Testament and Josephus (so *Jost*, *Gesch. des Judenth.* I. 150; see *supra* p. 566, note 12); or it was taken to describe that "other priest" (כֹּהֵן אֲחֵר) who one week before the Day of Atonement was appointed as the temporary substitute of the High-priest for the possible emergency of the latter becoming unclean and therefore disqualified for the service of that solemn day (comp. *Mishn. Yom.* I. 1; *Megill.* I. 9; *Jos. Ant.* XVII. vi. 4); it has even been asserted that, ordinarily, no one could become High-priest without having previously been כֹּהֵן (comp. *Aruch* s. v.; *Selden*, *De Success. in Pontif.* II. 1; *Vitrings*, *Observ. Sacr.* VI. 23, pp. 516 *sqq.*; *Buxtorf*, *Lex. Talm.* pp. 1435, 1436; *Cunaeus*, *De Rep. Hebr.* L. II.

## 568 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

7. However, not in the Sanctuary only, but wherever the life of individuals or of the nation was to be hallowed or associated with religious observances, it was the office of the priests, the mediators and instruments of sanctification, to administer, or at least to assist in, the rituals. So they were concerned in the ceremonies prescribed at the release of the Nazarite;<sup>1</sup> at the ordeal imposed upon women suspected of infidelity;<sup>2</sup> at the expiation of a murder the perpetrator of which was unknown;<sup>3</sup> and at the examination of unclean, especially of leprous persons, houses, or garments, and their purification. Thus they exercised a kind of sanitary supervision over the people and were hence supposed to possess a certain degree of medical knowledge.<sup>4</sup> They were obliged by their connection with the festivals to regulate the calendar, and by their relation to the sacrifices to watch over the legal accuracy of the weights and measures.<sup>5</sup> They had to make valuations of property which had been vowed or devoted to the Sanctuary, but which the owner desired to redeem.<sup>6</sup> They had, at certain times, to blow the silver trumpets (חצוצרות), the sound of which was intended either to summon the whole people or its chiefs for public deliberations, or, on festive days, to enhance the solemnity of the public sacrifices and thereby to rouse the community to a feeling of religious devotion, when this would be "for a memorial before God",<sup>7</sup> or to give the sign for resuming the marches in journeys and campaigns, or lastly for commencing a battle, when

c. 3; *Othon. Lex. Rabbin.* p. 624; *Carpzov, Appar.* pp. 98 sqq.). — The third place among the priestly officers was occupied by two קהלוקין (καθολικοι), commanders over the whole Temple; the fourth by 3 to 7 אמרכלים to whom the keys of the Court were entrusted; the fifth by 3 to 7 גזברים treasurers or controllers of the revenues and expenditure; after which followed the chiefs of the classes (ראשי משמר), the chiefs of the כהן אבות, and lastly the common priests (כרגי הרצות). Of these eight orders the five first composed the ecclesiastical council (בית דין של כרגי or כרגי, *Mishn. Kethuv.* I. 5; *Yom.* I. 5). — On these and other regulations and arrangements of a later time, of which it is not here the place to treat fully, we must at present refer to *Lightfoot, Opp.* I. 678—694; II. 486—489 (on Luke I. 5, 8, 9); *Re-*

*land, Ant.* II. iii. 1—6; iv. 1—6; *Othon. Lex. Rabb.* pp. 612—631; *Outram, De Sacrif.* pp. 42—80; *Öhler* in *Herz.* XII. 184—187; and the historical works of *Herzfeld* (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I. 392 sqq.), *Jost* (*Geschichte des Judenthums*, I. 151 sqq.), and *Grätz* (*Geschichte der Juden*, III. 113 sqq.), a. o.; on the representatives of the people at the sacrifices (אנשי מעמד or מעמדות) see *supra* pp. 167, 168.

<sup>1</sup> Num. VI. 13—21.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 282—289. <sup>3</sup> Deut. XXI. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. XIII. 2 sqq.; XIV. 2; comp. Deut. XXIV. 8; Matth. VIII. 4; Luke XVII. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 Chr. XXIII. 29; also Lev. XIX. 35, 36; Am. VIII. 5; Mic. VI. 10, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. XXVII. 8, 12, 14, 18, 23; see *Comm. in loc.*

<sup>7</sup> וזה לכם לזכרון לפני אלהיכם, Num. X. 10.

the combatants would "be remembered before the Lord their God and be saved from their enemies",<sup>8</sup> for priests accompanied military expeditions,<sup>9</sup> sometimes with the Ark of the Covenant, for the protection of the army;<sup>10</sup> before the commencement of the battle they had probably to offer a sacrifice; and they were charged to encourage the soldiers by the following address; "Hear, o Israel, you approach this day to battle against your enemies; let not your hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, nor be terrified on account of them; for it is the Lord your God who goes with you, to fight for you against your enemies to save you."<sup>11</sup>

8. By virtue of the spirit of God which rested on them through their election and anointment, it was their special mission to search in the Divine Law, to teach, to expound, and to diffuse it; to enforce its supreme authority; and to preserve it in its purity among the nation for ever. They had to "instruct the children of Israel in all the statutes which the Lord had spoken to them through Moses".<sup>12</sup> They were commanded to read the whole Law, after every seven years, on the Feast of Tabernacles, before all the people then assembled at the central Sanctuary, men, women, children, and strangers, "that they may listen, and learn, and fear the Lord, and observe to do all the words of the Law".<sup>13</sup> They were to provide every Hebrew king with a faithful copy

<sup>8</sup> Num. X. 2—10; comp. Ezra III. 10; Neh. XII. 35, 41; 1 Chr. XV. 24; XVI. 6; 2 Chr. V. 12; VII. 6; XIII. 12, 14; XXIX. 26; also Josh. VI. 4 *sqq.*; Joel II. 1, 15; *Mishn. Succ.* V. 5; see *Sommer, Bibl. Abhandlungen*, I. 37—39.

<sup>9</sup> Num. XXXI. 6; 2 Chr. XIII. 12, 14; 1 Macc. XVI. 8. According to Jewish tradition, a field-priest specially appointed, and anointed with the same oil as the High-priest (כֹּהֵן מִלְחָמָה), followed the army (*Mishn. Sot.* VII. 2; VIII. 1; comp. *Reiland, Antiq.* II. iii. 2; *Olshon., Lex. Rabb.* p. 89), though that officer has sometimes been considered merely as "a legislative idea never actually carried out", or as "existing in theory only and not in history" (*Jost, Gesch. des Judenth.* I. 153).

<sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. IV. 4, 5, 11, 17, etc.; see p. 30, note 1.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. XX. 2—4; comp. 2 Chr. XX.

20, 21. The Mishnah (*Sotah* VIII. 1) has a longer paraphrase of this address, with various modifications and additions. Among the Romans, on the other hand, the law obtained with respect to the flamen Dialis, "religio est classem procinctam extra pomerium, id est, exercitum armatum videre"; nay he was not even permitted to ride on a horse which was considered a warlike animal (equo vehi religio est); *Gell. Noct. Att.* X. 15; comp. *supra* p. 147 note 13.

<sup>12</sup> Lev. X. 11. Their duties as instructors were, therefore, not circumscribed "within a very limited circle", and confined to "pointing out ceremonial offerings or duties" or "judging the complicated cases of ceremonial casuistry" (*Stanley, Jewish Church*, II. p. 416); see also *infra* sect. V. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Deut. XXXI. 9—13; comp. vers. 25, 26. In later times, the king read

## 570 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

of the Law, which he was enjoined to keep and read "all the days of his life".<sup>1</sup> In a word, "they shall teach God's judgment to Jacob, and His Law to Israel."<sup>2</sup>

9. From the same reason of peculiar holiness, the priests were charged to bless the people in the name of God;<sup>3</sup> and God promised to make that blessing effectual.<sup>4</sup> They were empowered, previous to great national enterprises, especially military expeditions, to consult for an oracle the Ark of the Covenant,<sup>5</sup> or the Urim and Thummim.<sup>6</sup> And as judicial decisions were looked upon as the result of Divine suggestions, since "bringing a matter before the judges" was, in the usage of the language, equivalent to "bringing it before God" (אלהים);<sup>7</sup> the priests were the chief arbiters and authorities in all cases of jurisdiction; "by their word shall every controversy and every violence be tried;"<sup>8</sup> if the local magistrates were unable to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, whether in matters of blood, property, or violent onslaught, the cause was to be referred to the priests and the judges then sitting at the place of the common Sanctuary; their decision was final and irrevocable; disobedience to their decree was visited with death, as a well-deserved punishment on the refractory, and a terrifying example to the evil-disposed;<sup>9</sup> since it was impiety towards God Himself.<sup>10</sup> Thus they naturally acquired important influence, if not a legally defined share, in the public administration;<sup>11</sup> and justly could Josephus observe that the Law "permits the priests in general to be the administrators of the principal affairs and ordains them to be the inspectors of all, the

the Law in the Temple (*Mishn. Sotah* V. 8).

<sup>1</sup> Deut. XVII. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. XXXIII. 10; comp. 2 Ki. XVII. 27, 28; Jer. XVIII. 18; Ezek. VII. 26; XLIV. 23, 24; Mal. II. 7; Neh. VIII. 9—11; 2 Chr. XVII. 8, 9; XXXV. 3. The older priests had, of course, to instruct the younger members of their order in their duties (*Talm. Kethuv. 106 a*).

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps especially after the conclusion of the daily sacrifices.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. IX. 22, 23; Num. VI. 22—26; Deut. X. 8; XXI. 5; XXVII. 14; comp. 1 Chr. XXIII. 13; 2 Chr. XXX. 27; see *Mishn. Sot. VII. 6*; *Bauer, Gottesd. Verf. II. 360, 361*.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. XX. 27, 28.

<sup>6</sup> Num. XXVII. 21; comp. 1 Sam.

XXVIII. 6; Ezra II. 63; Neh. VII. 65; see *Comm. on Exod. p. 541*.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. XXI. 6; XXII. 8; *Comm. on Exod. p. 387*.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. XXI. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. XVII. 8—13; comp. XIX. 17; Num. XXVII. 2, 19; Josh. XVII. 4; XXII. 30sq.; Ezek. XLIV. 24; 1 Chr. XXIII. 4; XXVI. 29; 2 Chr. XIX. 8—11; *Gerhard on Deut. XVII.*; *Saalschütz, Mos. R. I. 72*; *Risch, Gesetzgeb. Mos. im Lande Moab*, pp. 62, 63; *Ötler in Herzog's Real-Encyclop. V. 58, 59*; see *infra* sect. V. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Joseph. Contr. Ap. II. 23*, ὅ δὲ γε τοῦτο μὴ πισθέστερον, ὅτις ἀπὸν αἰς αἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀντὶ τὸν ἀσεβῆν.

<sup>11</sup> Num. XXXI. 12, 13, 21, 26; XXXII. 2; comp. 1 Ki. I. 7, 8, 39.



judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those who were condemned to suffer punishment."<sup>12</sup>

10. Nor is it difficult to account for the *qualifications* required of the priests. Those destined to come near the perfect God, and to "present His food" or "the offerings made by fire" (הִקְרִיב, אֵשׁ), must necessarily be *perfect* in form and appearance; for as the gifts were to be perfect,<sup>13</sup> so those who laid them before God for His gracious acceptance. The recipients of Divine holiness were demanded to possess that symmetry of physical organisation which, if not deemed an indispensable condition of spiritual and moral excellence, was certainly considered a most desirable accompaniment of it. The priests were, therefore, prescribed to be without blemish (טָמֵא), not only free from those defects which would incapacitate them for their manual duties, as blindness, lameness, or fracture of the hand, but from those also which cause disfigurement or imply a deviation from the normal structure of the human frame, such as a flat nose, a crooked back, a dwarfish size;<sup>14</sup> whoever was affected with any similar infirmity and yet officiated in the Sanctuary, "profaned" it, and was responsible for his desecration to God who watches over the holiness of His service.<sup>15</sup>

For similar considerations, we must suppose that the period of life during which the priests were qualified for their functions, comprised the best years of their vigour, and that, though no age is stated in the

<sup>12</sup> Contra Ap. II. 21. <sup>13</sup> See p. 93.

<sup>14</sup> In later times, the priests, before being admitted to their office, were closely examined (*Mishn. Midd. V. 4*), and Jewish tradition worked out the Biblical precepts with regard to the disqualifying faults with its usual trifling minuteness (see *Mishn. Bechor. VII. 1—6*). If during their period of priesthood, they were afflicted by a bodily defect or by leprosy, they became unfit for further service (*Joseph. Ant. XIV. xiii. 10*; *Ap. I. 31*). Among the Greeks obtained the law τὸν ἀλόκληρον ἱερᾶσθαι, and a *δουρασία* determined whether the candidate was ἀλόκληρος or ἀπελῆς; comp. *Plato Legg. VI. 7, p. 759C*; *Etym. M. p. 176*, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς δόκουσιν ὅτι τὸ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ ἀπελεῖς καὶ ἀλόκληροι; *Athen. Deipnos. VII. 55*, τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐνθάδε μὲν ἀλόκληρους εὖρος αἶμας πρὸς; *Gell. Noct. Att. I. 12* (with respect to the Vestals) item quae lingua

debili sensu aurium diminuta, aliave qua corporis labe insignita sit. According to the Hindoo law, Brahmans born with a bodily defect or receiving one before their sixteenth year, are excluded from the holy caste and from the rite of consecration, because physical imperfection is regarded as the consequence of sins especially of the parents (comp. *Rhode, Rel. Bild. der Hindus, II. 531*).

<sup>15</sup> Lev. XXI. 17—23, and *Comm. in loc.*; comp. XXII. 1—7; *Jos. Bell. Jud. V. v. 7*. In later periods, priests suffering from a physical defect were employed in the "wood-cell" (דֹּשֶׁן עֵצִים), which was in the north-eastern part of the Court of women, to select and remove from the wood that was to be used on the altar, the worm-eaten or putrid pieces, but they were entitled to a share in the priestly revenues (*Mishn. Midd. II. 5*; see on VII. 8—10).

## 572 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

Old Testament, they were probably neither admitted "too young nor too old", scarcely before their twentieth year,<sup>1</sup> though Jewish tradition considered adolescence sufficient.<sup>2</sup> In later periods, we find frequently young priests, and occasionally very young High-priests; Aristobulus was only 17 years old when appointed by Herod the Great.<sup>3</sup>

External *purity* was, next to integrity of life and perfection of form, considered the most characteristic attribute and emblem of godliness. Therefore, the priest was commanded to avoid everything calculated to render him unclean; he was not permitted to approach dead bodies, except those of his nearest blood-relations, of his father and mother, his son and daughter, his brother and unmarried virgin sister; he was not even to "defile himself" by the corpses of those who were connected with him by marriage only, and not by consanguinity, as his wife, his mother-in-law, or daughter-in-law.<sup>4</sup> The priest who performed functions at the altar while in a state of Levitical impurity, was threatened with excision.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, during his period of active duty, he had to abstain from sexual intercourse, because this rendered him unclean till the evening,<sup>6</sup> a law observed among most ancient nations.<sup>7</sup> Even want of scrupulous cleanliness was visited with death; hence the priests were rigidly enjoined, whenever they entered the holy edifice, to wash their hands and feet with the water of the laver placed in the Court for

<sup>1</sup> Comp. 2 Chr. XXXI. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Tam. I. 1; Yom. I. 7; *Talm.* Chull. 24b. Samuel "ministered to the Lord" almost in his childhood (1 Sam. II. 11, 18; III. 1, 3).

<sup>3</sup> *Joseph.* Ant. XV. iii. 3; comp. *Ugolini*, Thesaur. II. 667; XIII. 927; *Selden*, De Successu in Pont. II. 4. On the age of the Levites in active duty see *infra*. Disqualified also were those who had at any time taken part in an idolatrous or dissenting worship (comp. 2 Ki. XXIII. 8, 9; *Mishn.* Menach. XIII. 10), and those who had committed involuntary homicide were not permitted to bless the people (comp. *Talm.* Berach. 32b).

<sup>4</sup> Lev. XXI. 1—4; comp. Ezek. XLIV. 25 (see also XXIV. 16—18); *Mishn.* Horay. III. 5. Plato also (*Legg.* XII. 3, p. 947 D) requires the priests, as a rule, to keep aloof from tombs. In Messene the priest had to resign his office when he

lost a child (*Paus.* IV. xii. 4). Gellius (*Noct. Att.* x. 15) records with respect to the flamen Dialis, locum in quo bustum est, nunquam ingreditur, mortuum nunquam attingit, sanus tamen exequi non est religio. And well-known is the Roman custom "ut polluti funere minime sacrificarent"; and "ramum cupressi ante domum funestam poni, ne quisquam Pontifex per ignorantiam pollueretur ingressus" (*Serv.* ad Virg. Aen. II. and XI.); compare also the interesting remarks of Porphyry (*Abstin.* II. 50.) with regard to the Egyptian priests, *οἱ δὲ οἱ τῶν τῆδε ἱερέων καὶ ἱεροποιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνέχοντων καὶ λατρεύοντων λατρεῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ*.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. XXII. 3; comp. *Joseph.* Bell. Jud. V. v. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. XV. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Exod. XIX. 15; 1 Sam. XXI. 5; *Strabo*, XVI. I. 20, p. 745; *Phot.* Symp. III. vi. 4; see Comm. on Exod. p. 336.

that special purpose.<sup>9</sup> This requirement of permanent purity was, probably, one of the reasons why women, though for a long time and numerous employed at places of worship for various duties,<sup>10</sup> were excluded from the priesthood; yet this exclusion of women may have been prompted by other motives besides, such as the excesses to which their admission gave rise in many heathen worships, and the superiority attributed to the male sex;<sup>11</sup> and when the principle of the substitution of the Levites for the firstborn sons of the Hebrews was currently adopted, the service of women was naturally out of the question.<sup>12</sup>

11. But priests had, above all, to lead a life of holiness and piety. They were called upon to glorify the name of God not by their teaching only, but by their conduct.<sup>13</sup> As they enjoyed the highest privileges, so they were judged with the greatest severity. It was a proverbial adage, "Through those that are near Me I will be sanctified."<sup>14</sup> From their families even the most unexceptional morality was expected; a priest's daughter who abandoned herself to a reproachful life, profaned her father, and she was to be burnt to death.<sup>15</sup> Before or during their ministrations, they were forbidden to drink wine or any strong beverage that might disturb their absorbed attention or self-possession; a contravention of this precept was visited with death.<sup>16</sup> As their lives were to be devoted to the service of peace and atonement, and to the unwearied study of the Divine Law, they were commanded to shun everything

<sup>9</sup> Exod. XXX. 18—21; XL. 31, 32; comp. *Mishn. Taan.* I. 2, 4—II. 1; *Bartenurā* on *Mishn. Zevach.* II. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Exod. XXXVIII. 8; 1 Sam. II. 22; comp. Ps. LXVIII. 26; Exod. XV. 20; Judg. XXI. 21; see also *Ewald*, *Alterthümer*, pp. 297, 298. Similar notions certainly prevailed among the Ethiopians, for we are distinctly told, "At the sacrifices in honour of Helios and Selene, the purest deities, the attendance of women was prohibited, in order to protect the sacred act even from an involuntary pollution" (*Heliod.* X. 4); on analogous laws in some of the Greek states see *Schömann*, *Griech. Alterth.* II. pp. 408, 409.

<sup>11</sup> See *supra* p. 96.

<sup>12</sup> Among the Egyptians also, it was a rule, "A woman cannot serve the priestly office either for god or goddess" (*Herod.* II. 35); although we find, in

reality, women admitted to various religious services (comp. *Wilkinson* in *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, *in loc.*). The Greeks had both priests and priestesses, the latter, on the whole, in excess of the former; the sex of the priest did not invariably follow that of the god. The Druids also had priestesses, some married, and some unmarried, who alone were allowed to perform certain sacrifices.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Jos. Ant.* III. xii. 2; *Philo*, *De Monarch.* II. 5, *Opp.* II. 225.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. X. 8; see *Comm.* *in loc.*

<sup>15</sup> Lev. XXI. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. X. 9; comp. *Ezek.* XLIV. 21; *Jos. Ant.* III. xii. 2; *Bell. Jud.* V. v. 7; *Philo*, *De Monarch.* II. 7 (*τεταγμένους τὰν ἀσυναισθητόν, ὅτι καὶ ἀγίας καὶ ἅγιον καὶ ἀσυναισθητόν*); *De Ebrietate* cc. 33, 34, *Opp.* I. 377, 378; see notes on X. 8—11.

## 574 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

tending to destroy the calm serenity of their minds or indicating an undue attachment to temporal boons or interests, since they were to find their happiness mainly in their spiritual mission. Hence they were not to yield to any vehement demonstrations of grief or mourning in cases of bereavement. They were specially forbidden to make baldness upon their heads, shave off the corner of their beards, or make any incision in their flesh;<sup>1</sup> for though the same injunction applied to the whole nation,<sup>2</sup> its transgression was in the ministers of God particularly blameable.

Moreover, in order to relieve them from worldly troubles and anxieties, the Law amply provided for them by imposts levied from the Israelites, and by the shares assigned to them in the various kinds of offering; and they were to receive for their abodes thirteen towns conveniently situated in the vicinity of the central Sanctuary, within the territory of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin.<sup>3</sup> They were exempted not only from military service but from all taxes and civil burdens.<sup>4</sup> Thus freed from all mundane occupation and depressing care, they were to devote their whole existence, undisturbed, to truth and its diffusion, to holiness and pious mediation.<sup>5</sup>

12. Now, if the peculiar character and office of the priests be considered, it will be found, as a natural consequence, that they required, on the one hand, a chief who, by his person and dignity, concentrated the whole power and holiness of their order, and who could, therefore, occasionally represent the whole people of Israel as their intercessor; and that, on the other hand, they could not properly be charged with the menial duties unavoidably connected with the service of the altar and the Sanctuary. The Law of the Pentateuch gave them a visible head in the *High-priest*, and subordinate assistants in the *Levites*.

13. The HIGH-PRIEST was naturally distinguished by peculiar holiness. His duties were more solemn, his responsibilities more grave. He was, in fact, the embodiment of the theocracy itself. As, therefore, he required the spirit of God in an eminent degree, he was consecrated with a more complete and copious anointment than the common priests. He is described as having "the crown of the anointing oil of his God upon him."<sup>6</sup> Every new High-priest was anointed in the same manner

<sup>1</sup> Lev. XXI. 5, 6; and Comm. *in loc.*; comp. Ezek. XLVI. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. XIX. 27, 28. <sup>3</sup> Josh. XXI. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Jos. Ant. IV. iv. 3; III. xii.

<sup>5</sup> (ἱερεὶ γὰρ ἡσυχία ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητος, καὶ πόντος ἀτελεῖς); which privileges were,

later, confirmed to them by foreign sovereigns also (Ezra VII. 24).

<sup>6</sup> See *infra* Sect. III. 6—15; comp. also 1 Cor. IX. 1—14; XXXI. 4; Rom. XV. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. XXI. 12, וְהָיָה שֵׁן מִשְׁחָהוּ אֵלָיו

as Aaron, the first, whereas the ordinary priests were in later times not anointed.<sup>7</sup> He was hence simply called "the anointed priest."<sup>8</sup> He was "the great priest",<sup>9</sup> or later "the head-priest",<sup>10</sup> or "the priest" *par excellence*;<sup>11</sup> and as in him the sum of the sanctity of the priesthood was concentrated, he was even designated "the Holy of the Lord."<sup>12</sup> His dignity is therefore hardly exaggerated in these words of Philo, "The Law designs that the High-priest should partake of a nature superior to that of man; he approaches more nearly to that of the Deity; for he stands properly on the borders between the two, in order that men may propitiate God by some mediator, and that God may have some subordinate minister by whom He may offer and give His mercies and boons to mankind."<sup>13</sup>

From this character of the High-priest several points follow as matters of course. One High-priest only was possible at a time; because the whole people in its unity could fitly be represented by one spiritual chief only.<sup>14</sup> The sin of the High-priest caused or implied the sin of the nation, for which he acted as delegate and mediator;<sup>15</sup> and his

עליו; comp. ver. 10; and Philo (Vit. Mos. III. 17, Opp. II. 157), *Μωσῆς τὸν ἀρχιερέα πολλὰ ἄπει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀλείψει*.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. XXVIII. 41; XXIX. 7; XXX. 30; XL. 15; Lev. VI. 13; VIII. 12; XVI. 32; Num. XXXV. 25; see notes on VIII. 6—13.

<sup>8</sup> *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל*, Lev. IV. 3, 5, 16; VI. 15; XVI. 32; compare notes on IV. 3—12. According to the Mishnah (Horay. III. 4), the High-priest was anointed during the time of the first Temple only, whereas in the period of the second Temple he was installed merely by being clothed in his pontifical vestments, because the holy anointing oil had been concealed in the reign of king Josiah; hence the distinction between *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל* and *הַכֹּהֵן הַמְּשִׁיחַ*; comp. *Mishn. Maccoth. II. 6*; *Megill. I. 9*; see also *Cunaeus, De Republ. Hebr. I. II. c. 7*.

<sup>9</sup> *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל*, Lev. XXI. 10; Num. XXXV. 25, 28; Josh. XX. 6; 2 Ki. XII. 11; XXII. 4, 8; XXIII. 4; Hagg. I. 1, 12; Zech. III. 1, 8; Neh. III. 1; XIII. 28; etc.; Chal. *כֹּהֵן רִבָּא*; Sept. *ὁ*

*ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας*, or in Lev. IV. 3 *ἀρχιερεὺς*, and so in the Apocrypha, Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament.

<sup>10</sup> *כֹּהֵן הָרָאשִׁי* (2 Ki. XXV. 18; Ezra VII. 5; 2 Chr. XIX. 11; XXIV. 6, 11; XXVI. 20), or merely *כֹּהֵן* (2 Chr. XXIV. 6), in contradistinction to *כֹּהֲנֵי הַמִּשְׁכָּנָה* (2 Ki. XXIII. 4; XXV. 18; Jer. LII. 24), the priests of second rank or the common priests.

<sup>11</sup> *כֹּהֵן*, Ex. XXIX. 30; Lev. XXI. 21; comp. IV. 5 and 6, 16 and 17; Num. III. 6 (*אֶת־כֹּהֵן הַכֹּהֵן*); IV. 33; XXXV. 32, comp. ver. 28; Josh. XIV. 1; XVII. 4; XIX. 51; XXI. 1; 1 Sam. I. 9; II. 11; 2 Ki. XII. 8, 10; Nehem. VII. 65; see 2 Sam. VIII. 17; 2 Esdr. IX. 39, 42; and so *כֹּהֵן* to fill the office of High-priest (Deut. X. 6).

<sup>12</sup> *קֹדֶשׁ יְהוָה*, Ps. CVL 16.

<sup>13</sup> *De Monarch. II. 12*.

<sup>14</sup> The Talmud says *אין סמנים שני כהנים גרלים* (*Talm. Jerus. Sanhedr. 29a*; *Siphra 9b*; comp. *Bahr. Symb. II. p. 13 note 1*).

<sup>15</sup> Lev. IV. 3, *אם יחטא הכהן המשיח יחטא העם*; see note on IV. 3—12, comp. also *אם יחטא*.

## 576 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

expiation wrought at the same time the expiation of the community.<sup>1</sup> The *election* was particularly marked, and confined to Aaron and his descendants through Eleazar, the eldest of his surviving sons. The *hereditary succession* was strictly reserved to his branch of the family and extended to no other.<sup>2</sup> The High-priest was not even permitted, like the common priest, to marry a widow, but none except a Hebrew virgin;<sup>3</sup> and though the ordinance is not quite distinct, it is not improbable that he was enjoined to observe monogamy,<sup>4</sup> as was the case

<sup>1</sup> Lev. IX. 7 and notes on IX. 5—14.

<sup>2</sup> Num. III. 32; XX. 28; Deut. X. 6; Josh. XIV. 1; XVII. 4; XIX. 51; XXI. 1; comp. Judg. XX. 28; see, however, *infra*. Josephus (Ant. XX. x. 1) observes, no one that is not of the blood of Aaron, though he were a king, can ever obtain the High-priesthood. He maintains (Ap. I. 7) that the Jews "have the names of their High-priests, from father to son set down in their records for the period of two thousand years"; and it is probably on the authority of some such source that he contends (Antiq. I. c.; comp. Vit. 1), that from Aaron to his own generation, there were 83 High-priests, of whom 13 lived from the days of Moses to the building of the Temple in Solomon's reign, comprising a period of 612 years (whereas the Old Testament states the interval at 480 years, 1 Ki. VI. 1), 18 from Solomon to the Babylonian exile under Nebuchadnezzar, who made the High-priest Jozadak captive, or a period of 466½ years (in 1 Chr. V. 29—41, only 22 descendants of Aaron in direct line are mentioned up to the time of Nebuchadnezzar; see *infra* Sect. IV. 1); 15 (beginning with Jesus, the son of Jozadak, and ending with Onias surnamed Meneclaus) from Nebuchadnezzar to Antiochus Eupator, a period of 414 years; then Jocimus (3 years); then no High-priest for 7 years; then successively Jonathan the Asmonean, 7 years; his brother Simon, 8 years; the son of the latter, Hyrcanus, 30 years; Judas, called Aristobulus, who was

both king and High-priest, 27 years; Hyrcanus, his son, 9 years; his brother Aristobulus, 3¼ years; then again Hyrcanus, 24 years; Antigonius, the son of Aristobulus, 3¼ years; Aristobulus the grandson of Hyrcanus; after which time Herod appointed High-priests who were not of the family of the Asmoneans, but of less eminent birth; his example was followed by his son Archelaus and the Romans; and there were 28 High-priests from the days of Herod to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple under Titus or a period of 107 years (from B. C. 37 to A. C. 70). But according to the Talmud (Yom. 9a), there were, during the 420 years of the first Temple only 18 High-priests, but during the 420 years of the second Temple more than 300, so that, if the longer time of office of some, as Simon the Just and Johanan is taken into account, each of the rest officiated hardly longer than one year. Comp., however, Chron. Paschale, p. 77; Selden, De Succ. lib. II; see also Reland, Ant. II. ii. 1—6; Hervey in Smith's Bibl. Dict. I. 809—813.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish tradition limited the age from 12 to 12½ years, when the girl was called a *תולד*, while after that time she was a *תולד* *virgo pubes*, and such the High-priest was not to marry (*Mishn. Yevam. VI. 4; Talm. Yevam. 59a*). comp. *Demosth. Adv. Neær. § 75*.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. XXI. 13—15; comp. 1 Tim. III. 2; Joseph. Ant. III. xii. 2; Philo, De Monarch. II. 8—11; *Mishn. Yevam.*



with the Egyptian High-priests.<sup>5</sup> He held his office for life;<sup>6</sup> for it was impossible that the sanctity once bestowed upon him by God should ever decrease, much less depart from him. Thus the matter was also understood by Jewish tradition, according to which "he remained in his holiness"<sup>7</sup> even after he had resigned his functions; and if he sinned subsequently, he had even then to present a bullock for a sin-offering, whereas a king who had been dethroned or had abdicated, had merely to bring the sin-offering of a private Israelite.<sup>8</sup> His death marked an epoch in the civil and political life of the nation,<sup>9</sup> when the involuntary homicide who had escaped into a city of refuge was permitted to return to his home; since for a theocratic community, there could be no more important event than a change of its spiritual chief. Therefore, Philo describes him aptly thus: "The High-priest is the relation and nearest of kin to the whole nation;<sup>10</sup> he offers up supplications and sacrifices daily on behalf of the whole nation, and prays for the people as for his own brethren, and parents, and children, that every age and every portion of the nation, as if it were one body, may be united into one and the same community and union."<sup>11</sup>

VI. 4; *Selden*, *Uxor Ebr.* L. I. c. 8, pp. 39, 40. — However, the pious High-priest Jehoiada married two wives (2 Chr. XXIV. 3).

<sup>5</sup> *Diod. Sic.* I. 80. With respect to the flamen Dialis, the Roman law ordained, *Uxorem si amisit, flaminio de- cedit; matrimonium flaminis nisi morte dirimi jus non est* (*Gell.* I. c.). Later the Jewish laws in this respect were made more rigorous still: no High-priest was, for instance, admitted who was born of a servile or captive mother; though birth in a foreign country was not deemed a disqualification (*Jos. Ant.* XIII. x. 5; XV. iii. 1); similarly a Roman Vestal was ineligible "quae ipsa aut ejus pater emancipatus sit... item ejus parentes alter ambove servitute servierunt, aut in negotiis sordidis diversantur" (*Gell. Noct. Att.* I. 12). Philo (*De Monarch.* II. 11) remarks even that the High-priest could marry only "a priestess, the daughter of a priest" (*ἱερεῖαν δὲ ἱερέως*), whereas common priests might marry from any tribe, because the legislator "was not willing

entirely to disunite and separate the whole nation from the order of the priesthood"; similarly *Ewald*, *Alterth.* p. 302 (*Die Jungfrau die er zur Ehe nähme, sollte nur aus seinen Stammverwandten sein*); see, in general, *Selden*, *De Succ. in Pont.* II. c. 3; *De Uxor. Ebr.* I. c. 7, pp. 31 *sqq.*; *Carpzov*, *App. crit.* pp. 88, 89.

<sup>6</sup> *Comp. Joseph. Ant.* XX. x. 1.

<sup>7</sup> בקדושתו הוא עומד.

<sup>8</sup> כהן משיח מביא פר והגשיא כהריום, *Mishn. Horay.* III. 2. Even with regard to the common priest the rule obtained, that he never forfeited his priestly privileges entirely (*Mishn. Sot.* III. 7, כדן אין מתחלל). <sup>9</sup> *Num.* XXXV. 28, 32.

<sup>10</sup> Τοῦ σῶματος τοῦ θεοῦ συγγενὴς καὶ ἀγγιστοῦς καὶ τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως ἐστίν.

<sup>11</sup> Ἦναι πᾶσι ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῷ μέρει τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ σῶματος ὡς μέρος καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἀπόδειξις καὶ καὶ καὶ, *Philo*, *De Special. Legg.* III. 23, *Opp.* II. 321. Other Jewish authorities consider that the High-priest ought to be pre-eminent כהן בכור בעומד בהכמה ובמראה (*Matmon. Kela Hammikda.* 5).



## 578 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

14. The relation between the people, the priests, and the High-priest, is, therefore, this. The Israelites are a community of priests; their character and their aim virtually coincide with the character and aim of the priests; but as they have renounced "to approach to God" (see *supra* p. 562) and thus helped or at least consented to confer their peculiar mission on one particular order, every one of them individually must be represented by a priest. But the whole people and the High-priest are, in their moral and religious life, organically connected, equivalent in religious importance and identical in their theocratic dignity.<sup>1</sup> Both the High-priest and the common priest are mediators; but the intercession of the former is required to render the intercession of the other complete; for the Israelite is no isolated unit, he is an integral part of a chosen community, and his atonement as an individual is imperfect without his atonement as a citizen of the theocratic commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> And as an Israelite and a priest are different only in their degrees of holiness, and not absolutely in the absence or presence of this attribute, so the priest and the High-priest are distinguished only by the degrees in which they are severally endowed with the spirit of God. People, priests, and High-priest were meant to be allied by a common bond of spiritual aspiration, like the members of one body, each performing its separate functions, but each sustained by, and sustaining, the rest.<sup>3</sup> Yet the theocratic status of the three component divisions was distinctly marked. The people was limited to the Court; the priests were admitted to the Holy also, while the High-priest alone was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies, and to minister before the Ark of the Covenant and the mercy-seat adorned with the Cherubim which typified the Divine presence.<sup>4</sup> So the priest approached nearer to God than the Israelite, and the High-priest nearer than either; by this gradation their sacerdotal character is pointedly conveyed.

15. While, therefore, the High-priest shared both many rights and duties with the common priests, he was, in either respect, distin-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Ebn Ezra* on Levit. IV. 14 (וְהָיָה כֹהֵן הַגָּדוֹל שְׂקוֹל כֹּהֵן כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל), and *Siphra ibid.* (הָרִי מִשִּׁיחַ כָּצֹבֵר).

<sup>2</sup> Yet it is probably not quite accurate to contend, "As the whole sacrificial service, so the priesthood formed a complete unity; even when the subordinate priests officiated at the altar, they did not act as individuals merely, but by virtue of the authority vested in the whole order of priesthood, whose

proper representative was the High-priest; they acted, therefore, in reality, as substitutes of the High-priest" (so *Öhler* in Herz. VI. 203): as a rule, the common priests represented the individual Israelites, the High-priest the nation.

<sup>3</sup> How far this object was attained by the institutions of the Pentateuch, will be pointed out below, sect. II.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. XVI. 13—15.

guished from them by various special enactments.<sup>5</sup> Though he was, of course, permitted to perform the ordinary sacrifices, he was probably not meant to do so, except on the sabbaths, the days of the new-moon, and the great festivals;<sup>6</sup> he certainly did not offer the regular daily holocausts;<sup>7</sup> although this would seem peculiarly appropriate for him as the appointed chief of the theocracy.<sup>8</sup> It was he especially who consulted the Urim and Thummim which he wore on his breast. He was the guardian of the Temple treasury and exercised the supervision over the entire public worship.<sup>9</sup> He sacrificed the sin-offerings for himself and the community of Israel.<sup>10</sup> But his most solemn function was on the Day of Atonement, when he, and none else, was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies, and to perform those imposing rites, by which the expiation of the people was to be wrought. At the division of the land of Canaan, he together with the chiefs of the tribes is said to have directed the arrangements.<sup>11</sup> He no doubt occupied a prominent position, if he did not preside, in the high tribunals mainly composed of priests.<sup>12</sup> It needs, therefore, hardly be observed that the High-priests were held in supreme respect and reverence. They occasionally married princesses,<sup>13</sup> and their daughters were demanded in marriage by the most influential in the land.<sup>14</sup> The High-priest was forbidden to approach the dead body even of his father and his mother; he was required to remain in constant and the most perfect purity; for, observes the Law, "he shall not go out of the Sanctuary, nor profane the Sanctuary of his God; for the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him."<sup>15</sup> Nor was he, in times of mourning, to go with dishevelled hair or rend his garments, in compliance with the ordinary custom; he should, on

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Gell. Noct. Att. X. 15* (caerimoniae impositae flammis Diali multae, item castus multiplices); that chapter of Gellius contains many highly interesting parallels, *f. i. Dialis cotidie festatus est; sine apice sub divo esse licitum non est; farinam fermento imbutam adtingere ei fas non est; super flaminem Dialem in convivio nisi rex sacrificulus haud quisquam alius accumbit.*

<sup>6</sup> This seems, at least, to have been the practice in the period after the exile (*Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. v. 7*).

<sup>7</sup> See notes on VI. 12—16, the quotation from Philo.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Mishn. Tamid VII. 3*; *Hebr. VII. 27.* <sup>9</sup> *2 Ki. XXII. 4*; *2 Chr. XXXI. 10*; *2 Macc. III. 9.*

<sup>10</sup> *Lev. IV. 4—21.*

<sup>11</sup> *Num. XXXIV. 17*; *Josh. XIV. 1*; *XVII. 4*; *XIX. 51*; *XXI. 1.*

<sup>12</sup> *Deut. XVII. 8—13*; comp. *Num. XV. 33*; *XXVII. 2*; see p. 570; comp. also *infra* sect. V. Philo (*De Special. Legg. III. 23*) observes that the High-priest "presides over and dispenses justice to all who dispute in accordance with the laws" (*προεδρεύει μὲν καὶ δίκαια τοῖς ἀποκρίσας κατὰ τοὺς νόμους*). It is not stated whether or in what manner his revenues differed from those of common priests.

<sup>13</sup> *2 Ki. XI. 2*; *2 Chr. XXII. 11.*

<sup>14</sup> *1 Macc. XVI. 12*; comp., however, *Sect. V. 6.*

<sup>15</sup> *Lev. XXI. 11, 12.*

## 580 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

all occasions, preserve tranquillity of mind and comeliness of outward appearance; he was to rise above the disturbing influences of human joys and human sorrows.<sup>1</sup> His vestments were, like those of the common priests, to be made "for glory and distinction";<sup>2</sup> but they were marked both by pre-eminent splendour and symbolical significance. They tended to indicate the nature, the holiness, and the exalted importance of his office; so especially the ephod, on the two shoulders of which he was to wear, engraven on two onyx-stones, the names of the children of Israel, "for a memorial" before the Lord;<sup>3</sup> the breast-plate (חֹשֶׁן) with its twelve precious stones, each of which was to bear the name of one of the twelve tribes of Israel — "and Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel on the breast-plate of decision upon his heart, when he goes into the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually";<sup>4</sup> the Urim and Thummim, the oracle of God, which "shall be on Aaron's heart when he goes in before the Lord, and Aaron shall bear the decision of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually";<sup>5</sup> the golden bells on the hem of the robe, which "shall be upon Aaron to minister", and the sound of which, when heard on Aaron's appearance before the Lord, shall remind the Israelites of the awe and sanctity of the moment;<sup>6</sup> and so also the golden plate (פָּתָח) on the mitre bearing the solemn words, *Holiness to the Lord*, and always preserved on Aaron's forehead "that he may bear the iniquity of the Israelites' sacred gifts," and render them acceptable before the Lord.<sup>7</sup> The High-priest's vestments, therefore, ingeniously and strikingly conveyed that he was the sole mediator between God and the entire nation, that he was designed constantly to remind the holy people of its mission and its obligations; and that he assisted them, in these noble aims, by effecting their expiation and securing their forgiveness by God.<sup>8</sup> But on the

<sup>1</sup> Lev. XXI. 10; comp. X. 6; Ezek. XLIV. 20; *Mishn. Sanhedr.* II. 1 (where minute regulations are given); Horay. III. 5; *Talm. Sanhedr.* 19; see Comm. on X. 1—7; comp., however, Matth. XXVI. 65; 1 Macc. XI. 71; *Jos. Bell. Jud.* II. xv. 4; see *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> לְכָבוֹד וְלִפְאָרָה, Exod. XXVIII. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. XXVIII. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. XXVIII. 21, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Exod. XXVIII. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. XXVIII. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. XXVIII. 37, 38. It is artificial to derive from the term פָּתָח in connection with the narrative concern-

ing the blooming rod of Aaron (Num. XVII. 17—24) the idea that the priests are the "blooming" or "flowering" persons (*Bâkr*, *Symb.* II. 21); for although blossom and flower are emblems of life, and true life manifests itself in holiness, it is a forced conclusion to declare blooming and holiness synonymous.

<sup>8</sup> See in general Comm. on Exod. pp. 522—549. The High-priest, of course, was clad in his sacred garments only while performing his pontifical duties; ordinarily, and even when presiding at the supreme courts, he was

Day of Atonement, when he entered the Holy of Holies, he was commanded to wear garments of plain white linen (לְבָשׁ);<sup>9</sup> he could not appropriately, when craving remission of his own sins and acting as the intercessor of a sinful and penitent people, appear before God arrayed in splendid attire made "for glory and distinction"; feelings of humility and contrition behoved him when approaching the presence of the omnipotent Judge; and they were best typified by a simple vesture of spotless white.

16. The LEVITES,<sup>10</sup> in relation to the priesthood, comprised all the descendants of Levi, except those of Aaron<sup>11</sup> — the progeny of Gershon and Merari, of Izhar and Uzziel, and of Moses.<sup>12</sup> They had no immediate connection with the internal and important part of the public service. Their task was not spiritual, but menial and mechanical. They were the ministers and attendants of the priests, for whom they executed all physical and subordinate work. For they were not properly *elected* by God, like the priests, but merely *separated* from among the Israelites, or set apart for certain services,<sup>13</sup> because they had, on some prominent occasions, evinced an ardent zeal for God's cause, even conquering and suppressing their natural instincts and human sympathies.<sup>14</sup> They were, in fact, mere substitutes for as many Israelites,

dressed in other clothes (*Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. v. 7*); thus he was not recognized by Paul in the sanhedrim (*Acts XXIII. 5*); and, on some occasions, he is stated to have rent his garments (*Matth. XXVI. 65*; *1 Macc. XI. 71*).

<sup>9</sup> Namely כִּתְנֵי כֹהֵן, כִּתְנֵי לֵוִי, כִּתְנֵי מִזְבֵּחַ, and כִּתְנֵי מִזְבֵּחַ (Lev. XVI. 4), comprehensively called "holy garments" (קִדְשֵׁי הַקֹּהֵן). Jewish tradition designated them כִּתְנֵי לֵוִי, in contradistinction to כִּתְנֵי אֹהֶל, his usual vestments. It is remarkable that Josephus (*l. c.*), on the contrary, observes that the High-priest wore his coloured garments only on the Day of Atonement; whereas in another passage, he declares that he wore them both on the Day of Atonement and on the three great festivals (*Ant. XVIII. iv. 3*) — an additional instance of the disagreement between the statements of that author and those of Scripture with respect to the priesthood and public worship. In *Mishn. Yom. III. 7*, double garments

of linen are mentioned, which is a later development of the precept of the Pentateuch. — Plato (*Legg. XII. 7*, p. 956A) considered *white* as the most appropriate colour in connection with the worship of the gods (*χρῆματα δὲ λευκὰ πρότερον ἐν θεοῖς εἶη καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ἐν ἑσθῇ*); and with respect to the flamen Dialis, Varro quoted by Gellius (*Noct. Att. X. 15*) observes, *Is solus album habet galerum, vel quod maximus est, vel quod Jovi immolata hostia alba fieri oporteat* (comp. *supra* pp. 101, 102).

<sup>10</sup> לְוִיִּם, לְוִיִּם לְוִיִּם (Exod. VI. 16, 25; etc. etc.); Sept. *Λευῖται*; comp. *Phil. Symp. IV. vi. 2*. <sup>11</sup> Num. III. 9.

<sup>12</sup> See *supra* p. 563.

<sup>13</sup> Num. VIII. 14, וְהָיָה לְכָל לְוִיִּם אֲחֵי אֹהֶן; XVI. 9, וְהָיָה לְכָל לְוִיִּם אֲחֵי אֹהֶן; XVI. 9, וְהָיָה לְכָל לְוִיִּם אֲחֵי אֹהֶן.

<sup>14</sup> Dent. XXXIII. 8, 9; Exod. XXXII. 27—29. The Chronist, guided by his well-known principles, speaks of priests and Levites in nearly identical

## 582 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

according to a peculiar theory of the Pentateuch. For its doctrine is this. All the firstborn males, both of men and beasts, belong to God;<sup>1</sup> for when the firstborn were smitten by Him in Egypt, He saved those of the Hebrews;<sup>2</sup> but instead of every firstborn male Israelite, He ordered a Levite to be substituted and dedicated for His service; and the firstborn Hebrews that were at that time in excess of the Levites, and those born in future generations, were to be redeemed by five shekels each, to be given to the priests;<sup>3</sup> while the firstborn male animals, whether of the clean or unclean species, were the objects of special enactments.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the Levites were indeed also "brought near",<sup>5</sup> yet not only to God,<sup>6</sup> but to the priests as well whom they served,<sup>7</sup> to whom they were joined<sup>8</sup> or given<sup>9</sup> as a present.<sup>10</sup> They were forbidden to approach the holy implements, especially the altar; if they did so, they were

terms; for in reference to the former he says וַיִּבְרַךְ אֶתְּרֵן (1 Chr. XXIII. 13; comp. *supra* p. 561), and in reference to the latter, בָּם בָּחַר יְהוָה (1 Chr. XV. 2); both priests and Levites bless the people (2 Chr. XXX. 27; comp. vers. 15, 21, 22); nay he goes occasionally so far as to place the Levites, in dignity and piety, above the priests (2 Chr. XXIX. 34; XXXVI. 14), which implies a total perversion of the laws of the Pentateuch; for even Ezekiel (XLIV. 10—14) represents the toilsomeness of Levitical duties as a punishment for constant idolatry.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. XIII. 2, 12; XXXIV. 19, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Num. III. 12, 13; VIII. 16, 17; Exod. XIII. 14, 15. This view is supposed to have originated in the circumstance that Moses abolished, or was believed to have abolished, the sacrifices of children to which the Hebrews were attached as a result of their Sabæan idolatry (comp. *Fatke*, Theol. des A. T. I. p. 198).

<sup>3</sup> Num. III. 40—51. We here refrain from discussing the errors and improbabilities of the account in Numbers, which states 22,000 as the sum of the firstborn males (ver. 39), whereas the single items added together would yield the aggregate of 22,300 (viz. 7,500+8,600+6,200, vers. 22, 28, 34);

and according to which one child in about 50 only would be a firstborn boy, which is against all experience. We shall return to the subject in the volume on Numbers.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. XIII. 13; XXXIV. 20. Num. XVIII. 15, 17; Deut. XV. 19—22; see *infra* Sect. III. 9—11.

<sup>5</sup> וַיִּקְרַב אֶת־מֹשֶׁה לַיהוָה, Num. III. 6; comp. XVIII. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Num. XVI. 9, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Num. III. 6—9; VIII. 26; XVIII. 2.

<sup>8</sup> וַיִּלָּח עֲלֵיךְ, Num. XVIII. 2, 4.

<sup>9</sup> וַיִּתְּנֵם, Num. III. 9; VIII. 16, 19.

<sup>10</sup> וַיִּתְּנֵם, Num. XVIII. 6. The priests are called וַיִּקְרַבֵּם מִבְּנֵי לֵוִי (Ezek. XL. 46); and the office of the Levites is described to be "to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of Jehovah, in the courts, and the chambers, and the purifying of all sacred things" (1 Chr. XXIII. 28, מַעֲמָדִים לִיד בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן). Artificial is Öhler's view of the position of the Levites (in Herz. VIII. 349); he calls them first the "living sacrifice" by which the Israelites make payment to God for the existence which they owe to Him, and then the "atonement for the Hebrews", who, on account of their sinfulness, were unfit to come near God through their firstborn: this outsteps the concessions of the Pentateuch.

menaced with the punishment of death, together with the priests who permitted the desecration.<sup>11</sup> They were, like the common Hebrews, restricted to the Court, which, however, uncircumcised non-Israelites were forbidden to enter.<sup>12</sup> It was their office "to keep the charge of the Sanctuary", that is, "to do the service of the Tent of Meeting".<sup>13</sup> Therefore, when during the journeys of the Israelites, the camp was about to be removed, the *priests* carefully enveloped all the holy utensils,<sup>14</sup> and then only the Kohathites were permitted to approach, and to receive, for transportation, the vessels assigned to them individually; for they were sure to die, nay their whole race was certain to be extirpated, if they ventured to go into the Sanctuary "but a moment" to see it.<sup>15</sup> But just as the Levites were "strangers" in relation to the priests, so were the other Israelites strangers in relation to the Levites; any common Hebrew who attempted to perform even the manual services appropriated to the Levites forfeited his life; and the Law warned the people "that there be no plague among the children of Israel, when the children of Israel come near the Sanctuary."<sup>16</sup> The Israelites were effectually and totally to be kept away from the ministrations of the Sanctuary; they were, therefore, replaced by the Levites who, in this respect, formed the connecting link between the people and the priests, in a similar manner as the priests stood between the people and God.

17. The work of the Levites, in detail, was as follows. They had to take care of the Tabernacle and its vessels.<sup>17</sup> They were stationed round it during the encampments.<sup>18</sup> They took it down, when the journey was to be continued, and they set it up when the camp was to be pitched.<sup>19</sup> They carried it with its implements during the wanderings, as has just been stated;<sup>20</sup> and in proportion to their degree of relationship to the sacerdotal family of Aaron, they were entrusted with objects of greater or inferior holiness.<sup>21</sup> They had, of course, to assist in the

<sup>11</sup> Num. XVIII. 3, 5; XVII. 5; comp. Ezek. XLIV. 13, 14.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Ezek. XLIV. 7—9.

<sup>13</sup> לעבד את עבודת משכן ידוה, or לעבד את עבודת משכן ידוה, Num. XVI. 9; XVIII. 3, 4, 6; VIII. 19, 22; or more clearly still עשה עבודת בית ידוה, 1 Chr. XXIII. 24; comp. vers. 28, 32; see also Exod. XXXVIII. 21; Num. IV. 3, 30; VIII. 24—26.

<sup>14</sup> Num. IV. 5—14.

<sup>15</sup> פקדו, vers. 15—20; comp. I. 49—51; X. 17, 21.

<sup>16</sup> Num. VIII. 19; I. 51, 53; III. 10, 38; XVII. 27, 28; XVIII. 22; comp. 2 Chr. XXVI. 16—21.

<sup>17</sup> Num. III. 8, 25—38.

<sup>18</sup> And later, they lodged round the Temple, 1 Chr. IX. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Num. I. 50, 51, 53.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. Deut. XXXI. 25; 1 Sam. VI. 15; 1 Chr. XV. 2, 27; XXIII. 26; 2 Chr. V. 4; comp., however, Deut. XXXI. 9; Josh. III. 3, 6, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17; IV. 9, 10, 16, 18; VI. 6, 12; VIII. 33; 1 Ki. II. 26; VIII. 3; where either "the priests" or "the priests the Levites" are stated to have carried the Ark; see *infra* Sect. IV. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. Num. IV. 4—33, containing a minute and characteristic enumeration.



## 584 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

offering of the sacrifices on week-days, sabbaths, and festivals,<sup>1</sup> especially in receiving the blood of the victims in the appointed vessels and presenting it to the priests for sprinkling.<sup>2</sup> The charge with which they were entrusted over the utensils and implements of the Sanctuary, included the duty of keeping them properly cleaned. They had to prepare the holy ointment, the oblations made in pans<sup>3</sup> or soaked in oil, the shew-bread, and the other unleavened cakes.<sup>4</sup> At the Temple, they were the keepers of the entrances, courts, chambers, and porticoes, round which they resided; they were the porters at its gates, which they had to open and to close.<sup>5</sup> In later times, they were, together with the priests, the guardians of the treasures of the Temple,<sup>6</sup> with an inspector (גִּיר), a vice-overseer (מִשְׁנֵה), and subordinate officers (פְּקִידִים);<sup>7</sup> they were charged with the care of the stores of flour, oil, wine, frankincense, and spices kept in the chambers, and with the control over the measures and weights. They had to collect the contributions volunteered by the Israelites for the necessary repairs,<sup>8</sup> and to superintend the progress of the works.<sup>9</sup> They had to attend the morning and evening services, and to adorn them by vocal and instrumental music, while the priests generally sounded the trumpets.<sup>10</sup> According to the Chronist, they were, from the time of David, chosen for civil and municipal officers,<sup>11</sup> for attendants of the kings,<sup>12</sup> and, in common with the priests, for judges (שֹׁפְטִים), perhaps of the inferior courts,<sup>13</sup> and for teachers of the people;<sup>14</sup> and later still they had to enforce the sanctity of the sabbath.<sup>15</sup>

18. When thus their authority increased, they were considered too holy for many of the inferior services of the Sanctuary; and hence they were assisted by subordinates (נִרְמִיִּים),<sup>16</sup> exactly as they them-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. 2 Chr. XXIX. 34; XXX. 4—8; XXIII. 5; XXV. 1—4; 2 Chr. V. 17; XXXV. 11. <sup>2</sup> 2 Chr. XXX. 16.

<sup>3</sup> מִעֲשֵׂה הַחֲבִיתִים, see note on VI. 12—16.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. 1 Chr. IX. 32; XXIII. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 Chr. IX. 23—25, 27; *Philo*, *De Praem.* c. 6. According to *Mishn.* Midd. I. 1, they had, at the second Temple, to keep vigil at 21 places.

<sup>6</sup> Neh. XIII. 13; 1 Chr. IX. 26; XXIII. 28; XXVI. 20—26; comp. *Joseph.* Ant. VII. xiv. 7.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Chr. XXXI. 12—15.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Chr. XXIV. 12.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Chr. XXXIV. 12, 13.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Chr. IX. 29; XV. 16—24; XVI.

4—8; XXIII. 5; XXV. 1—4; 2 Chr. V. 12, 13; VII. 6; VIII. 14, 15; Ezra III. 10; Neh. XII. 27; see *supra* p. 568.

<sup>11</sup> שֹׁטְרִים, 1 Chr. XXIII. 4; XXVI. 29; 2 Chr. XIX. 11.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Chr. XXVI. 30, לַעֲבֹדָה הַמֶּלֶךְ.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Chr. XXIII. 4; XXVI. 29; 2 Chr. XIX. 11; XXXIV. 13.

<sup>14</sup> 2 Chr. XVII. 7—9; see in general 1 Chr. IX. 14—32; XXIII. 4—32; XXVI. 12—30; see also *De Wette*, *Archaeol.* § 227 note c. <sup>15</sup> Neh. XIII. 22.

<sup>16</sup> Sept. *Nathanael* (Ezr. II. 70; VII. 7, 24, 73; VIII. 20; Neh. III. 26; VII. 46; X. 29), *Nathanael* (Neh. III. 31), or *Nathanael* (Ezr. II. 43, 58; Neh. XI. 21), also *didactes* (1 Chr. IX. 2) or



selves had before been associated (נְתִינִים) with the priests.<sup>17</sup> These *nethinim* lived partly in Jerusalem,<sup>18</sup> and partly in the Levitical and other towns;<sup>19</sup> they were probably captives of war made proselytes,<sup>20</sup> as the Book of Joshua exemplifies with regard to the Gibeonites;<sup>21</sup> they were supposed to have been given up to the Sanctuary by David, Solomon, and other kings;<sup>22</sup> and seem to have been held in great contempt.<sup>23</sup>

19. In the Pentateuch, the Levites are merely subdivided into their principal houses (בֵּית אָב) and families (מִשְׁפָּחָה); each of the former was presided over by a chief (נָשִׂיא); and the degree of their consanguinity with the holy family of Aaron decided their position and functions. But the Chronist<sup>24</sup> attributes to David a division of the Levites, whose number he states at 38,000 men above 30 years, into four classes. 1. The *servants of the priests* or the proper *Levites*,<sup>25</sup> 24,000 in number;<sup>26</sup> 2. *Judges and civil officers*,<sup>27</sup> 6,000; 3. *Porters*,<sup>28</sup> 4,000; and 4. *Singers and Musicians*,<sup>29</sup> 4,000.<sup>30</sup> — This statement of

ἱερόδουλοι (1 Esdr. V. 29, 35; VIII. 5, 22, 49; Jos. Ant. XI. v. 1. In 1 Esdr. I. 3 the Levites themselves are called ἱερόδουλοι.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Chr. IX. 2; Ezr. II. 43; VII. 7; Neh. VII. 46.

<sup>18</sup> Neh. III. 26, 31; XI. 21.

<sup>19</sup> Ezr. II. 70; Neh. VII. 73; XI. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Neh. X. 29. <sup>21</sup> Josh. IX. 21, 23, 27.

<sup>22</sup> Ezr. VIII. 20; comp. II. 43—58; Neh. VII. 60; XI. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Mishn. Yevam. II. 4; Horay. I. 4; III. 8; Sot. IV. 1; Kiddush. III. 12; IV. 1; Talmud, Yevam. 20b; where they are placed into the same category with the מְזֻמָּרִים to whom they were even inferior, since the latter were at least of Jewish descent. They correspond therefore hardly with the Roman *popae* and *victimarii*, whose position may be more properly compared with that of the Levites. — Thus rich Mohammedans present slaves to the Kaaba at Mecca or the holy grave at Medina for the discharge of menial duties; and such persons can thenceforth never be employed for any other purpose (see Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 300). On the character of the Greek ἱερόδουλοι as the "serfs of the gods", to whose service they were dedicated by gift or

purchase, and to whom alone they were then subjected as free clients, see Böck and Buttman in *Hirt's Hierodulen* pp. 48—64; and on the ministers of priests in general Hermann, *Gottesdienstl. Alterth.* § 36.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Chr. XXIII. 4—32; XXVI. 12—30.

<sup>25</sup> לְנִצָּחִים עַל־מְלָאכָה כִּי־הָיָה דָּוִד, called by Josephus (Ant. VII. xiv. 7) ἐπιμαληταὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ.

<sup>26</sup> Whereas Josephus (l. c.) fixes them at 23,000, while he puts the total at 38,050. <sup>27</sup> שׁוֹפְטִים

וְשֹׁמְרֵי, πραιταὶ καὶ γραμματεῖς.

<sup>28</sup> שׁוֹמְרֵי הַדָּלָתַיִם θυρωροὶ or πυλωροί.

<sup>29</sup> מְזֻמָּרִים, ἱερονάται or ὑμνοδοί.

<sup>30</sup> Comp. also Ezra II. 40—42, 70; VII. 24; 1 Chr. XXV. 1—31; 2 Chr. XXIII. 2—8. Neh. VII. 43—45. According to Ezra and Nehemiah (II. cc.) no more than 341 or 360 Levites returned altogether from Babylon with Zerubbabel; nor did the Levites show greater readiness to follow Ezra into Palestine (Ezra VIII. 15; comp., however, Neh. XI. 15—24; XII. 27—29), wherefore the Talmud (Yevam. 26a) asserts that Ezra deprived them of the tithes which he granted to the priests, and left it to the latter to provide for the Levites (see, however, *infra* Sect. III. 6—8).

## 586 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

the Chronist must be estimated and judged, in the same manner as the division of the priests mentioned by the same writer, namely, as a much later arrangement unwarrantably ascribed by him to David.<sup>1</sup>

20. This being the character and the office of the Levites, they were, indeed, amply provided for, so as to be able to pursue their peculiar occupations without interruption or harassing care; for though they did not obtain the territorial possessions<sup>2</sup> to which they were properly entitled,<sup>3</sup> since their portion and their inheritance were God or "the offerings of the Lord God of Israel",<sup>4</sup> they received, according to the most favourable ordinances, in return for their services at the Sanctuary, the tenth part of all produce of the soil and of the annual increase of cattle; of the former, however, they had to give the tenth part to the priests.<sup>5</sup> They were naturally exempt from military service and all taxes,<sup>6</sup> and yet probably received a share of the booty of war.<sup>7</sup> For their abodes were assigned to them 35 cities,<sup>8</sup> whether partially or exclusively,<sup>9</sup> on both sides of the Jordan, within the territories of all tribes, except Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon, which were reserved for the habitations of the *priests* (see *supra*); and to each town was attached landed property to the extent of a thousand cubits round the wall, or two thousand from one extreme point to the other, to serve as

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *De Wette*, *Archäol.* § 240 ("this division can with safety only be supposed in the period after the exile"); *Ewald*, *Geschichte*, III. 57; whereas *Öhler* (in *Herz*. VIII. 356) still professes confidence in it, and complacently asks "Where in the subsequent ages can the time be found in which the re-establishment of the Levitical regulations is rationally to be supposed?" after which he proceeds, with great simplicity, to construct a history of the Levites mainly from the Books of Chronicles—a process which seems to be an anachronism at the present state of criticism.—This division was modified by Agrippa II (*Jos. Ant.* XX. viii. 6), according to Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xiv. 7), who divided the Levites also, like the priests, into 24 courses (*παρῳαὶ*) or sections (*μέρη*), each serving, by lot, for one week (comp. 1 Chr. IX. 25); see also *Lightfoot*, *Opp.* I. 694—700.

<sup>2</sup> Num. XVIII. 20, 23, 24; XXVI. 62;

Deut. X. 9; XII. 12; XIV. 27, 29; XVIII. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Num. XXXV. 2, *וְנָתַן לָלֵוִים מִנְחָלָה, אֲדָמָה*.

<sup>4</sup> Num. XVIII. 20; Deut. X. 9; XVIII. 2; Josh. XIII. 14, 33; XIV. 3; XVIII. 7; Ezek. XLIV. 28; Sir. XLV. 27; comp. also Ps. XVI. 5; Lam. III. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Num. XVIII. 21—32; comp. *Joseph.* *Ant.* IV. iv. 3; Neh. X. 36—40; XII. 44; XIII. 12; 2 Chr. XXXI. 4—8; see, however, *infra*, Sect. III. 6—8.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Ezra VII. 24; *Joseph.* *Ant.* III. xii. 4; IV. iv. 3; XI. v. 1; XII. iii. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Num. XXXI. 26—47; see *infra*.

<sup>8</sup> The Kohathites 10, the Gershonites 13, and the Merarites 12 (Josh. XXI. 4—7; 1 Chr. VI. 46—48).

<sup>9</sup> The latter is, according to the wording of the law, more probable, though the Levites might temporarily sell their houses (Lev. XXV. 32, 33), and thus Israelites and Levites might live together in the same town; on 1 Sam. VI. 15 see *infra*, Sect. IV. 9.

pasturage for their cattle,<sup>10</sup> an arrangement the purpose and propriety of which will be discussed hereafter.<sup>11</sup>

But, in all other respects, they were, by the ordinances of the Pentateuch, marked out not only as strikingly inferior to the priests, but as endowed with a character of no peculiar significance or holiness. As regards their qualification, physical perfection was not required as a necessary condition; any member of the families of Levi, except that of Aaron, was admitted, and served from the twenty-fifth or thirtieth to the fiftieth year of his life.<sup>12</sup> They were initiated in their office by rites of the simplest description; they were neither clothed nor anointed, but merely "cleansed" (טָהַר) by purifying water, "waved" before God, and introduced by a sin-offering and a holocaust.<sup>13</sup> They had no distinguishing garments, in which important point, therefore, they did not differ from the common Israelites.<sup>14</sup>

After this sketch in which we have endeavoured to admit no features except those warranted by the Pentateuch, while scrupulously excluding or separating from them all elements derived from other sources, we may be prepared to furnish

## II. AN ESTIMATE OF THE LEGISLATIVE VALUE OF THESE ORDINANCES.

1. It is true, that the priests of the Hebrews were not, like those of other nations, the supposed depositaries of secret or exclusive wisdom and learning; they simply expounded and diffused the teaching of that Book which was the common heirloom of the whole community; for all had entered the covenant with God on the basis of that Law which Moses handed over not to the priests alone, but also to the elders of the people,<sup>15</sup> of which the kings were ordered to have a copy

<sup>10</sup> Num. XXXV. 4, 5; comp. *Rosenm.* in loc.; *Keil* on Josh. pp. 272, 273; *Saalschütz*, *Mos. R.* pp. 100sqg.; *Archäol.* II. 86sqg.

<sup>11</sup> See *infra*, Sect. III. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Num. IV. 3, 23, 30, 39, 43, 47; comp. 1 Chr. XXIII. 3; and Num. VIII. 23—26; see *infra* Sect. III. 5. According to the Talmud (*Chull.* 24a), the limit of 50 years was maintained in the desert only, while it was abandoned already at Shiloh, except in case of failing voice.

<sup>13</sup> Num. VIII. 5—22.

<sup>14</sup> The musicians, however, are in 2 Chr. V. 12 stated to have been "arrayed in white linen" (לְבָשׁוֹת לְבָשׁוֹת בְּלִיָּטָה; comp. 1 Chr. XV. 27). But in the reign of Agrippa II, the Levites who served as musicians and who seem to have enjoyed greater respect, were permitted to wear priestly dress (*Jos. Ant.* XX. ix. 6); which is entirely opposed to the spirit of the Levitical office as marked out in the Pentateuch. — On the position of the Levites according to the Deuteronomist see *infra*, Sect. III. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Deut. XXXI. 9.

## 588 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

prepared for themselves to study in it constantly,<sup>1</sup> and which was to be read, at regular intervals, to the assembled people.<sup>2</sup> Justly, therefore, might Josephus write, "There were in the Temple not any mysteries that may not be spoken of ... for what I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of the whole people, and the operations of the priests are entirely manifest."<sup>3</sup> Nor does that Book contain any doctrines that were not within the capacity of the humblest Israelite, for it disclosed no cosmic mysteries or intricate problems of nature, but narrated, in simple language, the origin and early history of the Hebrew race, and enforced moral and religious laws, which were either traced to incidents of that history or are derived from our common humanity. Yet, why were the priests appointed the special, if not the exclusive guardians, of the Law? The reply is, because they were supposed, by their anointment, to have been endowed with the holy spirit which enabled them to penetrate more infallibly into the depths of the revealed word. Thus a supernatural element of the most dangerous kind was introduced. It cannot be called otherwise than hierarchical. The foundation of the system seemed to be a common equality of all Israelites; but the very first layer above it was an exceptional qualification of the priests of so extraordinary a nature, that, in reality, not only all parity between priests and Israelites was destroyed, but almost all spiritual community between them became impossible. Hence the priesthood annulled, in a great measure, the benefits which the diffusion of a moral code like that of the Pentateuch was calculated to produce; for it engendered, in the minds of the people, mistrust in their own ability of fathoming the whole truth of the Law, and thus caused a deplorable feeling of spiritual dependency;<sup>4</sup> and since the priests were supposed to understand the precepts more profoundly than the Israelites, that unfortunate mode of Biblical interpretation was encouraged, which

<sup>1</sup> Dent. XVII. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Dent. XXXI. 10—13; see p. 569; comp. also XXX. 11—14, "this law is not hidden from thee nor is it far off.... but the word is very nigh to thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart"; see *De Wette*, Vorlesungen über die Religion, pp. 423, 424; *Saalsch.* Mos. R. I. 116, 117.

<sup>3</sup> *Joseph.* Ap. II. 8, nihil amplius neque mysteriorum aliquorum ineffabilem agitur etc. In the Mishnah (Yom. III. 11) some men are severely censured because they refused to teach others

certain accomplishments in connection with the sacred service which were hereditary in their families. Comp., on the other hand, with regard to the Druids and others, *Diod. Sic.* V. 31; *Caes. Bell. Gall.* VI. 13, 14; *Mela*, III. 6, 23; *Strabo* IV. iv. 3—5, pp. 197, 198; *Porphy.* Abst. iv. 6; see *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 25—30.

<sup>4</sup> It appears indeed that copies of the Law, by no means numerous or common, were mostly in the hands of the Levites; comp. 2 Chr. XVII. 7—9; also Dent. XXXI. 9.

discovers extraordinary and hidden meanings in the plainest texts, and which degenerated into mysticism or pharasaical playfulness.<sup>6</sup> For the history of all religious and philosophical systems proves that similar aberrations are unavoidable from the moment that the simple and intelligible words of the masters or founders are made the subject of speculative enquiry by a separate class of men.

2. It will, therefore, be easy to judge of the value of the declaration that the Hebrews were to form "a kingdom of priests". Great importance has been attached to this term, and lofty theories have been built upon it. But was the institution of the priesthood designed to make it a reality? The family of Aaron was represented as specially *elected* by God for a particular and holy mission. Thus it was severed from the rest of the people, and raised above it to an unapproachable distance. It monopolised all the sacred functions which, in any way, tended to connect the Israelite with his God. But this was not sufficient; the common Hebrew was not only debarred from the more significant rites of public or private worship; he was to be absolutely excluded from all participation in sacred things. Not even the menial and most subordinate labours of the Sanctuary was he permitted to perform. For this purpose, another body of men, the Levites, was interposed between him and the priests. If he dared to appropriate to himself even any of these low offices, it was a crime of death.<sup>6</sup> In a word, he was, by the precepts of the Pentateuch, utterly deprived of the natural privileges which he enjoyed in a simple state of society. The Hebrews were, by the Law, not *made* "a nation of priests", but they *ceased* to be one. A hierarchy was organised. We find, in the Hebrew writings, a strong and marked contrast between priests and people.<sup>7</sup> The apparent parallels in the designation of the one and the other (p. 561) were no more than a theory without a practical embodiment. The pretence that the Hebrews

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 143—146.

<sup>6</sup> We are, in this respect, almost reminded of Polybius' view of the Roman priesthood and religion; he calls the superstitious fears of the gods (*superstitio*) the chief pillar of the state; for wise legislators, he says, surrounded religion with "mysterious terror and similar jugglery" (*τὸ μυστήριον καὶ τὸ γόητρον*) to check by fear the multitude which is everywhere frivolous, easily carried away by unlawful desires, blind anger, and hot passions (*Polyb.* VI. 56). The authority of the Egyptian priests

extended even to the dead, since it was in their power to grant or to deny an honourable sepulture.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Isai. XXIV. 2; Hos. IV. 9; Jer. I. 16. Even *Ewald* (*Alterthümer*, p. 282), who takes rather an ideal view of the Hebrew priesthood, admits, though but passingly and lightly, the very striking separation between priests and people; and Riehm (*Stud. und Krit.* 1865, p. 42) is compelled to observe, "The idea that Israel is a nation of priests, has really but a very subordinate force for the individual

## 590 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

themselves renounced their priestly privileges (p. 562), is illusory; for even if it be taken as historically true, it would alter nothing in our estimate of the priestly institutions. For while the resignation of the Hebrews could only have been temporary, the priestly institutions were meant to be unchangeable for all future times: if an untutored people just loosed from oppressive fetters, was disqualified for sacerdotal dignities, it need and ought not to have remained so after centuries of training through the Law.<sup>1</sup> How different was the voice of enlightened prophets who fervidly longed for the time when the Lord would pour out His spirit over "the house of Israel",<sup>2</sup> nay over "all flesh",<sup>3</sup> a sentiment attributed in the Pentateuch to Moses also in the memorable words, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His spirit upon them".<sup>4</sup> — The expression "kingdom of priests" remained a phrase which, so far from being realised, was rendered impossible by the leading principles of the Pentateuch; it had no influence upon the development of the nation; it was a fine but fleeting idea of a gifted mind;<sup>5</sup> and the only notion, vague as it is, that can, from the system of the Pentateuch, be attached to it, is that the Hebrews should one day become the links between God and the heathens, just as the priests are the links between God and the Israelites; though it is very doubtful, whether this meaning was intended by the words, "You shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."<sup>6</sup>

members of the community", and then alludes to the barriers which excluded them from direct communion with God.

<sup>1</sup> Entirely erroneous is therefore the common view of the subject, upheld by a host of writers, and thus expressed by Hengstenberg (*Auth. des Pent.* II. 7), "All the arts by which the priests of other nations raised themselves and their duties, did not exist among the Hebrews; these had no hierarchy; the influence of the priests depended on the goodwill of the people"; comp. *Saalschütz*, *Mos. R. l.* pp. XVII, 24—28, 120, 121; *Philippson* on Num. XVIII. 1, p. 763; *Israel. Religionslehre*, III. 201 *sqq.*; a. o.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. XXXIX. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Joel III. 1, 2; comp. Isai. XI. 9; LIV. 13; Jer. XXXI. 34; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Num. XI. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Isai. LXI. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Jost (*Gesch. des Judenth.*, I. 146) explains "The Hebrews were, like priests, to keep entirely aloof from the manners and pursuits of other nations which indulged in sensual desires and rude violence" — which negative definition is both too narrow and too indistinct. It is of very little moment that, at the initiation of the Levites, some share in the ceremonies is permitted to the Israelites, who, naturally through the elders, lay their hands upon the Levites (Num. VIII. 10; great weight is attached to this circumstance by *Saalschütz*, *Mos. R. l.* 98): however, not the Levites but the Aaronites are the priests; moreover, it is Aaron who presents to God the Levites (ver. 11), whom the Israelites merely mark as their substitutes and who then are "separated" from the body of the people (ver. 14).



3. The chasm between the priests and the people was perpetuated and widened by the principle of *hereditary* right, according to which the priesthood was for ever restricted to one family. It may be that this principle facilitated the traditionary preservation of the ritual ordinances, and that it favoured a higher degree of culture within the priestly order; but it completed the seclusion so effectually that it is idle to deny a *caste* of priests among the Hebrews, no less distinct and exclusive than that of the Hindoos or Egyptians.<sup>7</sup>

4. Irrespective of the separation itself between priests and people, it is necessary to refer to the manner in which the Pentateuch describes that separation to have been effected. It was *God* who singled out the family of Aaron as His ministers, His representatives, and the teachers of His Law; and it was He who confirmed this election by miraculous interference, the budding staff of Aaron and the fearful destruction of Aaron's opponents, of Korah and his associates. What is the true scope and import of these statements? They imply the artful fiction of an author or of authors, who attempted to promulgate their own devices as Divine or supernatural arrangements, and thus to awe an impressionable nation into their acceptance and reverential observance. If the laws of priesthood had been represented as the work of a human legislator, they would simply have been a human failure, because they degraded the people instead of elevating it; but as the pretended emanation of a Divine will, they are both a failure and a fraud; and to the weakness of human judgment is added the offence of human arrogance and deceit.

All this was very different among the Greeks. They had no proper order of priests who claimed to be the privileged expositors of divine things and to have the mission of serving as mediators between the gods and men. "Greece was not favourable for hierarchical aspirations, and the priests had none of the means by which a perceptible influence might be exercised upon the minds and thoughts of the people, such as the instruction of the young, preaching, or the cure of souls in any

<sup>7</sup> The remark of Bähr (Symb. II. 34), "that in cases of urgency, non-Aaronites also were permitted to perform priestly functions", is entirely erroneous; the Law admits such "cases of urgency" under no pretence whatever; and the historical instances of non-Aaronites officiating as priests, prove the non-existence of the Law at the time of their occurrence (see *infra*,

Sect. IV. 10, 11). An instructive parallel to the separation between priests and people is the account of Chaeremon with respect to the Egyptian priests, *αἱρετοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς παρῆχε καὶ τὸ δυσσεβήσαντες . . . τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἀπλούστερον μὲν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐπαμύναντο, τῶν δὲ ἑωτερίων τῆς θρησκείας οὐδενὶ συνεβλόν, ἐπαίροντο δὲ αἰεὶ θεῶν ἢ ἀγαλμάτων ἰγγύς* (Porph. Abst. IV. 6).



## 592 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

sense; the priests were no preceptors of theology, as indeed religion was taught neither in schools nor in temples."<sup>1</sup> The priests were charged mainly with the supervision of the temple, the administration of its property (τέμενος), and the direction of its public worship. No exclusive or literary qualification or training, no theological learning, were required; those from whom a knowledge of religious information was obtainable, included poets, law-givers, philosophers, and even sculptors and painters, who were neither priests themselves nor stood under priestly authority.<sup>2</sup> Isocrates says distinctly, "The priestly dignity belongs to all men."<sup>3</sup> The chief of every house was permitted to offer sacrifices without requiring the co-operation of a priest. Anyone might perform religious rites except at a public temple where priests were indispensable.<sup>4</sup> Though in some cases the priesthood was hereditary in certain families, especially if the sanctuary had been founded by an individual and had then made over to the community,<sup>5</sup> or if the worship of a family had been raised to a state-worship, and though members of wealthy and distinguished families were naturally preferred,<sup>6</sup> the appointment took place, in most cases, by election or by lot,<sup>7</sup> or by a mode combining both, and sometimes by purchase; the priestly offices were virtually open to every free-born Greek who enjoyed the full rights of citizenship (ἐπιτιμία),<sup>8</sup> was honourably descended up to the third line, and not afflicted with bodily defects or infirmities;<sup>9</sup> strangers and men of illegal birth (νόθοι) were alone ineligible;<sup>10</sup> and though in many instances the office was held for life, it was often kept for a certain period only, and not seldom renewed annually, an arrangement which was also recommended by Plato in his ideal republic.<sup>11</sup> Thus an undue and deep-rooting influence was prevented. The same object was attained by

<sup>1</sup> *Schömann*, *Griech. Alterth.* II. p. 416.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Phil. Amator.* c. 18, *Moral.* IV. p. 496 ed. Tauchn., τῆς δ' οὖν περὶ θεῶν δόξης καὶ παντάπασιν ἡγαρόντες καὶ διδάσκαλοι γέγονασιν ἡμῖν οἱ τι ποιηταί, καὶ οἱ νομοθέται καὶ τρίτον οἱ φιλόσοφοι; *Dion Chrysost.* Or. XII. i. 219 sqq. ed. Dindorf (ὡς τοὺς πρότερον ἡμπείρους καὶ σοφοὺς ποιηταῖς ἔδοξεν).

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Nicocl.* § 6, τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς περ ἱερουσύνην παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι νομίζουσιν.

<sup>4</sup> Comp., however, p. 173 notes 18 and 19. <sup>5</sup> Comp. *Herod.* III. 142.

<sup>6</sup> *Demosth.* *Eubul.* § 46; *Paus.* VII. xx. 1; etc.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Plat. Legg.* VI. 7, p. 759B.

<sup>8</sup> *Aeschin.* *Tim.* §§ 21 sqq.; *Demosth.* *Androt.* § 73.

<sup>9</sup> *Plat. Legg.* VI. 7, p. 759C, δευμᾶζειν δὲ τὸν αἰὶ λαγχάνοντα πρῶτον μὲν ἐλέυληρον καὶ γνήσιον, ἔπειτα ὡς ὅ,τι μάλιστα ἐκ καθαρυνουσῶν εὐκρίσεων, φόνου δὲ ἀγνόν κτλ.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Demosth.* *Eubul.* § 48.: yet Aristotle (*Polit.* VII. 8) desired to see excluded from the priesthood, as from most rights of citizenship, agriculturists and artizans.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Hermann*, *Gottesdienstl. Alterth.* § 34 note 15; § 35 note 24.

other means also. "The priests were not merely functionaries who might have regarded themselves as a separate order, but they were, at the same time, citizens of their state with whose interests they were closely allied. They obeyed the same authorities with the rest of the people ... and as the contrast between state and church was utterly foreign to the character of the Greeks, no hierarchy that enslaves the minds and endeavours to establish a power of its own or a state within the state, could possibly gain ground among them."<sup>12</sup> Not even the priests of Zeus acquired a deeper hold or influence on account of the higher dignity of their God. Nor could the priesthood obtain any important or corporate organisation, which was prevented both by the polytheistic division of the order and the political distinctions of the tribes and cities; the ministers of one deity had nothing in common with those of another; nor were the priesthoods of the different states linked together in a manner so as to become sufficiently powerful for pursuing hierarchical claims; Delphi, though in a certain sense the religious centre of Greece, in no manner controlled the priests in the various countries.<sup>13</sup> It would be superfluous to point out the great intellectual advantages which Greece reaped from practices so liberal and so wise.

5. We readily admit that the Levitical system of the Pentateuch is eminently logical and admirably consistent, and we have endeavoured so to arrange its individual features, as best to disclose and unfold its beauty; its main office was *atonement*,<sup>14</sup> and the attributes of God upon which that office was based were His *holiness* and His *mercy*. But the *priests* were the indispensable mediators between God the holy one and sinful man, and it was through them alone that the atonement could be accomplished, which was but seldom attributed directly to God.

6. It is true that the laws of the Pentateuch admit but *one* High-priest at a time who retained his office for life, whereas in Egypt, there was a High-priest for each temple or for each God; and in other countries, there was a new High-priest appointed every year.<sup>15</sup> This is a natural consequence of Hebrew monotheism, which admitted but one intercessor, and of the organisation of the Hebrew people, which formed a unity, and therefore required one representative. But was the High-

<sup>12</sup> Schömann, l. c. p. 418, and in general pp. 392—418; Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alterth. II. 2. § 130; Hermann, Gottesd. Alterth. §§. 33—36.

<sup>13</sup> Thus in Rome, the Pontiffs, the Salii, the Luperci, the Arval brothers, and others, were partly independent communities, filled up by election (co-

optatio) of their own body. There was, at no time, in Rome a powerful organisation comprising all the members of the sacerdotal class.

<sup>14</sup> Lev. X. 17; 1 Chr. VI. 34; etc. comp. also Exod. XXVIII, 38.

<sup>15</sup> Lucian, Dea Syr. c. 42; comp. Bähr, l. c. p. 35.

## 594 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

priest of the Hebrews indeed no more than their representative? His chief office as mediator, like that of the common priests,<sup>1</sup> was indeed the expiation and sanctification of the whole people; but he did not hold this dignity as a delegate of the *nation*; he held it as the elected and anointed of *God*. His authority thus became necessarily exaggerated and dangerous. He was no longer the mouth-piece of his fellow-men only, but the messenger and special servant of the supreme Being. It was a grave aberration when he assumed a position of higher sanctity than the nation itself; when he was placed above the community, as if he were anything else but its reflex;<sup>2</sup> and when his sin-offering was made more solemn than that of the nation, as if his purity were of greater moment than the purity of those for whom he was supposed to act.<sup>3</sup> This mistake tended likewise to corrupt the theocracy into a hierarchy; it utterly destroyed the idea of a "kingdom of priests;" it was the rock upon which the fair hopes of the Hebrew patriots were ultimately wrecked. Nay, any sin which the High-priest committed caused at the same time the guilt of the whole people;<sup>4</sup> even as a frail and erring man, he was inseparably bound up with the community; he might save it by his piety or bring misery and destruction upon it by his iniquity: is it possible to conceive the pontifical office in a more hierarchical spirit?

7. It is generally contended that the Hebrew priests and Levites, though enabled to live in plenty, were, according to the enactments of the Pentateuch, not in a condition to obtain undue influence by their wealth and property. We will admit this at present, for argument's sake, though we shall prove later that this opinion must be essentially modified.<sup>5</sup> Yet thus much is certain that their territorial possessions were insignificant. In this respect, the laws of the Pentateuch contrast favourably with the arrangements of other ancient polities. In Egypt, the caste of the priests, the first in the country, possessed the third part of the arable land, free from all taxes, the remaining fields being claimed by the king and the soldiers;<sup>6</sup> each temple had large and hereditary domains, and every High-priest was the owner of princely territories; so that, in fact, the king and the priests were the chief proprietors of the land; moreover, the other priestly revenues and immunities were important and varied.<sup>7</sup> A similar state of things existed among other ancient nations.<sup>8</sup> The priests of Olympia and Delphi could lend money at interest to whole republics; and they in-

<sup>1</sup> Lev. X. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Lev. IV. 3—12 and 13—21.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. XVI. 6 and 15; see p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. notes on IV. 3—12.

<sup>5</sup> See *infra*, Sect. III.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. II. 141, 168; Diod. Sic. I.

73, 74; Strab. XVII. i. 3, p. 787; comp.

Gen. XLVII. 20, 22, and Comm. on Gen.

p. 704.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Herod. II. 87.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Bähr, Symb. II. 63—66.

creased their income by every imaginable contrivance, and even by entrance-fees imposed upon visitors at the temples.<sup>9</sup> However, the Pentateuch, more decidedly perhaps than any other religious code, assigns to the priests their emoluments on a principle which again strongly reflects the hierarchical nature of the whole institution. For the priests received the imposts, such as tithes, firstfruits, the portions of the sacrifices, and other perquisites, not from the other tribes as contributions towards their support, which would only have been fair and reasonable, but they derived them from God Himself, to whom the gifts belonged by His command; and who then ceded them to the tribe of Levi; for, said God, "the wave-breast and the heave-shoulder have I taken from the children of Israel from the sacrifices of their thank-offerings, and have given them to Aaron the priest and to his sons, for an eternal statute from the children of Israel."<sup>10</sup> Thus the life of the Levites was, even with regard to their physical sustenance, removed from the ordinary and natural sphere of men, and placed into a region of exceptional and unjustifiable elevation.<sup>11</sup> Their existence was directly connected with the veneration of God Himself.<sup>12</sup> The readiness with which they were provided for was an act of dutiful piety tending to test the people's submission to God's behest's; while their neglect was contempt of His sovereignty. "The privations of the priests and Levites", observes Philo, "were a silent but powerful reproach of the iniquity of the Israelites deserting God through His ministers;" while their affluence was "a great proof of their common holiness and their accurate observance of all the laws."<sup>13</sup> Suppose even that their income was small, it obtained a higher value, and created greater authority and influence than the largest property of other men, on account of the donor who granted it.

<sup>9</sup> *Tertull.* Apol. 13 (dii vero qui magis tributarii magis sancti, imo qui magis sancti magis tributarii); etc.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. VII. 34; XXVII. 30; Num. XVIII. 21, 24; Deut. XVIII. 1, "they shall eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire and His inheritance"; comp. Num. XXXV. 2; *Talm.* Sanh. 39a.

<sup>11</sup> This idea is developed by Philo (*De Praem.* c. 4), "To appear to receive these things not from men, but from the great benefactor of all men, appears to be receiving a gift which has in it no alloy of sadness" (*ἀδυσπρόχως δωρεῶν*); and he justly observes, that "even the poorest must appear very rich" (*ibid.* c. 1). And Bähr (*Symb.* II.

44) remarks, "As the tribe of Levi was the special property of God, so was God the special possession of Levi; and as the other tribes were to live upon the produce of their legitimate property, so Levi upon what God offered them"; comp. *ibid.* p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> The matter was similar among the Phoenicians (comp. *Movers*, *Opferwesen der Carth.* p. 127), the Greeks (comp. *Hesychius v. ἑσπερία*), &c.; indeed *Movers* (l. c.) contends, though perhaps too sweepingly, that the surrender of portions of sacrifices to the priests merely in return for their trouble and labour, was unknown in the ancient world. <sup>13</sup> *Philo*, l. c. c. 5.

## 596 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

The sustenance of the priests, whether abundant or moderate, had a glory far beyond the splendour of kings and princes. It was another instrument of spiritual supremacy. The Law preserves in this point consistently its general tendency.<sup>1</sup> Yet the want of a proper executive power, a radical defect in the political system of the Pentateuch,<sup>2</sup> rendered the enforcement of the Levitical laws uncertain, and the utter destitution of the priests could not be prevented.<sup>3</sup>

8. The Pentateuch indeed leaves the office of priest distinct from that of prophet,<sup>4</sup> representing throughout the one by the High-priest Aaron and the other by the prophet Moses; and it thus acknowledges a religious influence besides its own. But if the priest taught, blessed, and judged the people; if his decisions were regarded as the infallible utterances of Divine wisdom itself; if he could, on all extraordinary emergencies, consult God, was certain of His directions, and thus secured all that fatal influence which heathen priests maintained by the alleged gift of divination; it may be well asked what scope remained for the prophet's activity? It might appear, that the mission of the latter was essentially of a political nature; but the political condition of the Hebrews was constantly traced to their religious life; national prosperity was considered the consequence of a faithful devotion to God, national calamity as the result of idolatry and impiety. Hence the prophet's work lay no less in the religious than in the political sphere. But the religious ground seems, in the Pentateuch, to be entirely occupied by the priests; they warned, exhorted, reproved, and advised the people; they narrowed the province of the prophets so much, that the latter had scarcely a special field for themselves. Thus those devoted and enlightened teachers who form the glory of Hebrew antiquity, and whose fervent utterances roused and ennobled a torpid nation, were gradually silenced. From the time of the promulgation of the Pentateuch, prophecy decayed in Israel; depraved and mercenary men, coming forward as "prophets", who flattered the prevailing and worldly principles

<sup>1</sup> It is artificial to contend that the Levites were left without great property in order to give them an opportunity of exercising that *faith* which it was their mission to teach and to enforce. But it may truly be said that the exclusion of the elected and favoured tribe was constantly to remind the people, that the noblest property is owned by him whose portion or inheritance is God (so *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 44). The tenth part of the tithes which

the Levites had to surrender to the priests, can hardly have been designed to impress upon them that they owed all their property and sustenance to God alone (*Bähr*, l. c. p. 49); but even if this were the case, that measure taught humility to the Levites, but did not tend to lessen their exalted authority in the eyes of the people.

<sup>2</sup> *Comp. Vatke*, *Theol.* I. 207, 208.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra* Sect. V. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Deut.* XVIII. 18, 19; XXXIV. 10.

of government, joined depraved and mercenary priests in the oppression and corruption of the people.<sup>6</sup> A severe but unequal struggle ensued. The priests, generally aided by royal or secular power, gained the victory. The example of Jeremiah, though himself, like Ezekiel, of priestly descent, suffices to prove how prophets were crushed, persecuted, and massacred.<sup>6</sup> What greater misfortune could the Levitical ordinances of the Law bring upon the nation? The very literature degenerated, and reflected the narrowness and sterility of a system which allowed no scope to originality of research or speculation. The Books of Chronicles compared with the Books of Samuel and Kings, are like the monotonous spasms of automata compared with the free movements of a living organism. A tree without vitality, the Levitical spirit produced those withering branches of Talmudism, in which subtle casuistry took the place of creative thought, and which would have deadened the Jewish mind, had it not, consciously and unconsciously, and in spite of the Talmud, incessantly refreshed itself from the living stream of extraneous, especially pagan civilisation.

From whatever side we examine the laws of the Pentateuch, we are forced to the conclusion that they created a hierarchy spiritually separated, by strong and artfully devised barriers, from a dependent and enthralled people, and necessarily opposed to intellectual freedom and progress.<sup>7</sup> The Levitical system was indeed sufficiently fraught with mischief to the Jewish nation; that it did not engender more, is owing to the peculiar political condition of the people during the centuries that followed its latest development and its diffusion: but it was the cause, and in many respects the model, of that Christian hierarchy in the middle ages, which utterly enslaved the minds, banished and denounced reason, and kept for centuries the civilised world in ignominious darkness and superstitious terror.

<sup>6</sup> Hos. IX. 8—10; Mic. III. 11; Isai. XXVIII. 7; Jer. II. 8; IV. 9; V. 13, 31; VI. 13; VIII. 1, 2, 10; XIII. 13, 14; XIV. 14, 18; XXIII. 11, 14—16; XXVI. 7—11; XXVII. 9, 10; XXVIII. 15; XXIX. 31, 32; XXXII. 32; XXXIV. 18—20; Lament. IV. 13; Ezek. VII. 26; XIII. 2—12, 17—23; XXII. 25, 26; XLIV. 12; Zeph. III. 4; Mal. II. 1sq. 8, 9; comp. Hos. VI. 9; Mic. III. 11; also Deut. XVIII. 20—22; 2 Chr. XXXVI. 14; 2 Macc. IV. 13, 14; 1 Sam. II. 12sq. 27sq.; 2 Ki. XII. 5—9; Joseph. Ant. XX. viii. 8, IX. 2; Talm. Yom. 9a; see Sect. V.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Am. VII. 10—13; 1 Ki. XVIII. 1sq.; XIX. 10, 14; 2 Ki. XXI. 16; Jer. II. 30; XXVI. 7—24; 2 Chr. XXIV. 20—22; Jos. Ant. X. iii. 1; see also Neh. IX. 26; Matth. V. 12; XXIII. 31; Acts VII. 52; 1 Thess. II. 15.

<sup>7</sup> We can, therefore, not accept Vatke's opinion (Relig. des A. T. I. 207), "A proper hierarchy, that is, rule of priests, was not directly established, but only prepared by the Pentateuch, as the greater part of the laws concerning the priesthood endeavour to secure the revenues of the ~~ministry~~ rather than their power" —



### III. FLUCTUATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCH IN REFERENCE TO THE LAWS OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

However, it would be entirely erroneous to suppose that the arrangements of the Pentateuch with regard to the priesthood were the result of one age or the work of one man. They bear internal evidence of long fluctuations and of gradual growth. To point out that evidence, will be the next preparatory step for a history of the Hebrew priesthood; and this task, though not without difficulties, leads to results so indisputable and so important, that we trust, the reader will follow us in this enquiry without reluctance.

1. The middle Books of the Pentateuch establish that decided distinction between priests and Levites which we have above pointed out (pp. 584-587). But the Book of Deuteronomy alludes to all Levites alike as priests. The latter are never designated "sons of Aaron" as they are described in the middle Books,<sup>1</sup> but "the priests the Levites" (הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם),<sup>2</sup> or "the priests the sons of Levi" (הַכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי לֵוִי),<sup>3</sup> and even "the priests the Levites, the whole tribe of Levi" (הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם כָּל־שִׁבְטֵי לֵוִי).<sup>4</sup> In the very same chapter, first the priests and then the Levites are stated to have borne the Ark,<sup>5</sup> as if both were identical.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, according to Deuteronomy, the Levites perform offices, from

which, vague in itself, is sufficiently refuted by the arguments adduced. Hengstenberg's vindication (Auth. des Pent. II. 652-663) displays the specious pleading characterising nearly all his apologetic efforts. <sup>1</sup> See p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. XVII. 9, 18; XXIV. 8; XXVII. 9; comp. Josh. III. 3; VIII. 33; XXI. 1-3 (where the term לֵוִי includes the priests); so also in Jeremiah, a contemporary of the authors of Deuteronomy, who employs synonymously הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם, הַכֹּהֲנִים, and הַלְוִיִּם (Jer. XXXIII. 18-22), and in Deutero-Isaiah (LXVI. 21), falling within nearly the same period. Ezekiel, though clearly distinguishing the offices of priests and Levites (XL. 45, 46; XLIII. 19; XLIV. 10-16; XLVIII. 11-13), yet uses הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם (XLIII. 19; XLIV. 15), and so occasionally the Chronicist (2 Chr. XXIII. 18; XXX. 27), following his sources, as has been

supposed with probability; while in 2 Chr. V. 5 he changes הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם, which occurs in 1 Ki. VIII. 4, into הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם; see also Ezek. XLV. 5; Mal. II. 1, 4, 8; III. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. XXI. 8; XXXI. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. XVIII. 1; comp. X. 8, 9; XXXIII. 8-11; the English Version and other translations render arbitrarily, "The priests the Levites and all the tribe of Levi"; so in Josh. III. 3 the Sept., Syr., Chald., and some manuscripts, but Vulg. sacerdotes stirpis Leviticae; comp. also *Vater*, Pentat. III. 500-502. <sup>5</sup> Deut. XXXI. 9 and 25.

<sup>6</sup> It is true that on occasions of peculiar solemnity the priests and not the Levites carried the Ark (see p. 583); but in such cases the designation leaves no doubt whether the one or the others are meant, whereas in Deut. XXXI. 9 and 25 both terms seem to be used indifferently.



which they were in the other Books rigidly debarred, and which were reserved for the priests exclusively. They proclaim the curses from mount Ebal.<sup>7</sup> They deposit the Book of the Law at the side of the Ark of the Covenant,<sup>8</sup> which involves their admission even to the Holy of Holies.<sup>9</sup> Indeed their functions are comprehensively stated thus, "At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister to Him, and to bless in His name, to this day"<sup>10</sup> — terms which exactly apply to the priestly ministrations in the middle Books. And as the offices, so are the privileges common to all Levites, "The priests the Levites, the whole tribe of Levi, shall ... eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and His inheritance;"<sup>11</sup> whereas the portions of certain sacrifices were in the other Books strictly limited to the male members of Aaron's family.<sup>12</sup> The Levite Korah is not branded as an audacious usurper of the priestly dignity, like the Reubenites Dathan and Abiram,<sup>13</sup> because his claim was by the author of Deuteronomy not regarded as impious or even illegitimate; whereas it is, in the other Books, denounced at least as equally criminal with the arrogance of the firstborn tribe and punished with the same awful destruction.<sup>14</sup> It is, therefore, impossible to doubt that at the time of the Deuteronomist, other members of the tribe of Levi, besides the Aaronites, were admitted to the priesthood. This is conceded even by many of those who consider the Deuteronomist as the "youngest legislator".<sup>15</sup> The arguments brought forward by apologists<sup>16</sup> in support of the opposite opinion, are all inconclusive; none of

<sup>7</sup> Deut. XXVII. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Probably in the chest (אֲרֹן) mentioned in 1 Sam. VI. 8, 11, 15.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. XXXI. 25, 26.

<sup>10</sup> Deut. X. 8, לַעֲמֹד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לְשִׁרְוֹ, וּלְבָרֵךְ בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה; and similarly XVIII. 6, 7; verses 3—5 speak indeed of the "priests" (כֹּהֲנִים), yet not as distinct from Levites, but in so far as these officiate as priests, as the whole context, and especially vers. 6 and 7, prove; hence Ranke's refutation of George's view is untenable (Untersuch. II. 365, 366), although George indeed weakened his arguments by basing them upon ver. 5, and not upon the following verses; comp. also Josh. XVIII. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. XVIII. 1; comp. X. 9; and so in the Book of Joshua, which stands

in the closest literary connection with Deuteronomy, as Josh. XIII. 14, and especially XVIII. 7, "But the Levites have no part among you; for the priesthood of the Lord is their inheritance", זֶרַח כֹּהֲנֵי יְהוָה נִקְלְאוּ; XIII. 33.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 209.

<sup>13</sup> Deut. XL. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Num. XVI. 1—32; XXVI. 9—11. Gramberg (Rel. Id. I. 238) believes that the author perhaps knew of the Korahites, famous as a family of singers after David's time, and traced their descent to this Korah as their ancestor; which opinion has little probability.

<sup>15</sup> So, for instance, Knobel, Levit. p. 419.

<sup>16</sup> As Hengstenberg, Auth. des Pent. II. 401—404; Risch, Gesetzgeb. Mos. im Lande Moab, pp. 35, 36; Sealschütz,

## 600 .B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

the passages generally quoted<sup>1</sup> prove a clear distinction between priests and Levites. The Book of Joshua follows the phraseology of Deuteronomy. The latter, though attempting to secure for the priests an honoured place, cannot forget the precariousness of their actual condition, and therefore invokes on their behalf the charity of the Israelites.<sup>2</sup> And it is a hazardous assertion that "there is in the whole history of the Hebrews no period when the distinction between priests and Levites was either not yet existing or already removed" — as will appear from the subjoined sketch.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it has been affirmed that the Deuteronomist nowhere clearly places the priests and Levites on an equal footing; and that "no single passage can be found in which priestly functions are entrusted to the Levites;"<sup>4</sup> remarks which are effectually invalidated by the arguments adduced. The indigence of most Levites, as manifest in Deuteronomy, shows merely that not all of them were sufficiently engaged in profitable priestly functions;<sup>5</sup> it does not prove that many were excluded from them. Nor is there any foundation for the opinion that, according to Deuteronomy, the whole tribe of Levi was *entitled* but not *obliged* to accept the priesthood, and that those only served at the Sanctuary who felt a vocation for the office, so that any Levite *could* be a priest but every priest *must* be a Levite, whereas, according to the middle Books, all Levites were *bound* to perform ecclesiastical functions, with well-defined privileges and duties,<sup>6</sup> — for which peculiar distinction the Law affords no support whatever. It is difficult to see how the synonymous use of "priest" and "Levite" can be explained by the gradual diminution of the Aaronic family;<sup>7</sup> and, in fact, it has on the other hand been contended, that the middle Books have in view a priestly *family* only, that of Aaron, while Deuteronomy speaks of a priestly *order*, and therefore identifies it even with the *tribe*.<sup>8</sup>

2. The case is quite similar with regard to judicial qualifications. While in the preceding Books we find only one instance of the *High-*

Mos. R. I. 106, 109 (who even asserts that הכהנים הלויים is employed to describe with distinctness priestly functionaries, because הכהנים alone might mean any state officers (see p. 559!); Ötler, in Herz. VII. 350, 351 (who contends that the conceptions of the middle Books and of Deuteronomy "are not opposed to each other, but form their mutual complements") etc.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. X. 6, 9; XVIII. 1, 3—8.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Sect. V.

<sup>4</sup> Bähr, Symb. II. 9, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. II. 36.

<sup>6</sup> George, Die älteren jüd. Feste, pp. 47, 48, 51, 52, 66.

<sup>7</sup> Stanley, Jewish Church, II. p. 424; see also *infra* Sect. V fin.

<sup>8</sup> Hengstenberg, l. c. De Wette (Einleit. § 156b note d) sees in the designation הכהנים הלויים "a proof of the enhanced authority of the tribe of Levi", which is correct in reference to a large portion of the historical Books, but not to the middle Books of the Pentateuch.

*priest* acting as judge in a social difficulty,<sup>9</sup> the precepts of Deuteronomy confide the administration of the law to "the priests the Levites", that is, to the whole tribe of Levi, and grant them unlimited power to enforce their decisions;<sup>10</sup> but they suppose the seat of the chief tribunal to be in the town of the national Sanctuary, whether at Jerusalem or elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> And so, according to Numbers, the High-priest only seems to have consulted God by means of the Ark or the Urim and Thummim;<sup>12</sup> whereas we find, in other parts of the Old Testament, that privilege extended to the whole order of priests.<sup>13</sup>

3. On the one hand, the entire tribe of Levi was elected and sanctified by God for His service; while, on the other hand, the Levites were substitutes for the firstborn who properly belonged to God.<sup>14</sup> But if the Levites were holy by election, why was it necessary to give up, for their acquisition, the firstborn who were no less holy to God? We can understand the surrender of a consecrated class for a profane one, which thereby shall become consecrated. But the surrender of one consecrated class for another is gratuitous. The firstborn could never cease to be God's property, if they were replaced by a body of men as holy as themselves, and therefore not requiring to be substitutes of others in order to become holy. The difficulty is simply solved by the circumstance that the election of the whole tribe is set forth in Deuteronomy,<sup>15</sup> the substitution of the Levites, in the more restricted sense, in Numbers; the difference of the authors accounts for a discrepancy which may historically be thus explained. At first, the chiefs of every family, that is, the firstborn, performed the worship for the household, and were thus *naturally* holy to God. Gradually and by a process traced elsewhere,<sup>16</sup> they were replaced by the Levites, who hence were represented as consecrated to God *by election*, since they had no natural claim to the priesthood, not being the eldest tribe. In this light, the Levites were regarded for a considerable period; and so they appear in Deuteronomy. But imperceptibly, the family of Aaron was distinguished from the other branches of the tribe, and placed at an immeasurable distance above them. Then the election was restricted to that family alone, while the Levites were simply regarded as substitutes for common Israelites, and could, therefore, be handed over

<sup>9</sup> Num. XXVII. 2, 19; comp. Josh. XXII. 30<sup>seqq.</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Deut. XVII. 8—13; XXI. 5; comp. XIX. 17; 1 Chr. XXIII. 4; XXVI. 29; 2 Chr. XIX. 8—11; see also Ezek. XLIV. 24.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. XVII. 8, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Num. XXVII. 21; comp. Judg. XX. 27, 28.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. Exr. II. 63; Neh. VII. 65.

<sup>14</sup> Num. III. 12, 13, 41, 45; VIII. 16—18; see p. 582. <sup>15</sup> See *supra* No 2.

<sup>16</sup> See Comm. on Gen. pp. 735, 736; comp. *infra* Sect. V.

## 602 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

(לְקַהֵּל) to the priests for the most subordinate tasks,<sup>1</sup> but be excluded from all higher or sacred offices; and so they appear in the middle Books of the Pentateuch.

4. With this subject another point of interest is connected. It is in the middle Books that the 35 cities are assigned to the Levites in all parts of the country, both east and west of the Jordan (see p. 586); and it is in the middle Books that the line of demarcation between the Levites and the priests is rigidly drawn, the former being nothing but the menial assistants of the latter in the offices of the Sanctuary. Now, what purpose did the dispersion of the Levites through the land serve? How is it reconcilable with their necessary attendance at the Tabernacle or Temple? It is usually averred that it was designed to qualify them for their mission as teachers and religious guides of the whole nation; but these functions are, in Leviticus and Numbers, exclusively reserved to the priests, and entirely denied to the Levites, whose sole occupation was connected with the public worship. But nothing could obviously be more inappropriate than an arrangement which, on the one hand, scattered the Levites through the length and breadth of Palestine, and on the other hand, tied them to one central spot. Moreover, if the priests were indeed to be the instructors and spiritual advisers of the people, they ought not to have been confined even to a certain number of cities, but allowed to settle wherever there was a town or village that required their counsels and ministrations. One solution only is possible. The arrangement was not *made* by the legislators but partly *found* by them in existence. The dispersion of the Levites into all provinces was a fact, and a fact which, in the consciousness of the nation, was owing to their wanton cruelty and ungovernable recklessness.<sup>2</sup> The authors of the Pentateuch, anxious for the honour of a tribe which, in their time, had gained considerable spiritual influence, represented that dispersion as having been ordained by the wisdom of God, and then they regulated it so far as to restrict it to a certain number of cities, which the Levites inhabited together with the population of other tribes. This expedient appeared, under the circumstances, the most acceptable, although it ceased to be entirely satisfactory, when the duties of the Levites were strictly limited to the Temple.

5. In some passages, the age of the active service of the Levites is fixed from the 30th to the 50th year of their lives,<sup>3</sup> but in others

<sup>1</sup> Num. VIII. 19; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Gen. XLIX. 5—7; see *infra*, Sect. V.

<sup>3</sup> Num. IV. 3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43, 47; comp. 1 Chr. XXIII. 3 (they were numbered from the age of thirty years).

from the 25th to the 50th year.<sup>4</sup> The texts are in both cases equally plain and unmistakeable; on the one hand, "Take the sum of the sons of Kohath from among the sons of Levi ... from thirty years old and upward until fifty years old, all that come forward to do duty, to do the work at the Tent of Meeting";<sup>5</sup> and on the other hand, "From five and twenty years old and upward they (the Levites) shall go in to do duty in the service of the Tent of Meeting; and from the age of fifty years they shall cease from the duty of the service, and shall serve no more".<sup>6</sup> To harmonise the two precepts is clearly out of the question; the devices that have been proposed are equally forced and ineffectual. For instance, it has been asserted, that the five years from the twenty-fifth to the thirtieth were spent in preparation for the service or in apprenticeship,<sup>7</sup> or in the exercise of the lighter duties which require less strength,<sup>8</sup> or in aiding the older Levites in their ministrations, just as the more advanced years after 50 were employed for similar assistance;<sup>9</sup> or the one law (in chapter IV.) refers to the time of the wanderings, the other (in chapter VIII.) to later periods,<sup>10</sup> when on account of the distribution of the Levites through the whole territory of Israel, a greater number was required. But all these opinions are mere guesses unsupported by the slightest allusion of the Hebrew text. Or it has been maintained that the one relates merely to the transport of the Sanctuary, which demanded a more robust age, the other to the general service in the Tabernacle or Temple;<sup>11</sup> whereas the terms in chapter VIII. are so comprehensive that they include the transport of the Sanctuary also; and this transport was, in several cases, effected by means of vehicles drawn by oxen,<sup>12</sup> so that the respective Levites had merely the supervision of the safe conveyance of the implements. Ewald<sup>13</sup> supposes that though both are taken from the "Book of *Origines*", the number 25 is evidently meant to be the more accurate one: it is difficult to see the "evidence". The Septuagint translators considered the discrepancy so manifest and so objectionable

<sup>4</sup> Num. VIII. 23—26.

<sup>5</sup> Num. IV. 3, and in exactly the same terms with reference to the other families of the tribe of Levi.

<sup>6</sup> Num. VIII. 24, 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Maimon. Kele Hamikd.* III. 9; *Rashi*; a. o.

<sup>8</sup> *Ebn Ezra*; *Abarbanel* on Num. VIII. *fn.*; *Chaskuni*; *Lightfoot*, Opp. II. 691; *Reland*, Ant. II. vi. 3; *Otho*n. Lex. Rabb. p. 613; *Outram*, De Sacrif. I. vii. 3, pp. 78, 79; *Rosenmüller* on Num. IV. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Num. VIII. 26; *Ranke*, Untersuch. II. 159.

<sup>10</sup> *Kannac*, Untersuch. I. 101; *Bähr*, Symb. II. 41; *Saalschütz*, Mos. R. I. 99; comp. *Sipari*, on Num. VIII.

<sup>11</sup> *Hengstenberg*, Auth. II. 391—394; *Hävernick*, Einleit. ed. Keil, I. 2, p. 432; *Keil* on Num. VIII. 23—26; *Ötler* in Herz. VIII. 350; see also *Bauer*, Gottesh. Verf. II. 378; comp. 1 Chr. XXIII. 3, 25—27.

<sup>12</sup> Num. VII. 6—8.

<sup>13</sup> *Alterthümer*, p. 293.

that, in chapter IV., they simply changed the number 30, wherever it occurs, into 25, against the authority of the Samaritan text and all other ancient versions. It is indeed probable that the compilers and revisers of the Pentateuch supposed some reconciliation between the two statements possible, or else they would not have allowed them to stand as they do; yet whatever it may have been, it is necessarily unavailing. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the two figures proceeded from two different authors,<sup>1</sup> either of them basing his law upon the usage and requirements of his time, which varied in successive epochs;<sup>2</sup> and indeed, according to the Chronist, the age fixed for the active service of the Levites was up to David's reign 30 years,<sup>3</sup> but after this time, when the Tabernacle and its vessels were no more to be carried and the duties were less onerous, it was lowered to 20 years,<sup>4</sup> as seems to have remained customary in later times.<sup>5</sup>

But the fluctuations of the Pentateuch are most palpable and most remarkable in the laws regarding the revenues of the priests and Levites; and we propose to treat of them here with some completeness, because they form an important link in the chain of our enquiries.

#### REVENUES OF THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

We begin with the regulations concerning the *Tithes*.

6. According to the middle Books of the Pentateuch, the Levites were to receive, as part of the compensation due to them for their services at the common Sanctuary,<sup>6</sup> the tenth part of all annual produce of the soil and of all trees, especially of corn, wine, and oil,<sup>7</sup> and the tenth part of the annual increase of the herds and flocks,<sup>8</sup> of cows,

<sup>1</sup> So also *Vater*, Pent. III. 453; *De Wette*, Beiträge, II. 336; *Hartmann*, Pentat. p. 231; *Knobel* on Num. IV. 23—26; and others.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra* chapt. IV.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chr. XXIII. 3. <sup>4</sup> Vers. 25—27.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Chr. XXXI. 17; Ezra III. 8; though Jewish tradition admits even children (*Mishn. Erach. II. 6; Talm. Erach. 13b*; comp. 2 Chr. XXXI. 16). Plato (*Legg. VI. 7*, p. 759) recommends the age of 60 years for the priesthood, although this rule was by no means acted upon in Greece.

<sup>6</sup> חֲלֵק עֲבֹדָתָם אֲשֶׁר הֵם עֹשִׂים וְכִי, Num. XVIII. 21—24, 31; according to Jewish tradition, fifteen days before each of the three great agricultural

festivals, Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles (*Mishn. Bechor. IX. 5*; comp. *Maimon. De Primit. Animant. VII. 8*).

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Num. XVIII. 27; Deut. XIV. 22, 23; also Nehem. XIII. 5, 12; but hardly of the small herbs and garden stuffs, as mint and rue, anise and cummin (*Matth. XXIII. 23*; Luke XI. 42; XVIII. 12) or leguminous fruits (*Mishn. Maasroth I. 1—4, 6; IV. 5, 6*), to which the Talmudical law extended the precept; comp. *Talm. Yom. 83b*; *Yalkut Shimoni* fol. 200 b, § 680; see, however, *Maimonides*, Hilch. Maasr. II. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Born between the first of Elul of the same year and of the preceding

lambs, and goats, that is, of the clean sacrificial quadrupeds,<sup>9</sup> to be surrendered without selection or substitution,<sup>10</sup> just "as they pass under the rod",<sup>11</sup> which the shepherd generally carried,<sup>12</sup> and by which he daily counted his cattle;<sup>13</sup> if an animal was changed for another, *both* belonged unalterably to the Levites, without the choice of redemption; but the owner had the option of redeeming the vegetable tithes by paying their value with the addition of the fifth part of it.<sup>14</sup> The tithes could be eaten by the Levites and their families in any town in which they resided.<sup>15</sup>

However, the Levites were bound to give the tenth part of the tithes<sup>16</sup> to the priests, the direct descendants of Aaron; and compliance with this command was accounted to them as if they had devoted to God tithes out of their own produce.<sup>17</sup>

7. From these regulations the Deuteronomist differs in several important points. He demands the tithes of the agricultural produce only, not of the flocks and herds. Nor does he allow even the agricultural tithes to the Levites for their exclusive use; he merely directs that these should be invited as guests at the repasts to be held by the Israelites, whether the meals consist of the produce itself or of the pro-

one, according to *Mishn. Rosh. Hash. l. 1*; *Bechor. IX. 5*.

<sup>9</sup> But not of animals not born in the Israelite's own herds and flocks, but bought by him or received as presents (*Mishn. Bechor. IX. 3*, הלקוח או שניתן לו, (מתנה פטור ממעשר בהמה), unless these were not yet seven days old, before which time they could, by the original proprietor, not legally have been included in the decimation.

<sup>10</sup> And without permission of selling, according to *Mishn. Maas. Scheni l. 2*.

<sup>11</sup> בל-אשר יעבר חרץ השכם, *Lev. XXVII. 32*.

<sup>12</sup> *Mic. VII. 14*; *Zech. XI. 7*.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Jer. XXXIII. 23*; *Ezek. XX. 37*; *Mishn. Bechoroth IX. 7*; *Theocr. VIII. 16*; *Virg. Georg. IV. 436*; *Ecl. III. 34*. — This is evidently the meaning of the phrase (Sept. correctly,  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ), which does not imply that tithes were to be given of large flocks or herds only, such as require to be counted, but not of a small number,

which can easily be surveyed (Knobel); this would not only be extremely indistinct as a law, but would be opposed to the very spirit of the Levitical injunction, which is designed to mark all property of the Israelites as subject to the sovereignty of God, who therefore requires the tithes no less than the firstlings and firstfruits. Futile is the Rabbinical explanation that the animals were, for the purpose of decimation, to come forth from their folds singly and spontaneously without being forced out by human hands, or that they were marked with a red line (טב) as they were let out; comp. *Mishn. Bechor. IX. 7*, and in general cc. 1—8; *Meimon. l. c. VII. 1*; *Bochart, Hieroz. II. 44, p. 459*. <sup>14</sup> *Lev. XXVII. 30—33*.

<sup>15</sup> *Num. XVIII. 31*; comp. *Mishn. Zevach. VI. 8*.

<sup>16</sup> מעשר קדש (Num. XVIII. 26), or מעשר הקדש (*Neh. XVIII. 26*).

<sup>17</sup> *Num. XVIII. 26—30*; comp. *Neh. X. 39, 40*; *Joseph. VII. c. 12*.



the widows; but though they were eaten at any p were of course, on account of their sacred char protected from impure use, and after their due d to make a solemn confession regarding his cor of the tithes' laws, concluding with an invocation o

6. Following the principles of criticism hi not be difficult to account for these discrepanc custom among many ancient nations to devote 1 part of the production of the soil,<sup>4</sup> of the boot gains of commerce and industry,<sup>5</sup> especially for t worship or national enterprise,<sup>7</sup> and sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Among the Hindoos, the poor Brahmans and mendicant priests were admitted to the fourth part of the sacrificial meals reserved for the indigent (comp. *Rhodes*, *Relig. Bildung der Hindus*, II. 435).

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Am. IV. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. XII. 6, 11, 17—19; XIV. 22—29; XXVI. 12—15; comp. XVI. 11, 14; XXVI. 11. The Rabbinical development of these laws, partly judicious, partly trivial and microscopic, may be seen in *Maimonides*, *De Primit. Anim.* cc. VI—VIII. The "confession" (וְהוֹדוּת הַמַּעֲשֵׂה) was, according to Jewish tradition to be spoken on the last day

<sup>4</sup> *Herod.* I. 121; IX. 81; *P.* V. iii. 4; *Str.* *Diod. Sic.* V. I. xxviii. 2; II. 1; *Phil. Ages.* vii. 11; *Liv.* XX. 3; comp. I. 2, 6. Apollo h *εἰσέρος* (*Paus.* Del. 276).

<sup>5</sup> *Herod.* III. X. xi. 2; *Diod.* Saturn. III. 6; the Greeks a g

imposed upon disloyal or unpatriotic citizens;<sup>8</sup> and it was a common practice to pay to kings or rulers the tenth part of the income as a civil tax.<sup>9</sup> It is more than probable that the same custom was, from early times, adopted by the Hebrews; it is, in the Pentateuch, appropriately attributed to the patriarchs;<sup>10</sup> and it recommended itself to the leading minds of the nation especially on account of the spiritual significance of the number ten, which they understood to typify perfection<sup>11</sup> and Divine revelation, and which they connected with some of the profoundest ideas of their religion.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the tithes, limited to vegetable produce, were originally employed by the proprietors for religious repasts, to which the Levites as well as other needy and helpless persons were piously and charitably invited. But at a later time, when hierarchical ideas took deeper root, they were entirely withdrawn from the control of the owners, and, extended to animal increase, they were fixed as an ordinary and legal impost, to be scrupulously paid to the Levites every year, when of course the "triennial tithes" were discontinued.<sup>13</sup> Hence the laws of Deuteronomy manifestly exhibit an earlier phase in the history of Levitical power; they prove how the priests gradually and prudently enlarged their influence and ameliorated their temporal welfare, and what stages they had to pass, before they could venture upon a system so favourable to their order as that propounded in Leviticus and Numbers.<sup>14</sup>

This is clearly the historical relation between the enactments of Deuteronomy and those of the middle Books. Many attempts at harmonising them have been made; but they have absolutely and neces-

<sup>8</sup> *Herod.* VII. 132; *Xenoph.* *Hellen.* I. vii. 10; *Polyb.* IX. 39; *Diod. Sic.* XI. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Comp.* 1 Sam. VIII. 15, 17; 1 Macc. XI. 35; *Aristot.* *Oecon.* c. 35; *Cic.* *In Verr. Act.* II. L. III. 43, 44; *Diod. Sic.* V. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. XXVIII. 22; the tithes belong to God, Lev. XXVII. 30; Num. XVIII. 24.

<sup>11</sup> Because  $1+2+3+4=10$ , which was hence called "the all-comprising number" (לְכָל הַמִּסְפָּר), beyond which there is no new one, since what follows after it returns to the units.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 519; *comp.* *Philo*, *De Opif. Mund.* c. 15; *Eder*, *Symb.* I. pp. 179—183; *Kiepert*, *Ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, I. 96 *sqq.*; and in his *Zeitschr.* 1862, pp. 565, 566, 572.

<sup>13</sup> Aptly observes George (*Jüd. Feste*, p. 67), "Now the proper feeling of gratitude, which had taken a concrete shape in the common sacrificial meals, and was nourished by the common meetings and the good-will inseparable from them, was now entirely lost, and was dissolved into an abstract idea."

<sup>14</sup> See *infra* Sect. V. Talmudical authorities put a very lenient interpretation on the laws of the tithes, more in the interest of the Israelites than the Levites, often even in opposition to the plain spirit of the ordinances of the Pentateuch (*comp.* *Neuman*, *De Primit.* c. VI); Josephus also (*Antiq.* IV. iv. 3) speaks only of the tithes of "the annual fruits of the earth" (לְפֶת הַשָּׂדֶה וְלִפְתֵּי הַכֶּמֶן).

## 608 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

sarily failed.<sup>1</sup> It has been asserted that the triennial tithes were no new impost; but merely the tenth part of that produce which might have ripened after the Feast of Tabernacles in the three preceding years, and had therefore not been included in the regular decimation;<sup>2</sup> or that they were the ordinary or annual tithes to be employed, every third year, for charitable gifts, to compensate the Levites for the loss of the tithes and other revenues guaranteed to them before in the earlier Books of the Pentateuch;<sup>3</sup> but the former view is without any foundation or probability;<sup>4</sup> while the latter rests on an erroneous estimate of the relative age of the Levitical ordinances in the different parts of the Pentateuch; it destroys, like all opinions based on the same premises, the insight into the natural and gradual growth of hierarchical influence; and in most cases entirely reverses the sequence of events and the development of institutions.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, in the instance under discussion, the compensation would have been very inadequate,

<sup>1</sup> *Comp. Reland*, Antiqq. lib. III. c. 9; *Selden*, De Decimis, Appendix to Clericus' Pentateuch, pp. 548—564; *J. C. Hottinger*, De Decimis Judaeorum, Lugd. Batav. 1713; *Carpzov*, Appar. pp. 619—625; *Michael*, Mosaisch. R. IV. pp. 67—71, § 192; *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. I. 261—278; *Rosenmüller*, Schol. on Deut. XII. 7; *Ranko*, Untersuch. II. 285—287; *Hengstenb.* Auth. des Pent. II. 407—414; *Gramberg*, Relig. Id. I. 155; *Lengerke*, Kanaan, p. 528; *Saalschütz*, Mos. R. I. pp. 353, 354—358 (who however honestly confesses that the current explanations leave "much obscurity" in the laws of tithes, p. 357); *Leyrer* in Herz. Real-Enc. XVIII. 416 sqq.; *Winer*, Real-Wört. II. 723; comp. however, *George*, Jüd. Fest p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> So *Michaelis*, note on Deut. XXVI. 12; *Bauer*, l. c. pp. 276, 277; comp. also *Hottinger*, *Carpzov*, a. o. II. cc.

<sup>3</sup> *Riehm*, Gesetzgebung Moses im Lande Moab, p. 45; comp. *Öhler* in Herzog VIII. 352.

<sup>4</sup> The term *למנוחה* in Deut. XXVI. 12 furnishes no argument, nor is it correct to contend that Josephus (Ant. IV. viii. 22) conceives the matter in that light, for *ἐκ διατάξεως τῶν ἐκείνων* is not "for the distribution of

what was wanting" (*Bauer*), but "for distribution among the needy."

<sup>5</sup> So remarks *Ewald* (*Alterthümer* p. 315), "These arrangements (of the middle Books) appear to have lapsed into desuetude after the time of Solomon — especially in consequence of the new burdens of the monarchy"; and *Knobel* (on Levit. p. 590), "Towards the end of the empire of Judah the old law (viz. that of Leviticus and Numbers) had already proved impracticable"; and he contents himself with vaguely remarking, "These alterations were caused by the changed position of the priests and Levites" (p. 591), referring to a previous exposition hardly more definite or satisfactory (see *infra*). Justly, therefore, could *Hengstenberg* (Auth. des Pent. II. 411) object, "Modern criticism is here involved in a strange contradiction with itself: Deuteronomy is contended to belong to the time of the perfect development of the hierarchy; and yet it is just that Book which is supposed to be ignorant of the Levitical tithes" — which, however, *Hengstenberg* with his usual ingenuity professes to find in some allusions of Deuteronomy.

as the triennial tithes were not only to be shared by all the needy of the land,<sup>6</sup> but did not, like the tithes ordained in Leviticus,<sup>7</sup> include the *animal* increase; and they differed from the annual tithes merely in this that they could be eaten not only in Jerusalem but in any other town. It is not surprising that the traditional interpretation, starting from the unity and Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, supposed the three different sorts of tithes mentioned in the Law and above pointed out, to be alike obligatory — namely, the annual tithes both of cattle and of vegetable produce to be eaten by the Levites in their respective towns;<sup>8</sup> the annual vegetable tithes, taken from the remainder and to be consumed by the proprietors and the Levites in Jerusalem; and the triennial vegetable tithes to be shared, in any town, by the Levites, the poor, and the helpless.<sup>9</sup> And, in later periods, all the three tithes were indeed faithfully given up by the pious, as the first, second, and third tenth,<sup>10</sup> the one for the Levites, the other for the feasts and festivals at Jerusalem,<sup>11</sup> and the third for the indigent.<sup>12</sup>

9. We now proceed to the laws in respect of the *Firstborn* (בְּרִכָּה, בְּרִכָּה), which involve another and strikingly obvious proof of the gradual growth of Levitical institutions.

It will be necessary to premise a short sketch of the origin of these laws. It would be superfluous to remind the reader of the idea prevailing among primitive nations that the deity could claim both the firstborn of men and of animals, and that consequently both the one and the others were to be sacrificed as burnt-offerings.<sup>13</sup> The ancient Hebrews shared these notions. "Sanctify to Me", commanded God,

<sup>6</sup> Deut. XIV. 29. <sup>7</sup> XXVII. 30—33.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. XXVII. 30—33; comp. Num. XVIII. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Peah, Maasroth, Maaser Sheni; *Ebn Ezra* on Deut. XIV. 22; *Abarbanel* on Num. I. 26 and on Deut. XIV. 28. Yet according to some Talmudical teachers, the second tithes were omitted every third year, when the triennial tithes were given (which are hence themselves termed *דְּבָרִים דְּעִלְמָא* by the Sept. in Deut. XXVI. 12); while others declared the first and second tithes to be identical and thereby drew upon themselves the stigma of heresy.

<sup>10</sup> מ' שליש, מ' שני, מעשר ראשון; Tobit I. 7, 8, ἡ δὲ δέκατος, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα δέκατος, ἡ τρίτη δέκατος.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Mishn.* Maaser Sheni; Chagig. I. 3; etc. Tobit says (l. c.) "The first tenth part of all increase I gave to the sons of Aaron who ministered at Jerusalem; a second tenth part I sold and went and spent it every year at Jerusalem; and the third I gave to those to whom it was proper."

<sup>12</sup> מ' עני, πτωχονόμος (Hieron.); comp. *Mishn.* Peah VIII. 3sqg.; Demai IV. 3sqg.; Maas. Sheni V. 6; *Talm.* Rosh Hash. 126; *Maimon.* Maas. Sheni. I. 3; *Joseph.* Ant. IV. viii. 8, 22; *Holtinger*, De Decimis Judaeorum, pp. 116sqg., 146sqg., 182sqg., 194, 201; *Creizenach*, Schulchan Aruch, I. 167, 168; comp. *infra* sec. V.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. p. 339.

## 610 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

"all the firstborn whatever opens the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and beast".<sup>1</sup> But when, in the lapse of ages, their religious education advanced, the spiritual leaders apprehended lest this principle encourage the same cosmic views regarding the powers of nature, to which it owed its first adoption, and which it helped to strengthen among pagan nations. Therefore, they attributed to it a new and very different origin. They connected it with the miraculous deliverance of the firstborn Hebrews supposed to have been effected at the tenth plague in Egypt, "All the firstborn are Mine", says God, "for on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, I hallowed to Myself all the firstborn in Israel, both man and beast; Mine shall they be; I am the Lord".<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the following ordinances were fixed. Every firstborn boy, when one month old, was to be redeemed for five holy shekels.<sup>3</sup> Every firstborn male and unclean animal unfit for sacrifice, like the ass, was either to be killed or to be replaced by a clean beast, as a lamb, or redeemed for five shekels.<sup>4</sup> Every faulty firstborn animal of the clean species<sup>5</sup> belonged unreservedly to the proprietor, and might be eaten<sup>6</sup> by anyone, whether clean or unclean "like the roebuck and like the hart".<sup>7</sup> But every firstborn male and faultless beast of the clean species, particularly the sacrificial animals, of bulls, sheep, and goats, was to be sanctified to God within the first year,<sup>8</sup> so that, for instance, the ox should not be employed for work, nor the sheep be shorn, but should be sacrificed on the altar by

<sup>1</sup> Exod. XIII. 2, 12; XXII. 28; XXXIV. 19, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Num. III. 13, 41—51; VIII. 17; Exod. XIII. 14, 15; see Comm. on Exod. p. 220. Hence it became a custom still observed by orthodox Judaism, that the first-born men should fast on the day before Passover (see *Orach Chayim* § 470, רבבורות מחענים בערב פסח בן, בכור מאב בן בכור מאם).

<sup>3</sup> Exod. XIII. 15; XXXIV. 20; Num. XVIII. 16; comp. Neh. X. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. XIII. 13; XXXIV. 20; Num. XVIII. 15; comp. Levit. XXVII. 26, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Whether it was faulty from its birth or in consequence of some accident (comp. *Maimon. De Primit. l. II.*, where the various disqualifications are enumerated and discussed).

<sup>6</sup> Within the first year (see *Maimon. l. c. I. 7*).

<sup>7</sup> Deut. XV. 21—23. It is difficult to understand how Rabbinical writers could so misinterpret the unmistakable words of Deuteronomy as to apply them not to the Israelite but to the priest, who, according to their opinion, received the whole animal (*Mishn. Chall. IV. 9*; *Bechor. IV. 1*; *Talm. Bechor. 28a*; *Maimon. l. c. I. 3*); yet they have been followed by later writers, as Outram (*De Sacrif. l. xi. 6*), Reland (*Ant. III. vi. 7*), Saalschütz (*Mos. R. l. p. 348*, comp. p. 125), a. o. The conclusion of the fifteenth chapter is, like the other parts of it, addressed not to the priests but to the Israelites.

<sup>8</sup> The *Amor* year, according to tradition (*Maimon. De Prim. Anim. l. 11*), but beasts of the flock not before they were 30, and beasts of the herd not before they were 50 days old, because the owner

sprinkling its blood and burning its fat, yet not as a *burnt-offering*, but as a *thank-offering* — a noteworthy distinction; for the former would have befitted the pagan origin of firstling-sacrifices, the latter was in harmony with the new meaning which the legislator had attached to those victims, and in grateful reminiscence of a marvellous rescue at a memorable epoch of Hebrew history.\*

10. Now we have arrived at the point which enables us to notice a fluctuation in the precepts of the Pentateuch similar to that manifest with regard to the laws of tithes.

For, according to Deuteronomy, the priests received of those firstling thank-offerings no more than the portions which fell to their share in all sacrifices of the same class, namely the breast and right shoulder, while the Israelites consumed the remainder of the meat: "Thou shalt eat the firstling males that come of thy herd and of thy flock, before the Lord thy God year by year, in the place which the Lord shall choose, thou and thy household."<sup>10</sup> Yet the Book of Numbers assigns to the priests not the breast and right shoulder only, but the whole animal, of course with the exception of the fat and fat parts which were burnt on the altar: "But the firstling of a cow, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt not redeem; they are holy, thou

was to bestow care and attention upon them before sanctifying them (*Mishn.* Bechor. IV. 1).

\* Num. XVIII. 17, 18; Deut. XV. 19, 20; Neh. X. 37. — At present, as the Jews can offer no sacrifices, it is their custom, either to sell, or to give away, or to allow in partnership to a non-Israelite, any part, however insignificant, of the dams or the young (comp. *Mishn.* Bechor. I. 1; II. 1), or to feed the firstborn males of clean animals till perchance they get a fault or defect (*יָרָעוּ עַד שִׁדְמוֹתָם*), when they may be slaughtered and eaten, a custom derived from the practice which prevailed in the time of the Temple with regard to animals of which it was doubtful whether they were firstborn or not; but the unclean animals, which, however, are limited to the ass alone (with reference to Exod. XIII. 13), are redeemed for a lamb (*Mishn.* Maas. Shen. I. 2; Kerith. VI. 1, 6; Zevach. VI. 1—3; *Maimon.* De Primit. Animant.

V. 3; and in general *Mishn.* Bechoroth, and *Yoreh Deah* §§ 306—321). The firstborn boys, except those of Aaronites and Levites or of their daughters, even if these are married to Israelites, are on the thirty-first day after their birth, or if this be a sabbath on the thirty-second, redeemed from the priests for a small sum of money representing five shekels (comp. Num. XVIII. 16) or five *לֵאָדָם*; one *לָדָם*, supposed to have originally weighed 320 grains of barley, was, from the time of the second Temple, fixed at the weight of 384 grains, so that 5 *לֵאָדָם* are the weight of 1920 barley-grains in silver, or between six and seven shillings; see *Mishn.* Bechor. VIII. 7, 8. The ceremony (*קִדְּשׁוֹ*) is described in *Yoreh Deah* § 305; comp. Luke II. 22; Comm. on Exod. p. 220; see also *Buxtorf*, Synagog. Jud. pp. 95—97; *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. I. 289; a. o.

<sup>10</sup> Deut. XV. 19, 20; comp. XII. 17, 18; XIV. 23.

## 612 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

shalt sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and shalt burn their fat for an offering made by fire, for a sweet odour to the Lord. And the flesh of them shall belong to thee (Aaron), like the wave-breast and like the right shoulder it shall belong to thee."<sup>1</sup>

11. It is clearly impossible, in the face of these unmistakable texts, to harmonize the various precepts of the Pentateuch, and to attempt the proof that they belong to the same time or legislative system; the efforts that have been made to effect this agreement and to combine what is absolutely contradictory, are partly inefficient and partly fanciful;<sup>2</sup> and we are compelled to admit the existence of three distinct laws with regard to the firstborn, in the following succession:

a. The oldest regulation is that of Exodus;<sup>3</sup> it verges on the stage of the natural or cosmic views of primitive religions; for it ordains that *all* the firstborn males of men and beasts shall belong to God; the firstborn boys are to be redeemed; the firstborn of clean animals to be sacrificed, evidently as *burnt-offerings*; the firstborn of unclean animals either to be redeemed by clean beasts, or to be killed.

b. The next step is embodied in the ordinances of Deuteronomy,<sup>4</sup> which exhibit a decided advance of hierarchical power, and at the same time efface the traces of the pagan origin of the law: all the firstborn of clean animals are to be sanctified to God, to be killed as *thank-offerings* at the national Sanctuary, and to be eaten by the Israelites; while the breast and the right shoulder fall to the share of the priests, as was the case with all thank-offerings.

c. The last and boldest measure is enjoined in Leviticus and Numbers,<sup>5</sup> and was evidently promulgated at a time when the priests could venture, at least theoretically, to set forth their principles with rigorous consistency. The firstborn boys are to be redeemed, as before. Every firstborn unclean animal is either to be redeemed by its value *increased by one fifth* of it, or to be sold at an estimated price, and the money is in either case to be given over to the priests. Every firstborn clean animal belongs to God, that is, entirely to the priests, who are indeed to kill it as a thank-offering, with the usual rites, sprinkling the blood and burning the fat, but are then to receive not

<sup>1</sup> Num. XVIII. 17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> As the supposition of a *second* or of a *female* firstborn (comp. ver. 19); see Comm. on Exod. pp. 220, 221 (the explanation there given cannot be upheld on philological and historical grounds); *Leyrer* in Herz. IV. 145; *Ohler* *ibid.* XIII. 181 (the precept in

Deuteronomy is a "modification of the preceding one" designed to promote the pilgrimages of the people to the Sanctuary); etc. <sup>3</sup> XIII. 2, 12, 13.

<sup>4</sup> XV. 19—22.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. XXVII. 26, 27; Num. XVIII. 15—18; III. 3; comp. *De Wette*, *Einfleit.* § 152 note d; *Kuenen*, *Hist. Crit.* I. 49.



the breast and right shoulder alone, but all that remains of the animal, in accordance with the historical reason then distinctly urged, of the destruction of the firstborn Egyptians and the deliverance of the firstborn Hebrews at the time of the exodus:<sup>6</sup> such a deviation might have appeared desirable in order to distinguish the remarkable thank-offerings of the firstborn from the ordinary sacrifices of the same class; it made them analogous to *public* thank-offerings,<sup>7</sup> and, in some respect, brought them nearer to the nature of holocausts, and thus helped to recall their original character.

12. No less significant are the disagreements in the laws concerning the *Firstfruits*.<sup>8</sup> In Numbers, all the firstfruits are unreservedly and exclusively assigned to the priests; but in Deuteronomy it is ordained that every Israelite shall "take of the first of all the fruit of the earth",<sup>9</sup> and putting them into a basket, repair to the town of the common Sanctuary; here the priest shall place the basket "before the altar of the Lord",<sup>10</sup> while the Israelite pronounces an address of praise and thanks-giving; after which "he shall rejoice in every good thing which the Lord has given to him and his house, he, 'and the Levite, and the stranger'".<sup>11</sup> Whether the firstfruits here treated of formed, or did not form, a part of the "good things" in which the Israelite was to rejoice at the succeeding repast in common with the Levite and the stranger, is of little importance; they were certainly insignificant as an impost and a source of revenue; they were carried even from distant parts in a "basket"; they were evidently a symbol of the acknowledgment of God as the Bestower of all agricultural blessings, rather than a material gift; the whole command centred in the placing of the basket

<sup>6</sup> Exod. XIII. 14, 15; though, therefore, the law in Exod. XIII. 12 is probably very old, the *reason* or the *explanation* assigned to it is evidently a later addition of the revisers of the Pentateuch, in harmony with the spirit of the law of Leviticus. <sup>7</sup> Lev. XXIII. 20.

<sup>8</sup> כִּסְרִים, רֵאשִׁית; the meaning and difference of these terms will be explained later; comp. *Knobel* on Num. p. 93; *Saalschütz*, Mos. R. I. pp. 344, 345.

<sup>9</sup> מֵרֵאשִׁית כָּל-פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ. According to Jewish tradition, but manifestly against the spirit of the Law (comp. Exod. XXII. 28; XXIII. 19; XXXIV. 26; Num. XVIII. 13; Deut. XXVI. 2; see also Ezek. XLIV. 30; Prov. III. 9; Neh.

X. 36, 38; 2 Chr. XXXI. 5), the firstfruits were only offered of the seven species by which the promised land was distinguished, viz. wheat, barley, wine, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates (Deut. VIII. 8), nor were they, according to the same authorities, offered of olives unless these were very choice, and hence not of the dates of hills nor of the fruits of trees growing in valleys (comp. *Mishn.* Bikkur. I. 3; *Kelim.* I. 6; *Talm.* Berach. 35a; *Maimon.* Hilch. Bikkur. II. 2; see, however, *Mishn.* Chall. I. 4, and in general *Maimonides*, Hilchoth Bikkurim, *passim*).

<sup>10</sup> לפני מזבח דָּוָה.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. XXVI. 1—11.

is evidently meant to provide for the priestly order and considerable source of income. These striking differences to the same subject have induced ancient and modern to suppose that two distinct laws are meant, and to take the preteronomy as relating to firstfruits, while already the Mishna tradition understood the injunction in Numbers to mean ' (תרומה גזולה) or a part of the vegetable produce, which immediately after the conclusion of their labours with and even before setting apart the tithes, appointed to the the name of תרומה.<sup>5</sup> We need hardly observe that the warrants no such division, which is analogous to the equal distinction between first, second, and third tithes, is prompted by kindred difficulties.<sup>6</sup>

Now taking a larger scope, we proceed to survey the *venues and Resources of the Priests and Levites*, excluding the firstborn, and the firstfruits, and this review will inevitably results analogous to those arrived at in the preceding section.

13. It has not unfrequently been averred that it is the object of the sacrificial system of the Pentateuch to provide comfortable sustenance of the priests and Levites. But this is more erroneous. This view is overthrown by the fact that both the holocausts and the most solemn kinds of expiations were burnt entirely; therefore, a large number of sacrifices

<sup>5</sup> Vers. 4, 10.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 609. The

viously no other than purely religious ends. However, it is equally certain that many of the sacrificial ordinances aimed, collaterally, at providing a competence for a tribe which owned no territorial property, and was to be shielded from want or care because it might derogate from the efficiency of its spiritual functions (see p. 574). We may easily judge whether the portions assigned to them were in excess of their wants, and whether they were likely to have been given up from early times.

The priests received

a. Of *burnt-offerings*, the hide (עור),<sup>7</sup> an impost of very considerable value, since holocausts were probably the most frequent of all the sacrifices; and Philo observes distinctly,<sup>8</sup> "the skins of burnt-offerings amount to an unspeakable number" (ἀμύθητα). However, it appears that originally the hide of holocausts was burnt among the Hebrews,<sup>9</sup> as was the case among other nations, but that it was later assigned to the priests who were to have a share in all classes of offering, and especially in one so important and so common as the holocausts.<sup>10</sup>

b. With regard to the *private thank-offerings*, the priests were, according to Deuteronomy, to receive the *fore-shoulder*, the *two cheeks*, and the *maw*,<sup>11</sup> portions comparatively small in value; but, according to the middle Books, the *right shoulder* and the *breast*,<sup>12</sup> considered as the choicest and most palatable parts,<sup>13</sup> and generally reserved for distinguished persons or honoured guests.<sup>14</sup> Various expedients of re-

Num. XVIII. 8, 11, 26, 27; Neh. X. 38; etc.; see pp. 202, 203 notes 8—10.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. VII. 8.

<sup>8</sup> De Praem. c. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. I. 9.

<sup>10</sup> See notes on VII. 8—10. Bähr (Symb. II. 365) believes that the skin was selected because, on the one hand, it leaves the animal intact as a whole, while yet, on the other hand, it might well represent the entire animal; a view the first part of which is more probable, because more simple, than the second. Jewish tradition fixed that the hides of all "most holy sacrifices" (עורזח), that is, of holocausts, of sin- and trespass-offerings, were given up to the priests (*Talm. Chull.* 133 b, and *Rashi* in loc.; comp. *Maim. Hilch. Bikkur.* I. 8; *Reland, Antiqq.* III. i. 28; *Lightfoot, Opp.* I. 703), but such extension of the law is not warranted by the Biblical text (Lev. VII. 8; comp. ver. 6). On the hides granted to the

priests in Greece, see *Hermann, Gottesd. Alterth.* § 35 note 12.

<sup>11</sup> יהורע והלחיים והקבה, Deut. XVIII. 3.

<sup>12</sup> השק הימין והחזה, Lev. VII. 30—32; X. 14, 15; Num. VI. 20; XVIII. 18; comp. *Exod.* XXIX. 26, 27; Lev. VII. 28—34.

<sup>13</sup> *Comp. Ezek.* XXIV. 4, מבוזר עצמים כל-נחל סוכ.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Sam. IX. 24; comp. *Joseph. Ant.* III. ix. 2. According to Philo and Origen, the priests received the breast, because it is a symbol of wisdom; and the shoulder, because it is a type of courage and vivacity — of which virtues the priests were to be constantly reminded: this is a fair specimen of the value of allegorising interpretation; and *Clericus* observes justly (on Lev. VII. 32), si quaevis alia membra dixisset deus dari sacerdotibus oportere, similes rationes non defuissent. Scarcely more acceptable is the view that the breast

conciling a contradiction so apparent and so fatal to the defenders of the unity of the Pentateuch, have been proposed; some contend that the ordinance in Deuteronomy is "an addition to the previous commands, in order to show how the people might manifest their special esteem and affection for the Levites" (1)<sup>1</sup>, a conjecture in no manner countenanced by the context and indeed implying an unwarranted increase of imposts sufficiently considerable in themselves. Others again assert that it was designed as a compensation for the loss occasioned to the Levites by the abolition of the old precept enjoining the killing of *all* animals, even those intended for food, as thank-offerings at the Sanctuary,<sup>2</sup> which is an objectionable attempt at accounting for one difficulty by reference to another no less striking. Or it has been urged that the *וְרֵאשִׁית* is identical with *קֶשֶׁט*, an assertion at best removing only a part of the discrepancy, and disproved by a passage in which both occur together,<sup>3</sup> and which seems to imply a certain amalgamation of the old and the new law. Others maintain that the precept of Deuteronomy refers to animals killed for private use, and not for sacrifices;<sup>4</sup> but, on the one hand, this view is utterly excluded by the context of the passage which treats of "offerings of the Lord made by fire";<sup>5</sup> and on the other, the Deuteronomist permits the slaughtering of animals for the first-named purpose at any place in which the Israelites may reside;<sup>6</sup> it would, therefore, have been impossible to carry out or to enforce a law involving a novel and very vexatious principle of interference with private rights.<sup>7</sup>

given to the priests corresponds with the fat burnt to God; and that the leg (for as such *קֶשֶׁט* is understood) corresponds to the blood which, being the seat of life, is devoted to God, since thigh and leg from which the children issue (Gen. XXXV. 11; XLVI. 26; etc.) are the special seats of vitality; so Knobel (p. 412), who attempts to support this opinion by the analogy of the *ἰσὰ μῆρα* of the Greeks, and by a Latin etymology (*femur*, *femen*, *fetus*, *secundus*, *femina*); and similarly Kurtz (*Opfere*. p. 236), who calls the breast "half-fat", and the leg the best "muscle-flesh." But it is hardly necessary to seek recondite or artificial reasons for a very natural arrangement.

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Schultz, *Das Deuteronomium erklärt*, pp. 58, 59, 502, 504; *Öhler* in Herz. Real-Enc. XII. 181..

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Lev. XVII. 1—9 and Deut. XII. 20—22; see p. 39; *Ranke*, *Untersuch.* II. 295; *Öhler*, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Num. VI. 19, 20.

<sup>4</sup> So Jewish tradition, according to which the precept is valid for all times and all countries (*Mishn.* Chull. X. 1; though it fell later into disuse, *Yoreh Deah*, § LXI. 21); and so Josephus (*Ant.* IV. iv. 4), Philo (*De Praem. Sacerd.* c. 3), and many modern interpreters; comp. *Ranke*, *Untersuch.* II. 293—300; *Öhler* in Herz. Real-Enc. XII. 181, 182; *Kurtz*, *Opfere.* pp. 224, 225, whose arguments, whether advanced by himself or adopted from predecessors, are hardly more than evasions.

<sup>5</sup> *וְרֵאשִׁית*, Deut. XVIII. 1; comp. ver. 3, *וְרֵאשִׁית הַבְּרִיאָה*; see 1 Sam. II. 13.

<sup>6</sup> XII. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Even Saalschütz (*Mos. R.* I. 123)

Of the *public animal thank-offerings*, which seem to have been of later introduction, the priests could claim all the flesh.<sup>8</sup>

c. Of all the *trespass-offerings*, and of those *sin-offerings* the blood of which was not sprinkled in the Holy, the priests appropriated to themselves the whole of the victims, with the exception of the fat and fat parts, which were to be burnt on the altar; and the flesh was to be eaten by the males, in the Court of the Sanctuary.<sup>9</sup> As the blood of the sin-offerings of the High-priest and the whole nation only, not of the chiefs or common Israelites, was brought into the Holy,<sup>10</sup> the priests received those portions in the vast majority of cases; and it could, therefore, be said, without great inaccuracy, that they had a share in "all the sin-offerings and all the trespass-offerings of the Israelites".<sup>11</sup>

It may be interesting to compare herewith the corresponding laws or customs of the Carthaginians as recently disclosed by discovered inscriptions. According to the sacrificial tablet of Marseilles, the honorary portion of the priests or *Mus'et* (מִשְׁעֵט) consisted only of a small quantity of meat of about one and a half pound in weight (150 zuz or drachmas);<sup>12</sup> while the hide, the legs, and all the remaining meat were left to the worshipper,<sup>13</sup> although occasionally the hide was allotted to the priests.<sup>14</sup> Equally moderate was the tariff to be paid by the offerer to the priest instead of the various sacrifices, namely, for a bullock, whether to be presented as an offering of purification or thanksgiving, 10 shekels; for an ox or a ram to be killed for the same sacrifices, 5 shekels; for a he-goat or she-goat in the same cases, "one foreign shekel" (שֶׁקֶל זָר); for a lamb or a kid of the goats, for a sheep that has born no young, or a stag, three-fourths of a foreign shekel; for a young marsh-bird (צִפֹּרֵי מַגֵּן), likewise three-fourths of a shekel; and for any other bird,

is forced to admit, "it is difficult to understand how it was feasible to deliver up to the priests those small portions from all parts of the country"; and he is therefore "almost" inclined to suppose that this law was only meant to be binding during the time of the Hebrew wanderings in the desert, which is an unwarranted assumption not borne out by the wording of the command.

<sup>8</sup> Lev. XXIII. 20; comp. p. 243.

<sup>9</sup> Among the early Romans, the flesh of the victims was carried to the quaestors who sold it for the advantage of the public treasury; though, in later

times, the priests, *popae* and *victimarii*, divided it among themselves; the flesh of private sacrifices (*polluctum*) belonged to the offerers who consumed it at home; comp. *Plaut. Rud.* V. iii. 63; *Mil. Glor.* III. i. 117; see pp. 214, 215. Among the Persians, the Magus divided the flesh among those who attended the sacrifice (comp. p. 214).

<sup>10</sup> Lev. VI. 18—23; VII. 6, 7; XIV. 13; see p. 210.

<sup>11</sup> Num. XVIII. 9; comp. Ezek. XLIV. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Line 6, comp. lines 3, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Lines 4, 6, 8, 10; comp. Carth. Inscr. 90 of Davis, lines 2, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Carth. Inscript. 90, lines 4, 5.

## 618 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

if it is a firstling-sacrifice, or one to be presented with flour or oil, one shekel.<sup>1</sup> But persons "poor in cattle" were, by public decrees, expressly exempted from all sacrificial imposts payable to the priests.<sup>2</sup> According to the celebrated document of Halicarnassus, the priestess received, besides a salary, certain fees, and the produce of an annual collection,<sup>3</sup> at all public sacrifices, the legs, the fourth part of the intestines, and the hides; at all private offerings, the same portions with the exception of the hides. And similar regulations obtained in Attica;<sup>4</sup> the offered fruits and pastry fell commonly to the share of the priests.<sup>5</sup>

d. Of the bloodless offerings (מִנְחָה), whether merely consisting of flour or in any way prepared by fire, and whether presented alone or as an accompaniment of animal sacrifices, the male priests were entitled to eat, in the Court of the Sanctuary, the whole except the "memorial" (זֵכֶר), consisting of a handful together with the frank-incense, which was burnt on the altar.<sup>6</sup> The same was the case with the *first-fruit-offering* (מִנְחַת בְּכֹרִים) of roasted ears of corn,<sup>7</sup> and the *firstfruit-sheaf* (מִנְחַת רֵאשִׁית) presented on the second day of Passover.<sup>8</sup> But the *shew-bread* of twelve cakes, renewed every week, belonged to them entirely;<sup>9</sup> and so did the two *firstfruit-loaves* (לֶחֶם בְּכֹרִים) offered on Pentecost, of which nothing could be burnt on the altar, because they were leavened.<sup>10</sup> Of the bloodless oblation presented in connection with the praise-offering, and composed of four kinds of cereal gifts, the officiating priest claimed one cake of each kind.<sup>11</sup> And hence again it could be summarily said that the priests received "all the bloodless offerings of the Hebrews."<sup>12</sup>

e. Besides, a cake (חֶלֶב) as *the first of the dough* (רֵאשִׁית עֲרִיסָה),<sup>13</sup> an impost or gift (תְּרוּמָה) akin to the tithes, and like them originating in the

<sup>1</sup> Tabl. of Mars. lines 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12; comp. Carth. Inscr. 90, line 7.

<sup>2</sup> Carth. Inscr. 90, line 6 רַל מְקַנָּה בַּל יִכּוּן מִנֵּה, "he who is poor in cattle, does not prepare portions to the priest"; see also Tabl. of Mars. l. 15; comp. herewith the prices fixed by the Mishnah, Menach. XIII. 8; namely, for a bullock with its drink-offering a mine or 50 shekels, for a calf 5 shekels, a ram 2, a lamb 1, all including the drink-offering; see in general *Movers*, *Opferwesen der Karth.* pp. 74—91.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Tertull.* Apolog. c. 13, circuit cauponas religio mendicans, *exigitis mercedem pro solo templi etc.*

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Böckh*, *Prooemium zum Lec-*

*tionskatalog* 1835/1836, and *Staatsh.* II. 121; *Schömann*, *Gr. Alterth.* II. 414; *Hermann*, *Gottesd. Alterth.* § 35 notes 11—14.

<sup>5</sup> *Schömann*, l. c. and p. 219.

<sup>6</sup> Lev. II. 3, 10; VI. 9, 11; VII. 9, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. II. 14—16. <sup>8</sup> Lev. XXIII. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Lev. XXIV. 9; Matth. XII. 4; comp. *Mishn.* Succ. V. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. XXIII. 16—18, 20; comp. II. 11, 12; Exod. XXXIV. 22; Num. XXVIII. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. VII. 12—14; see notes *in loc.*

<sup>12</sup> Num. XVIII. 9; comp. Ezek. XLIV. 29; see pp. 217sqg.

<sup>13</sup> Num. XV. 18—21; comp. Ezek. XLIV. 30; Neh. X. 38; also Rom. XI. 6; according to the Mishnah (*Challah*

desire of acknowledging God as the Bestower of every blessing.<sup>14</sup> With these demands may be classed *the fruits* of every young tree in *the fourth year* after it was planted, those of the first three years being thrown away as useless;<sup>15</sup> and the *first of the wool of sheep* required by the Deuteronomist,<sup>16</sup> but not mentioned in any other part of the legislation. The quantity of the gifts is, in none of these cases, fixed by the Law, but was left to the pious impulses of the people.<sup>17</sup>

f. The priests, moreover, received every thing that was *devoted* (חֵרֵם), whether animals, landed or other property, which, when "devoted," was considered so irrevocably sacred that it could on no account be redeemed.<sup>18</sup>

g. They could claim the *fifth part* of the value of *sacred property* that had unawares been appropriated by an Israelite,<sup>19</sup> and *any property*, increased by the fifth part of its value, which had been *acquired by fraud*, if there was no legal representative of the defrauded person.<sup>20</sup> It appears, moreover, that, for some periods, a *pecuniary fine* was attached to *sin-offerings*, as it was generally connected with trespass-offerings; for we read, "The money of the trespass-offering and the money of the sin-offering"<sup>21</sup> shall not be brought into the house of the Lord; it shall belong to the priests;"<sup>22</sup> but this fine was later abolished evidently because incompatible with the spiritual nature of the sin-offerings, and unduly checking their free performance.<sup>23</sup> According to Talmudical deductions, the Levites received twenty-four presents or gratuities. Of these they were obliged to consume eight within the precincts of the Temple, viz. 1. the flesh of the sin-offering, whether this were a quadruped or a bird; 2. the flesh of the trespass-offering, whether this were presented for an indisputable or a doubtful guilt;<sup>24</sup> 3. the flesh of

II. 7), in the proportion of one to twenty-four, or by the baker or others who prepare bread for sale, of one to forty-eight; comp. *Mishn. Menach. X. 7*; and the חלה is to be given whenever the quantity of flour exceeds one, or according to others two קב (*Mishn. Edeyoth I. 2*; see in general *Orach Chayim* §§ 322—330).

<sup>14</sup> Jewish tradition limited the application of the law to the dough of wheat, barley, spelt, oats, and rye (*Mishn. Chall. I. 1*, comp. 3, 4), and ordained that, out of the holy land, the חלה is to be thrown into the fire (*ibid. IV. 8*), which custom is still observed by Jewish women.

<sup>15</sup> Lev. XIX. 23, 24; see notes *in loc.* <sup>16</sup> XVIII. 4.

<sup>17</sup> The Mishnah (Terumoth IV. 3) observes, "A liberal man gives one fortieth or one thirtieth, an average man one fiftieth, and a stingy man one sixtieth part"; comp. also *Mishn. Peah I. 1* אלה דברים שאין להם שיעור הפאה (אל יבזבזו יתר ממה שצריך לברוח).

<sup>18</sup> Lev. XXVII. 28; Num. XVIII. 14; comp. Ezek. XLIV. 29; see also p. 409.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. V. 16; XXII. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Num. V. 6—8; comp. vers. 9, 10.

<sup>21</sup> כסף חטאת וכסף חטאת.

<sup>22</sup> 2 Ki. XII. 17. <sup>23</sup> See p. 274.

<sup>24</sup> כסף חטאת וכסף חטאת ודאי.



born of clean animals; and 5. the firstfruits of the of "minor sanctity" (קרשים קלים), and could be eaten and the females of sacerdotal families. Five were per likewise both by males and females, throughout the hol tithes; 2. the tenth part of the tithes (תרומה מעשר) vites to the Aaronites; 3. the cake (חלה) taken off the bread; 4. the produce of firstlings of the wool of produce of a consecrated field inherited from parents. Five could be eaten either in the holy land or else portions supposed to be allotted to the priests at priv the fore-shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw;<sup>6</sup> money of the firstborn sons; and 3. that of the firstborn 4. the unjustly acquired property restored, with an ad who had no legal heir; and 5. the "devoted" property lastly, was received in the Sanctuary and carried a of the "most holy" offerings, viz. holocausts and expia

h. It seems to have been the intention of the leg to the priests and the Levites, though exempt from share in the *booty of war*. This is the obvious inference the arrangements said to have been made after the expe Midianites.<sup>7</sup> The entire spoil, with the exception of trin metals, was divided into two halves, the one intende who had fought, the other for the people that had camp; of the former the priests received, by lot, one h

one captive of every 500; of the latter the Levites received one of every 50;<sup>8</sup> of the gold and silver the soldiers offered gifts spontaneously for the sacred service "to make an atonement for their souls" and as a "memorial for the children of Israel before the Lord."<sup>9</sup> This narrative with its accurate numerical details has evidently been inserted by the author as a hint for imitation, although he makes no allusion to the custom observed in the matter at his time.<sup>10</sup>

i. According to the enactments of the third and fourth Books of the Pentateuch, the priests and Levites were to live in 48 cities assigned to them, at least principally,<sup>11</sup> as a part of the territory due to them as one of the tribes of Israel,<sup>12</sup> and were to receive, besides, a district of land (עֲרֵב) comprising 2000 yards round each town in every direction<sup>13</sup> as pasturage for their cattle,<sup>14</sup> and deemed sufficient for their abodes and their sustenance.<sup>15</sup> These cities, as far as they belonged to members of the tribe of Levi, were even to enjoy special privileges; for the houses and the fields could never be forfeited when sold, and were, without compensation, to be restored in the year of jubilee.<sup>16</sup> However, in Deuteronomy, the Levites appear as living scattered throughout the land; they are constantly alluded to as being "within the gates" of the Israelites;<sup>17</sup> and they are expressly permitted to settle wherever they might deem fit, "And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel where he sojourned<sup>18</sup> and come with all the desire of his mind to the place which the Lord shall choose, then he shall minister in the name of the Lord his God, as all his brethren the Levites do who stand there before the Lord"<sup>19</sup> — a passage which proves that the Levites, scantily cared for in the towns of the Israelites, had a tendency to congregate in the place of the central Sanctuary, where they were promised equal portions with those who had served there before, without losing whatever they might have real-

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Gen. XIV. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Num. i. c. vers. 50—54; comp. Josh. VI. 19, 24; 2 Sam. VIII. 11; 1 Chr. XXVI. 27, 28.

<sup>10</sup> Comp., however, Josh. XXII. 8; 1 Sam. XXX. 24, 25; 2 Macc. VIII. 28, 30. <sup>11</sup> Comp. *Bähr*, Symb. II. 50.

<sup>12</sup> Num. XXXV. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Num. XXXV. 4, 5; Sept. *περιόματα, ἀπορίσματα, τὰ συνυπεύοντα*; see Comm. in loc.; *Mishn. Sol. V. 3*; *Rosenmüller*, Excurs. ad Num. pp. 447sqq.; *Creizenach*, Schulch. Aruch, III. 182, 183; esp. *Sealschütz*, Mos. R. I. 100—104.

<sup>14</sup> Num. XXXV. 1—8; comp. Josh. XIV. 4; XXI. 2—42; 1 Chr. VI. 46—66; see *supra* pp. 574, 586.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. *Joseph. Ant. IV. iv. 3*, ἐν τοῖς καὶ τοσαύτοις πόλεσι ἀγαθὰς καὶ καλὰς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς γῆς... εἰς διαχλίοντες πᾶσι καὶ.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. XXV. 32—34.

<sup>17</sup> Deut. XII. 12, 18; XIV. 27, 29; XVI. 11.

<sup>18</sup> וְאִם לֵוִי מִכָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל יָבוֹא אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יֵאָמֵר.

<sup>19</sup> Deut. XVIII. 6, 7; comp. Judg. XVII. 7—11; XIX. 1; 1 Sam. I. 1; see *infra* Sect. V.

## 622 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

ised by the sale of their patrimony.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the very idea of Levitical towns with territorial domains, contradicts the fundamental notion that the Levites were to have no property, because God was their inheritance and their wealth.<sup>2</sup> The Book of Joshua (XIV. 4) endeavours indeed to remove the contradictions; for it makes a distinction between "a share in the land" and "cities to dwell in with their suburbs for their cattle and their substance;" but this distinction, prompted as it is by apologetic reasons, is artificial and untenable; for 48 towns with a territorial addition to each, is nothing else but "a share in the land" or "an inheritance" (נַחֲלָה). Moreover, the Pentateuch itself is at variance with its own statements on the subject. The Levitical towns are already incidentally mentioned in the laws promulgated at Mount Sinai, and made the object of legislative arrangements;<sup>3</sup> and yet they are formally assigned to the Levites only about forty years later, "in the plains of Moab," and are there treated of as if they had never before been alluded to:<sup>4</sup> those arrangements, so favourable to the Levites, must, therefore, fall *after* the encampment in Moab, that is, beyond the lifetime of Moses.<sup>5</sup>

14. Now, if the Levites, free from all taxes and burdens,<sup>6</sup> indeed received all the emoluments and gifts bestowed upon them in the middle Books of the Pentateuch, they could be certain of a life of ease and almost luxury. Even those members of the tribe who, for any reason, were unable to officiate in the Sanctuary, and especially to perform the sacrificial rites, for instance, those disqualified by some bodily defect,<sup>7</sup> were considerately provided for. For it was ordained that, while in most cases the appurtenances fell to the share of the acting priest,<sup>8</sup> they formed, in others, a common stock to be equally divided among all priests.<sup>9</sup> The position of the Levites was, therefore, well-established

<sup>1</sup> Deut. XVIII. 8, לְכֹהֵן מִמִּבְרַי עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ. Ewald (Alterthümer, p. 323) translates these words "besides his hospitable reception in the priestly families" — a rendering which has very little probability.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra* p. 556. Gramberg (Rel. ld. I. 209) observes therefore, "Wahrscheinlich rührt das neue Gesetz (in Num. XXXV. 1—8) von einem andern Dichter her, welcher durch die kurze Andeutung von den Städten der Leviten (Lev. XXV. 32—34) veranlasst wurde, darüber etwas bestimmteres auszusprechen."

<sup>3</sup> Lev. XXV. 32—34; comp. XXVI. 46; XXVII. 34. <sup>4</sup> Num. XXXV. 1—8.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *De Wette*, Beiträge II. 276.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 574; comp. Ezra VII. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. XXI. 17—23; *Jos. Bell. Jud.* V. v. 7; *Talm. Zevach.* 102.

<sup>8</sup> As the right shoulder in thank-offerings (Lev. VII. 33), or the cereal oblations baked in the oven, or dressed in a pan or pot (VII. 9); see p. 482, and notes on VII. 8—10.

<sup>9</sup> As the breast in thank-offerings (Lev. VII. 31), the shew-bread (Lev. XXIV. 9), and the cereal offerings presented dry or merely mingled with oil

and commanding. They were indeed, as Philo observed, "invested by the Law with the dignity and honour that belongs to kings."<sup>10</sup> Yet we find, in Deuteronomy, repeated and almost pitiful appeals made to the Israelites in their behalf. "Take heed that thou forsake not the Levite as long as thou livest upon the earth;"<sup>11</sup> and "the Levite that is within thy gate, thou shalt not forsake him; for he has no part nor inheritance with thee."<sup>12</sup> They appear helpless like the poor, the stranger, the widow, and the orphan, and are generally included in the same recommendation to private charity;<sup>13</sup> and their sustenance is derived not from a regular or legally defined income but from occasional relief.<sup>14</sup> It is, therefore, evident, that the advantages of the Levites were but gradually gained; they could be secured with precaution only and by imperceptible steps. It was no easy task, requiring no ordinary amount of shrewdness and firmness, to deprive the Israelites of their natural rights in matters of religion; but it is probable that the privileges demanded in Leviticus and Numbers remained, on the whole, not much more than a priestly theory, and were seldom, if ever, actually granted to the Levites. In the historical Books of the Old Testament, it is only under the theocratic king Hezekiah and the zealous leader Nehemiah that the firstfruits and tithes, the firstborn animals and other gifts, are reported to have been collected for the priests;<sup>15</sup> in earlier periods,

(VII. 10). According to tradition, the distribution took place every evening (see *Targ. Jerus.* on Gen. XLIX. 27).

<sup>10</sup> Philo, *De Praemiis Sacerd.* c. 2, *ἡ δὲ ἅν ἀπάντων ἐστὶ δῆλον, ὅτι βασιλέων σεμνότης καὶ τιμὴν περιέσσει τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὁ νόμος.* <sup>11</sup> Deut. XII. 19.

<sup>12</sup> XIV. 27, 29; X. 9; XII. 12, 18.

<sup>13</sup> Deut. XII. 18; XIV. 29; XVI. 11, 14; XXVI. 11—13; comp. 1 Sam. II. 36; see *supra* p. 600.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *George*, *Jüd. Feste*, pp. 47—50. A curious evasion is attempted by *F. W. Schultz* (*Das Deuteronomium erklärt*, p. 58), who contends that the Deuteronomist represents the Levites as poor and helpless "in order to describe them above all as needful of friendship"; and similarly it has been observed, "as if to provide for the contingency of failing crops or the like . . . the Levite was commended to the special kindness of the people" (*Phumpe* l. c. II. 102).

<sup>15</sup> 2 Chr. XXXI. 4—8; Neh. X. 36—40; XII. 44; XIII. 5, 12, 31; Judith XI. 13; Tobit I. 7, 8; comp., however, Neh. XIII. 10; Mal. III. 8, 10. The term שָׂרֵי תְּרוּמוֹת (2 Sam. I. 21), occurring in the elegy of David, that is, fields yielding produce worthy of firstfruit-offerings, is too indistinct for historical deduction; equally inconclusive is the לֶחֶם כִּכּוּרִים which a man of Baal-Shalishah brought to Elisha in a time of famine (2 Ki. IV. 42). That the testimony of the Book of Chronicles with respect to Levitical reforms must be cautiously received, needs scarcely to be observed (see pp. 31—33); the store-rooms for the reception of the plentiful gifts mentioned by the Chronicist (2 Chr. XXXI. 11) are not alluded to in the Books of Kings, and have probably been added by him because they existed in the second Temple (Neh. XIII. 4sq.; comp. *Grumb.* *Red.* I. 1. 91).

## 624 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

they are never mentioned nor alluded to. It is as improbable in itself as it is opposed to the general laws of Levitical development, that the precepts of the Pentateuch represent the priests as having *lost* again a great part of the privileges once acquired. This unhistorical conclusion is forced upon those who place Leviticus chronologically before Deuteronomy. But it is simply a perversion of facts to contend that the Levites were more amply provided for by the laws of Deuteronomy than by those of the middle Books.<sup>1</sup>

15. Though, therefore, the question whether the Levitical income, as fixed in the middle Books of the Pentateuch, was excessive or not, is of little practical moment; it is yet of considerable historical interest, as it is calculated to illustrate the character of an important part of the legislation. It is utterly inappropriate to found the claims of the Levites upon the plea that they had a legal right to the twelfth or thirteenth part of the territory of Canaan, which they ceded to the other tribes, and for which they could demand ample sustenance. It is true that the Book of Numbers represents the matter in this light; for it ordains that the towns should be given to the Levites "from the inheritance of their possession."<sup>2</sup> But it requires, after the preceding observations, no further arguments to prove that this is nothing but a Levitical view or rather pretence. The tribe of Levi had, by its own daring and recklessness, forfeited the territorial possessions which it might have owned; and, scattered through the land, it was compelled to seek subsistence by whatever means it could devise. In reality, the priests and Levites could fairly demand compensation for their ministerial and other services; and so their income is indeed regarded in some passages.<sup>3</sup> But if tithes, firstfruits, and firstborn animals, their shares in holocausts and thank-offerings, in expiatory and bloodless oblations, the devoted property, the booty of war, the forty-eight towns with their surrounding districts, and the manifold minor privileges, are surveyed and computed, it will be found that the Levites received infinitely more than their due proportion. According to the double census, recorded in the Book of Numbers,<sup>4</sup> the Israelites over twenty years of age amounted, in round figures, to 600,000, the Levites over one month to 22,000, which, at a very moderate calculation, would be about 17,000 over twenty years; the proportion of Levites to Israelites was, therefore, as 17,000 to 600,000; that is, the Levites formed about the *thirty-*

<sup>1</sup> So *De Wette*, Opusc. Theol. p. 163, "Plura quae habet — auctor Deuteronomii — nova et additicia, ad hierarchiam augendam et Levitarum auctoritatem sanciendam spectant;" see, on

the other hand, *George*, Jüd. Feste, pp. 45—69.

<sup>2</sup> Num. XXXV. 2, מְנוּחָה אֲחֻזָּה.

<sup>3</sup> Num. XVIII. 21, 31.

<sup>4</sup> Chapters I and XXVI.

*fifth* part of the Israelites.<sup>6</sup> But by the tithes alone they received the *tenth* part of the whole agricultural produce of the soil and of the annual increase of cattle; one Levite had, therefore, from this source only, an income equivalent to that of three or four Israelites. If the other revenues are added, they must indeed be regarded as exorbitant;<sup>6</sup> and it has been observed that if all the enactments of the Pentateuch had been carried out, the priests would soon, without working, have acquired all the property of the land.<sup>7</sup> Though the Levites increased, their income grew proportionately; for industry and agriculture, and therefore the Levitical revenues, kept pace with the growth of the population; and in some periods, the territory or arable land of the Hebrews was considerably enlarged. It is irrelevant to enquire whether all the prescribed imposts were burdensome to the Israelites or not in a land of remarkable fertility; the question is, whether they were fairly required for the sustenance of Levites. If wealth was obtained through the fruitfulness of the soil, it belonged more justly to those who produced it by their exertions.<sup>8</sup> And it is against the spirit of the Pentateuch to suppose that the Levites were required to bear the expen-

<sup>6</sup> It is, therefore, incorrect to say that the proportion was as 1 to 13; the tribes were very different in numerical strength, and Levi was the least numerous of all; for while Judah, the largest, counted 74,600 men over twenty years, Manasseh, the smallest of the other tribes, had 32,000, or nearly double the number of Levi (comp. Num. I. 27, 35).

<sup>7</sup> So also judges Michaelis (Mos. R. § 52), who takes the proportion of Levites to Israelites as 1 to 50, and calls the income of the former "extravagant" (ausschweifend), though he attempts to justify it by asserting that the Levites were not merely clerical functionaries but also scholars and men of science; but even if they were the latter, they received their revenues merely because they were the former. Bauer (Gottesd. Verf. I. 278) describes that income as "large and almost excessive", though he echoes Michaelis' exculpatory arguments (pp. 280—284). According to a computation in the Hebrew work *מורה נבוכים*, the im-

posts amounted to one-fifth of the produce of the soil, besides the dues in cattle (comp. *Creizenach*, *Schulchan Aruch*, IV. 37).

<sup>8</sup> *Gramberg*, *Rel. Id.* I. 198, 199; comp. pp. 7—230; *von Cölln*, *Bibl. Theol.* I. 66, 279, 280; comp. also *De Wette*, *Beiträge*, II. 334, 335. It is difficult to comprehend how, in the face of the facts adduced, it is possible to venture the assertion, "by the regulations of the Pentateuch the priests were sufficiently but not liberally provided for" (*Ötler* in *Herz*. XII. 182; comp. VIII. 352; similarly also *Leyrer* *ibid.* XVIII. 419; *Saalschütz*, *Mos. R.* I. 105 ("die Leviten waren durchaus nicht glänzend versorgt"), 122.

<sup>9</sup> These remarks meet the apologetic efforts of Winer (*Real-Wört.* I. 442; II. 22, 273), Bähr (*Symb.* II. 48, 49), and others; some curiously base a mitigating argument on the irregular or imperfect payment of the imposts foreseen and taken into account by the legislator (e. g. *Saalschütz*, *Mos. R.* I. 93); see also *Rosenmüller*, *Schol.*

## 626 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

diture for the costly worship of the Sanctuary;<sup>1</sup> for all offerings were indispensably to be the gift and property of those in whose name they were presented;<sup>2</sup> the *public* offerings, therefore, must have been provided by the *people*.<sup>3</sup> Hence it will be admitted that the ordinances of the middle Books regarding the Levitical income, were suggested not by expediency or the actual requirements of the case, but by those principles of theocratic rule which the Pentateuch saw fit to enforce by every possible device. The tithes, the firstfruits, the firstborn, and the 48 cities were to be given to God's ministers, because they were looked upon as properly belonging to Him as the true owner of the land and its produce. Portions of the sacrifices and the whole of the devoted property were allowed to the priests, because all offerings and hallowed objects were regarded in the same light. All these laws were the consistent results of a peculiar theory; they were the ideal claims of a priesthood founded upon an ideal political organisation; and they hence inevitably overlooked or disregarded the considerations of equity and justice.<sup>4</sup>

### IV. DEVIATIONS FROM THE LEVITICAL LAWS FOUND IN THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Our views of the origin, date, and gradual development of Levitical institutions are very significantly confirmed by a comparison between the regulations of the Pentateuch and the independent, because incidental, statements scattered in other parts of the Hebrew canon, which comparison will afford us another welcome clue to the chronology of the Law.

1. It is true that the historical Books mention various facts in harmony with the precepts of the Pentateuch. To a certain extent, the High-priests, in the first times after the settlement in Canaan, are in accordance with the Levitical directions. Aaron is succeeded by Eleazar,

---

on Num. XVIII. 21, who reproduces Michaelis' arguments, a strange compound of judiciousness and specious sophistry.

<sup>1</sup> *Ewald*, *Alterthümer*, pp. 314, 315.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> This principle is clearly acknowledged in *Mishn. Shekal* IV. 1, 2. No proof can be deduced from the uncertain passage Num. III. 45, *וְהָיוּ לָהֶם בְּרֵמֹתָם*; so *Sachs*, l. c. p. 348; comp. p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> The view of *Hallmann* (*Staatsverfassung der Israeliten*, pp. 158—162) that "the priests were the lords of the entire soil", and the 12 "lay-tribes, therefore, were vassals of the priests", and hence had to pay to them the tithes; this view is utterly against the statements of Scripture; not even the Pentateuch could venture theoretically to set forth principles so absolutely at variance with reality, experience, and historic truth.



the eldest of his surviving sons, the two first, Nadab and Abihu, having died before him.<sup>5</sup> Eleazar is followed by his son Phinehas, whom we find in office in the early periods of the Judges.<sup>6</sup> When, in the time of Joshua, the transjordanic population erected an altar on the eastern side of the river, and the other tribes, incensed at their supposed revolt against God, were bent upon a war of extermination, the High-priest Phinehas was at the head of the tribunal, which amicably settled the threatening rupture;<sup>7</sup> and in the war between Benjamin and the other tribes, he consulted the Ark of the Covenant in the name of the people,<sup>8</sup> as, later, the priests are stated to have sought oracles by the Urim and Thummim.<sup>9</sup> It is likely that Phinehas was in his dignity succeeded by some of his direct descendants; for the High-priesthood was supposed to have been promised "to him and to his seed after him,"<sup>10</sup> because he had evinced ardent and pious zeal.<sup>11</sup> Towards the end of that epoch, Eli, believed to be descended from Ithamar,<sup>12</sup> and certainly belonging to the stock of Aaron or the oldest priestly family,<sup>13</sup> was both High-priest and Judge.<sup>14</sup> In the reign of the three first kings, are mentioned as High-priests two sons of Ahitub, the grandson of Eli, through Phinehas, namely Abiah<sup>15</sup> and his brother Ahimelech,<sup>16</sup> and Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech.<sup>17</sup> The numerous priests likewise who served at

<sup>5</sup> Josh. XIV. 1; XVII. 4; XIX. 51; XXI. 1; XXIV. 33; comp. Num. III. 32; XX. 28; Deut. X. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Josh. XXII. 30—32; Judg. XX. 27, 28; there is no reason to declare the latter passage spurious, or to attribute it to the reviser of the Book, and not to his written sources (so Gramberg, *Rel. Id.* I. 181).

<sup>7</sup> Josh. XXII. 30sqg.; comp. XVII. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. XX. 27, 28.

<sup>9</sup> Ezra II. 63; Neh. VII. 65.

<sup>10</sup> לו ולרצו אחריו.

<sup>11</sup> Num. XXV. 11—13. And, in harmony with this promise, Josephus (*Ant.* V. xi. 5), and others, espec. Samaritans (*Reland*, *Diss.* I. 152sqg.) mention as Phinehas' successors his direct issue through several generations, namely Abiezer, Bukki, and Uzzi; after whom the succession passed, with Eli, into the line of Ithamar (comp. also *Joseph.* *Ant.* XX. x. 1): but this tradition rests on no other basis than the untrustworthy genealogies of Levi

in the first Book of Chronicles, where the following pedigree is given, without allusion to the High-priesthood — Eleazar, Phinehas, Abishua (אֲבִישׁוּא), the Ἀβελόφης of Josephus, i. e. אֲבִי עֲרִי, equivalent in meaning to אֲבִישׁוּא), Bukki, Uzzi, Zerabiah, Meraioth, Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok, Ahimaaz, Azariah, Johanan, etc. (1 Chr. V. 29—40; VI. 35—38). In Ezra VII. 1—5, Azariah is placed between Meraioth and Amariah (ver. 3). On the suspicious character of these lists see *Bohlen*, *Genes. Introduct.* p. CXXVII.

<sup>12</sup> *Jos. Ant.* V. xi. 5; VIII. i. 3; see the preceding note.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. II. 27—30.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Sam. I. 9; IV. 18.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Sam. XIV. 3.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Sam. XXII. 11, 12.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Sam. XXII. 20. Vatke (*l. c.* p. 344) believes Abiah to be the same person with Ahimelech. — On Zadok the son of Ahitub see *infra*. On the succession of the High-priests see also *Hertzfeld*.

## 628 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

Nob, seem to have been relatives.<sup>1</sup> In fact, "a man of God" is reported to have said to Eli, "Thus says the Lord, did I plainly appear to the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt in Pharaoh's house? And did I choose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be My priest, to offer upon My altar, to burn incense, to wear an ephod before Me? and did I give to the house of thy father all the offerings made by fire of the children of Israel?"<sup>2</sup> — which words not only imply an uninterrupted priesthood, hereditary in Aaron's family, from the time of the exodus, but also a regular sacrificial service with appointed functionaries. Levites were employed as priests for public worship,<sup>3</sup> and were preferred as ministers for private or domestic devotions, as is evident from the instance of Micah.<sup>4</sup> When, in the time of Samuel, the Ark was returned by the Philistines to Beth-shemesh, the Levites took charge of it and carried it;<sup>5</sup> for although that town was meant to be a priestly city,<sup>6</sup> the text distinguishes strictly between "Levites" and "inhabitants of Beth-shemesh."<sup>7</sup> The Levites took the Ark from the vehicle which the people broke into pieces for the sacrifice;<sup>8</sup> and though, at the subsequent removal of the Ark, the Levites are not again mentioned, they were usually entrusted with its transport by David<sup>9</sup> and Solomon;<sup>10</sup> yet, on extraordinary occasions, that office was confided to the *priests*, as at the passage of the Israelites over the Jordan under Joshua,<sup>11</sup> or at the siege and capture of Jericho,<sup>12</sup> or when the blessing and the curse were recited before Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim,<sup>13</sup> and of course at the completion of the Temple, when the Ark was finally deposited in the Holy of Holies, while the Levites carried the other implements of the Tabernacle.<sup>14</sup> It is probably too sceptical to suppose that these statements prove nothing else but that "in the age of David and Solomon, there was, besides the priests, a number of subordinate servants of the Sanctuary, whom the narrators designate with the name

l. c. pp. 368sqg.; Wieseler, Chronol. Synopse der Evangelien, p. 188; Ohler, in Herz. VI. 204—206; a. o.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. XXII. 11, 16, 18.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. II. 27, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Joel I. 9, 13; II. 17; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. XVII. 13; comp. also 1 Ki. XII. 31; XIII. 33, 34.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. VI. 15; comp., however, *infra*. The mention of the Levites has justly been pronounced a later and unskilful interpolation derived from a different relation or tradition (*De Wette, Beiträge*, I. 235; *Gramberg, Rel. Id.* I.

187, 189); whatever Hengstenberg (*Auth. des Pent.* II. 70—72) brings forward to prove the consistency of the narrative.

<sup>6</sup> Josh. XXI. 16; 1 Chr. VI. 44.

<sup>7</sup> Ver. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Sam. XV. 24; 1 Chr. XV. 2, 12, 14, 15, 27; comp. XXIII. 26.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Chr. V. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Josh. III. 3, 6, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17; IV. 9, 10, 16, 18.

<sup>12</sup> Josh. VI. 6, 12. <sup>13</sup> Josh. VIII. 33.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Ki. VIII. 3, 4, 6—11; 2 Chr. V. 6—7; comp. 1 Ki. II. 26.

of Levites," without thereby alluding to their descent:<sup>15</sup> it can hardly be doubted that the Levites mentioned in the history of the early kings, are the same who were later traced to Levi as their ancestor. David availed himself of the services of the priests Abiathar and Zadok in appealing to the elders of Judah.<sup>16</sup> Priests anointed kings, and were, on various occasions, prominently employed in political matters of importance.<sup>17</sup> Under David, 6,000 Levites were civil officers and judges.<sup>18</sup> When Jeroboam appointed priests from all sections of the people "that were not of the sons of Levi,"<sup>19</sup> the Levites emigrated from his dominions, and settled in the rival empire of Judah.<sup>20</sup> The king Jehoshaphat instituted a court of law composed of Levites, priests, and heads of families, and presided over by the High-priest; he appointed Levites to places in the public service,<sup>21</sup> and he sent priests and Levites to all the towns of Judah to instruct the people in the Law.<sup>22</sup> King Hezekiah availed himself of Levites for the execution of his reforms.<sup>23</sup> In the time of Shalmanassar priests taught the Assyrians who had settled in the territory of Israel.<sup>24</sup> The High-priest Hilkiah, in the reign of Josiah, had the control over the treasures of the Temple.<sup>25</sup> The priests were accustomed, during the period of their official duties, to abstain from sexual intercourse.<sup>26</sup> Tithes, firstlings, and other gifts were abundantly offered in the reign of the theocratic king Hezekiah and in the time of Nehemiah.<sup>27</sup>

2. But all these facts are very far from establishing the existence of a Levitical organisation like that described in the Pentateuch. They show indeed a growing influence of priests and Levites, and render their ultimate power intelligible; but it must be urged, that many of these facts and incidents belong to a very late period of Hebrew history, and that the greatest part of them is derived from the Books of Chronicles, an unreliable source compiled at a time when the Levites had attained their highest hierarchical authority, and written with the purpose of strengthening and glorifying it. It is this source alone which attributes to David the division of the priests into 24, and of the Levites into 4 classes, and which mentions, under Hezekiah, a complete distribution of offices and duties among the whole tribe.<sup>28</sup> We should not be justified in accepting these statements as historical, unless they

<sup>15</sup> *Fatke* l. c. pp. 348, 349.

<sup>16</sup> 2 Sam. XIX. 12.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Ki. I. 7, 39; etc.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Chr. XXIII. 4; comp. XXVI. 29; 2 Chr. XXXIV. 13.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Ki. XII. 31; comp. XIII. 33.

<sup>20</sup> 2 Chr. XI. 13, 14; see *infra*.

<sup>21</sup> 2 Chr. XIX. 8—11.

<sup>22</sup> 2 Chr. XVII. 7—9; comp. XXXV. 3, 15; Neh. VIII. 9—11.

<sup>23</sup> 2 Chr. XXX. 22.

<sup>24</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 27, 28; comp. Jer. XVIII. 18; Ezek. XLIV. 23, 24; Mal. II. 7.

<sup>25</sup> 2 Ki. XXII. 4.

<sup>26</sup> 1 Sam. XXI. 5. <sup>27</sup> See *supra* p. 623.

<sup>28</sup> 2 Chr. XXX. 12—17.

## 630 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

be confirmed or rendered probable by other and more reliable testimonies. But such confirmation is furnished from no source; on the contrary, we are able to point out, in the historical Books, many serious deviations from the Levitical Law. We do not lay much stress, for this purpose, upon discrepancies described and censured as unlawful by the historians themselves, as the reckless conduct of the sons of Eli, who took of the sacrifices cooked instead of raw meat, and demanded their portions before the fat and the fat parts had been burnt on the altar;<sup>1</sup> or upon the facts that David, the layman, partook of the shew-bread in a time of necessity and distress,<sup>2</sup> or that the Ark was, in exceptional cases, carried by the priests and not the Levites,<sup>3</sup> or that the rebellious Jeroboam appointed priests "of any class of the people who were not of the sons of Levi;"<sup>4</sup> nor do we attach much importance to the circumstance that thirteen priestly towns seem to be out of all proportion to the requirements of the priests, the sons of Eleazar and Ithamar, who at the time of the occupation of Canaan, could have hardly numbered more than a dozen souls,<sup>5</sup> since the priestly towns are introduced as a prospective arrangement, designed to meet the wants of a future age.<sup>6</sup> And it may be accidental that the long white linen robe, a chief garment of the common priests, which in the historical Books is always called *ephod* (עֵפֹד),<sup>7</sup> is in Exodus described by the name of *kethoneth* or *tunic*,<sup>8</sup> though if the former was indeed entirely identical with the latter, it might surprise us to find no allusion whatever to its peculiar "tesselated" workmanship.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. II. 12—17; see p. 36; comp. *Michaelis*, Mos. R. §52, l. p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. XXI. 4—7.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. III. 3, 6, 8, 13, 14, 17, etc.; see *supra* p. 628 note 11.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Ki. XII. 31; 2 Chr. XI. 13, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Kurtz*, Opfere. p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> It is hardly compatible with the spirit of the injunction to suppose that *one* priestly family only was intended to live in each priestly town (*Kurtz*, l. c.); if so, it would have been impossible to assign for it the whole district of 1,000 cubits all around the city, which would have been a measure of the greatest injustice to the other inhabitants. Though, therefore, Israelites also lived in those towns, the priests were supposed to form a considerable, if not the chief, portion of

the population. The same remarks apply to the Levitical towns, although, in this respect, the territorial provision is more in harmony with the numbers of the tribe. In order to explain how the single family of Aaron could perform all priestly functions for the whole nation, it has been supposed in ancient and modern times that many men were *adopted* as the sons of Aaron and thus rendered or deemed qualified — which is absolutely against the spirit of the Law.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. II. 18; XXII. 18; 2 Sam. VI. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Exod. XXVIII. 4; XXXIX. 27; comp. *עֵפֹד* Lev. VI. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *עֵפֹד*; see Comm. on Exod. p. 526. The *עֵפֹד* of the common priests is accurately distinguished from the *עֵפֹד*

3. But irrespective of these doubtful yet remarkable and questionable disagreements, there are others of an indisputable and more decided character.

The office of the *High-priest*, its peculiar nature and significance, belong to the most remarkable and specific features of the system of the Pentateuch. But in many respects, no trace of it is found elsewhere. For a long time, it was even without a special name; the High-priest was simply called "the priest" (הַכֹּהֵן);<sup>10</sup> the appellations "the anointed priest" or "the great" or "chief priest" were adopted at later epochs when the hierarchy was systematically regulated, and the various functions distinctly fixed. The elder prophets never mention the term High-priest. Jehoiadah who saved and concealed Joash, and secured for him the throne, was certainly a priest of particular and exceptional authority, though he is never called High-priest;<sup>11</sup> mentioned as such (הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל) is first that Hilkiah who became so famous by the discovery of the Book of the Law.<sup>12</sup> In several periods, we find two chief priests, evidently endowed with equal authority; so in the time of David and Solomon, Zadok and Abiathar,<sup>13</sup> or Zadok and Abimelech,<sup>14</sup> one of the line of Eleazar and one of that of Ithamar;<sup>15</sup> whereas, according to the very nature of the dignity, the High-priesthood could be held by *one* individual only at a time; and one only was ordained and is invariably alluded to in the Pentateuch.<sup>16</sup>

of the High-priest (1 Sam. II. 28; XIV. 3; XXIII. 9; XXX. 7), which seems to have been, from early times, a characteristic vestment of the chief priest, though we have no means of ascertaining whether it corresponded entirely with the כִּתְרוֹן so carefully described in Exodus (XXVIII. 6—12). In the time of Agrippa II, those Levites who officiated as musicians, prevailed upon the king to allow them also to wear linen garments, like the priests, which innovation, as Josephus (Antiqq. XX. ix. 6) correctly observes, was contrary to the laws of the country, and which he considered as one of the transgressions certain to call down Divine punishment (see *supra* p. 587). — On the other hand, Judas called Aristobulus, who was also king, was the first High-priest who wore a diadem, on which account, as Josephus observes, "he died of a sore disorder" (*Jos. Ant.* XX. x. 1).

<sup>10</sup> Exod. XXIX. 30; Lev. XXI. 21; Josh. XIV. 1; etc.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. 2 Ki. XII. 8, "king Joash called לִדְמוּת הַכֹּהֵן וְלִכְרֹתֵי."

<sup>12</sup> 2 Ki. XXII. 4. See p. 35. Hence we must accede to Vatke's remark, "It is improbable and almost positively disproved by historical analogies, that a High-priest with his ephod for oracles existed already in the period of the Judges" (*Rel. des A. T. I.* 267; comp. p. 269).

<sup>13</sup> 2 Sam. XV. 24—29, 35; XVII. 15; XIX. 12; XX. 25; 1 Chr. XV. 11; 1 Ki. IV. 4.

<sup>14</sup> 2 Sam. VIII. 17; 1 Chr. XXIV. 3, 6, 31. In 1 Chr. XVIII. 16, *Abimelech* occurs for *Abimelech*. Nearly all these passages prove, that they were the chief *public* priests, not private or domestic priests of the two kings.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Chr. XXIV. 3, 6.

<sup>16</sup> Exod. XXIX. 30; Lev. IV. 2, 5.

## 632 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

4. In a similar manner, the High-priesthood as instituted in the Pentateuch, was necessarily held for life, and could be lost by death alone;<sup>1</sup> for the spirit of God had, by the sacred anointment, been poured out upon the holy representative of the people.<sup>2</sup> But we find that, for a long time, the High-priest was under the control of the secular, and especially royal power; he could be removed if disliked or objected to, and especially if his political views were opposed to the king's party. Ahimelech, though animated by the most scrupulous loyalty towards Saul, was with his whole house mercilessly massacred, because he had assisted David in his flight.<sup>3</sup> Solomon deposed the High-priest Abiathar, and appointed Zadok in his stead.<sup>4</sup>

5. It was evidently the intention of the Law that the father should be followed in the High-priesthood, if not by his firstborn son,<sup>5</sup> at least by one of his sons, in regular succession. It is observed, in reference to Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, "He and his seed after him shall have the covenant of an everlasting priesthood."<sup>6</sup> But supposed even that the office was preserved in the line of Eleazar up to the time of Eli,<sup>7</sup> it is admitted on all hands that, with Eli, it passed into the branch of Ithamar. Now follow indeed some of Eli's descendants, Ahiah, Ahimelech and Abiathar;<sup>8</sup> but then the line breaks off and begins anew with Zadok the son of Ahitub,<sup>9</sup> the ancestor of the chief priesthood in the Temple.<sup>10</sup> That Ahitub, the father of Zadok, is not identical with Ahitub, the father of Ahiah and Ahimelech, is unquestionable from historical statements. The whole family of Eli was for ever to be excluded from the chief priesthood on account of the iniquity of his sons, though some were, to their own vexation, always to be employed for poor and paltry offices.<sup>11</sup> This prediction was realised first by the death of Eli's sons Hophni and Phinehas;<sup>12</sup> then by the slaughter of

16; VI. 15; VIII. 7—9; XXI. 10; Num. XXXV. 25, 28; see *supra* pp. 574-576.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Num. XXXV. 25, 28; as was the case in Rome and elsewhere, though the slightest oversight in the ritual observances caused the forfeiture of the office; in other places, as at Hierapolis, a new High-priest was appointed every year (*Lucian, Syr. Dea* c. 42; comp. *Plat. Legg.* VI. 7, p. 759 D.). <sup>2</sup> See p. 577.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. XXII. 9—19.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Ki. II. 26, 35. That the dignity was annual, cannot be concluded from the passage of the Talmud (*Yom.*

9a) above adverted to (p. 576), as this speaks of shortlived High-priests dying early on account of their wickedness (צא חזק כל אחר ואחר לא רוציא) (שנא); see also *Olthou. Lex. Rabb.* pp. 618, 619. <sup>5</sup> *Talm. Yom.* 72b.

<sup>6</sup> בריית כהנת עולם, Num. XXV. 13; comp. 1 Sam. II. 35.

<sup>7</sup> See *supra* p. 628. <sup>8</sup> See *supra* p. 627.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Sam. VIII. 17; XV. 24, 29, 35, 36; XVII. 15; XIX. 12; 1 Chr. XXIV. 3, 6; comp. Ezra VII. 1—5.

<sup>10</sup> Ezek. XL. 46; XLIII. 19; XLIV. 15.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Sam. II. 31—33, 36.

<sup>12</sup> Ver. 34; IV. 11.



the whole house of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub, numbering eighty-five persons, when Abiathar alone, a son of Ahimelech, escaped, but no Zadok;<sup>13</sup> and lastly by the degrading removal of Abiathar, that last scion of Eli's house, when, as the historian expressly remarks, "the word was fulfilled which the Lord had spoken concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh,"<sup>14</sup> and when, in Abiathar's place, Zadok was installed,<sup>15</sup> who was, therefore, manifestly that "faithful priest" (כֹּהֵן נָאֵמָן), whom, according to the same prophecy, God selected irrespectively of birth and succession, solely from merit, for ever to perpetuate the holy dignity during the reign of His anointed kings, because he acted in obedience to His will.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the chief priests of the Temple occupied their offices not by right of uninterrupted or hereditary succession: and they did not accord with the requirements ordained by the Pentateuch.<sup>17</sup>

6. The Levites did not, during the whole of the historical time, live exclusively in the towns assigned to them in the Pentateuch, but in any part of the country. A Levite had, in the period of the Judges, resided in Beth-lehem in Judah; but desirous of change, evidently on account of poverty and want, he "departed out of the city from Beth-lehem Judah to sojourn wherever he could find a place;"<sup>18</sup> he settled, for a time, in mount Ephraim, till he was happy to follow the Danites northward, and to remain with them in the ancient town Laish.<sup>19</sup> Another Levite is related to have lived "on the side of mount Ephraim."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. XXII. 11—20.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Ki. II. 26, 27.

<sup>15</sup> Ver. 35.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Sam. II. 30, 35. This "faithful priest" is therefore not Samuel, as many infer from passages like 1 Sam. VII. 3, 4; IX. 12, 13; the sons of Zadok were by Ezekiel also appointed as priests (see p. 632 note 10; comp. Ezra VII. 2). Vatke (l. c. I. 344, 345, 349), who has developed this subject with great acumen (comp. also *Selden*, De Success. in Pontif. Lib. I. c. 4), justly remarks, "If Zadok had been one of Eli's descendants, the prophecy (in 1 Sam. II. 27—36) could not possibly have been framed"; though he probably goes too far in asserting that, as the Books of Samuel know of no other descendants of Aaron but the house of Eli, and Zadok belonged to neither, the line of priests that served at the

Temple were not of the progeny of Aaron: that Eli's house is meant to be identical with Aaron's house, cannot with safety be inferred from a poetical and rhetorical passage (1 Sam. II. 27, 28, 30); the terms "thy house and the house of thy father" (ver. 30) well admit the existence of a lateral line of Aaron's race, after the exclusion or extirpation of Eli's progeny, just as Eli himself was probably not the direct descendant of Aaron through Eleazar. For how could else the supreme claims of Aaron's house to the priesthood have been raised in later times? But the tracing of Zadok to Eleazar by the Chronist (1 Chr. VI. 35—38) is fictitious (see *supra*).

<sup>17</sup> Jos. Ant. V. xi. 5.

<sup>18</sup> לְנוֹר כֹּהֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל, Judg. XVII. 7, 8.

<sup>19</sup> Judg. XVIII. 20, 30, 31.

<sup>20</sup> Judg. XX. 1.



## 634 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

Elkanah, the Levite,<sup>1</sup> resided in Ramathaim-Zophim, in Ephraim;<sup>2</sup> and priests settled in Nob which was hence called "a town of priests" (עִיר הַכֹּהֲנִים), and where they established a regular worship.<sup>3</sup> Some have indeed attempted to prove that, down to the time of Rehoboam and Jeroboam, the "majority" of the Levites lived in the towns set apart for them;<sup>4</sup> but the arguments are unsafe, being derived from statements of the Chronist.<sup>5</sup> The same source has supplied equally untenable pleas for explaining the helplessness of the tribe; for it contends that the Levites who, in Jeroboam's time, resided in the empire of Ephraim, in order to escape from that king's idolatrous measures, emigrated and repaired to Judah;<sup>6</sup> but as they could not be accommodated in the thirteen priestly towns of the kingdom, they were compelled to wander about homeless in search of abodes, and were, therefore, recommended to the charity and pity of the pious.<sup>7</sup> We will not even urge that the older account relates nothing of such an emigration;<sup>8</sup> that, on the contrary, it speaks of god-fearing and learned priests of Jehovah in the empire of Ephraim.<sup>9</sup> If the law in Numbers with regard to the Levitical towns and their surrounding districts had existed, it would have been a sacred duty of the government and the people, adequately to provide for the holy representatives of God, to assign to them fixed dwellings, and to secure to them in their new homes those privileges which, from devotion to the true faith, they had so magnanimously abandoned. There is, moreover, no trace of Levitical towns after the exile, in the arrangements of Ezra and Nehemiah; it is, on the contrary, stated, that Jews, priests, Levites, and servants of the Temple lived together in Jerusalem and the other cities of Judah, "every one in his inheritance."<sup>10</sup>

7. Again, the list of the priestly and Levitical towns contained in the Book of Joshua differs materially from that furnished by the Chronist.<sup>11</sup> The latter, though correctly stating the aggregate number of towns assigned to each branch of the tribe,<sup>12</sup> enumerates only 42 out

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chr. VI. 12, 13, 18, 19; see *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. also 1 Sam. VI. 15, where *Levites* are mentioned as dwelling in the *priestly* town Beth-shemesh.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. XXI. 1—10; XXII. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Riehm*, Gesetzgeb. Mos. etc. p. 93; the traditional and questionable view is also repeated by *Ewald*, Gesch. II. 305—307; *Alterth.* p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Chr. XIII. 2; 2 Chr. XI. 14; XIII. 9 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> 2 Chr. XI. 13—15.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *De Wette*, Archäol. § 227.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Ki. XII. 31; XIII. 33.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Ki. XVII. 27, 28.

<sup>10</sup> Neh. XI. 3, 10—14, 18, 20, 22, 36; 1 Chr. IX. 10—13; comp. Deut. XVIII. 6—8. From Ezra II. 70; Neh. VII. 73; XI. 3, it cannot be concluded that the priests and Levites lived in the towns assigned to them in the Pentateuch; so, *l. i.*, *De Wette*, Archäol. § 240.

<sup>11</sup> Josh. XXI. 2—42; 1 Chr. VI. 40—66.

<sup>12</sup> Viz. 13 to the Aaronites in Judah and Benjamin; 10 to the other Kohath-

of the 48 cities, evidently because he was unable to supply a complete list; but if the towns had really been set apart for so specific a purpose from early times, it would have been an easy matter for any writer to obtain the necessary information. Again, the two lists have but 26 names in common, that is, little more than one half of the whole;<sup>13</sup> 5 are slightly different, and may be accounted for by a deviating orthography or by provincial and dialectic shades;<sup>14</sup> the rest are utterly discrepant;<sup>15</sup> this is the more surprising as the list in the Book of Chronicles does not, as might perhaps be conjectured, refer to a later time or a second distribution, but to the very same early period of Hebrew history related in the Book of Joshua:<sup>16</sup> circumstances which must prove to every unbiassed critic that, as we have above shown from other arguments, the injunction regarding the Levitical towns was never carried out and remained a pious wish of the priestly order.<sup>17</sup> Indeed even Ezekiel in his freely created institutions introduces no priestly towns; according to his arrangements, all the priests live round the Sanctuary, as their functions indeed demanded; he there assigns to

ites in Ephraim, Dan, and western Manasseh; 13 to the Gershonites in eastern Manasseh, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali; and 12 to the Merarites in Zebulun, Reuben, and Gad.

<sup>13</sup> Viz. Hebron, Libnah, Jattir, Esh-temoa, Debir, and Beth-shemesh in Judah; Geba and Anathoth in Benjamin; Shechem, Gezer, and Beth-horon in Ephraim; Aijalon and Gath-rimmon in Dan; Golan in eastern Manasseh; Dobrath in Issachar; Abdon in Asher; Kedesh in Naphtali; Bezer, Jahazah, Kedemoth, and Mephaath in Reuben; Ramoth Gilead, Mahanaim, Heshbon and Jazer in Gad; and Jokneam, which the Chronist, however, writing Jokmeam places in Ephraim, while the Book of Joshua mentions it in Zebulun.

<sup>14</sup> The Chronist has חֵילָן for חֵילָן in Judah; עֵלְתָן for עֵלְתָן in Benjamin; עֵלְתָן for עֵלְתָן in eastern Manasseh; עֵלְתָן for עֵלְתָן in Asher; עֵלְתָן for עֵלְתָן, and עֵלְתָן for עֵלְתָן in Naphtali.

<sup>15</sup> So the Chronist has Ashon instead of Ain and Jutlah in Judah; Jokmeam for Kibzaim in Ephraim; Aner and Bileam for Tanach and Gath-rimmon

in western Manasseh; Kedesh, Ramoth, and Anem for Kishon, Jarmuth, and En-gannim in Issachar; Hukok for Helkath and Rahob in Asher; Rimmon and Tabor for Jokneam, Kartah, Dimnah, and Nahalal in Zebulun: it omits, besides, Gibeon in Benjamin, and Ettekeh and Gibbethon in Dan.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. 1 Chr. vi. 39—41. "The reason that Ezra, the presumed author of the Books of Chronicles, states the greatest part of the Levitical towns differently from Joshua, is that he found deviating documents" (*Spinoza*, Tract. Theol-pol. X. 40).

<sup>17</sup> Not unjustly, therefore, has it been called by Bohlen (*Genes.* p. 457) "merely a hierarchical demand"; by George (*Jüd. Feste*, p. 57) "a demand which perhaps was never realised"; and by Vatke (l. c. 217, 222) "a later fiction" which "the Book of Joshua endeavours to introduce into history, and which did not arise before the Babylonian exile"; and Gramberg (*Rel. Id.* I. 238) observes, "In the aerial and unreal sphere of fancy we believe we are entitled to place the account regarding the Levitical towns."

them a space of 25,000 yards in length and 10,000 yards in breadth, and there orders their houses to be built.<sup>1</sup>

8. The Levites were, according to the regulations of the Pentateuch, to serve from the 30th or 25th to the 50th year of their lives;<sup>2</sup> but David is related to have fixed the time of admission at 20 years;<sup>3</sup> the same rule obtained in the time of Hezekiah<sup>4</sup> and after the return from exile under Zerubbabel<sup>5</sup> — a disagreement which places the fluctuations on the same subject within the Pentateuch itself into a still stronger light. The Chronist<sup>6</sup> accounts for the modification under David by urging that, from his time, the Levites had no longer to carry the Tabernacle and its vessels, and this has, by apologetic writers, been described as a "spiritual" interpretation of the Law, since "a longer but easier service is equivalent to a shorter but heavier one."<sup>7</sup> But it is impossible to see why men of 20 years were not as well qualified to bear the utensils as men of 25.<sup>8</sup> There evidently existed no decided and uniform practice at all; and legislators and historians stated the age either in accordance with the general custom of their time, or they attempted to fix one in harmony with their particular views regarding the character and functions of the Levites.

9. Among minor discrepancies we shall only advert to the following. When the Philistines brought back the Ark of the Covenant to Beth-shemesh, we are told, that the people of this town "lifted up their eyes, and saw the Ark and rejoiced to see it";<sup>9</sup> this sacred implement was, therefore, exposed to view, and not wrapped up, as is commanded in Numbers;<sup>10</sup> And for this reason, the town was visited by a fearful plague which carried off upwards of 50,000 souls, "because they had looked upon the Ark of the Lord."<sup>11</sup> Now, it is further related, "The Levites took down the Ark of the Lord";<sup>12</sup> they could, therefore, not help seeing it; but this is plainly against the law of the Pentateuch, which, for such offence, threatens quick and inevitable destruction not only to the Levites, but also to the priests whose duty it was to watch jealously over their sacred privileges.<sup>13</sup> But the narrative alludes to no such punishment. The people suffered, but the Levites escaped. Thus

and we have not the confidence to speak of them seriously as of real things."

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. XLV. 3—5; XLVIII. 10—14.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 602. <sup>3</sup> 1 Chr. XXIII. 24, 27.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chr. XXXI. 17. <sup>5</sup> Ezra III. 8.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Chr. XXIII. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Hengstenb. Auth. II. 394.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *supra* p. 603.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Sam. VI. 13. <sup>10</sup> Num. IV. 5, 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ver. 19. כִּי רָאוּ בְּאֵינֶן יְהוָה; it is incorrect to translate, as the Engl. Vers. does, "because they had looked *into* the Ark"; for the verb רָאוּ is construed with the accusative and with <sup>2</sup> alike; compare l. c. ver. 13, וַיֵּרֶא וַיִּתְּנֵם; see Gen. XXXIV. 1; Judg. XVI. 27; etc. <sup>12</sup> Ver. 15, גִּלְיָדִים.

<sup>13</sup> Num. IV. 15, 20; see p. 583.

another proof confirms the view that, in earlier times, the strict distinction between priests and Levites established by the Pentateuch did not exist.<sup>14</sup>

When king Hezekiah was severely pressed by Sennacherib, he sent to Isaiah, besides other high officials, also the "elders of the priests" (וקני הכהנים) in mourning attire, "covered with sackcloth", with the request that he should pray for the welfare of the land;<sup>15</sup> but all marks of mourning were by the Pentateuch forbidden to the priests except for the nearest relatives, and to the High-priest even for these.<sup>16</sup> — The same king went himself into the Temple with the menacing letter he had received from the king of Assyria, and "spread it before the Lord", and there prayed "before the Lord."<sup>17</sup>

10. The historical Books offer a very considerable number of instances of non-Levites performing the functions rigidly reserved for Levites or priests, and not to be undertaken by others under penalty of excision. The following are some of the principal incidents.

Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, offered sacrifices at Ophrah;<sup>18</sup> Manoah, of the tribe of Dan, at Zareah.<sup>19</sup> Micah, a man of mount Ephraim, appointed one of his sons as priest for his domestic sanctuary, evidently without any particular solemnity.<sup>20</sup> The inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim "sanctified" (קדשו) Eleazar, the son of Abinadab, the Israelite, to keep the Ark of the Covenant which remained under similar charge "a long time", at least twenty years.<sup>21</sup> Samuel, the Levite, and not one of the priests who were supposed to have accompanied the army, offered the sacrifice before the encounter of the Hebrews with the Philistines;<sup>22</sup> and on a later occasion, Saul performed the same rite, though on this account severely reprimanded by Samuel.<sup>23</sup> The latter, according to the laws of the Pentateuch equally disqualified,

<sup>14</sup> The older prophets mention indeed priests only and not Levites (Joel I. 9, 13; II. 17; Isai. XXVIII. 7; Mic. III. 11); and the former terms refer chiefly to the dignity and the office, the latter to descent; both might, therefore, be applied to the same class of men.

<sup>15</sup> 2 Ki. XIX. 2. <sup>16</sup> See *supra*, p. 574.

<sup>17</sup> 2 Ki. XIX. 14, 15; comp., however, XXIII. 2, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Judg. VI. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Judg. XIII. 19, 20.

<sup>20</sup> Judg. XVII. 5. — Jonathan whom Micah hired afterwards for his priest, is indeed in one account represented as Levite (Judg. XVII. 7, 9, 13), but in another, as an Israelite, "Jonathan, the

son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh" (XVIII. 30).

<sup>21</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 1, 2; see pp. 29, 30. It has indeed been contended that Abinadab was a Levite, but there is no proof or foundation whatever for such assertion; moreover an *Aaronite* would have been required for attending to the Ark. On the contrary, Kirjath-jearim seems to have been an old centre of the worship of Baal, as is proved by its ancient names  $\text{קִרְיַת בַּעַל}$  and  $\text{קִרְיַת גִּיזְרִין}$  (Josh. XV. 9, 60).

<sup>22</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 9, 10.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Sam. XIII. 9—14.

## 638 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

since he was certainly no Aaronite,<sup>1</sup> supposed even that his duties at the Sanctuary in Shiloh under the direction of Eli did not exceed the strictly Levitical functions,<sup>2</sup> built an altar at Ramah, his ordinary residence;<sup>3</sup> he "blessed the sacrifices" presented by the people;<sup>4</sup> and he offered a heifer in the house of Jesse.<sup>5</sup> Saul and David consulted the Ark<sup>6</sup> and the Urim and Thummim,<sup>7</sup> though possibly under the direction of a priest.<sup>8</sup> When transferring the Ark from the house of Obed-Edom in Gath to Jerusalem, David, dressed in the linen ephod, presented holocausts and thank-offerings, and blessed the people in the name of God;<sup>9</sup> and he sacrificed again, at the time of the pestilence, on the threshing-floor of Araunah.<sup>10</sup> David's sons, and Zabud the son of the prophet Nathan, were priests (כֹּהֲנִים).<sup>11</sup> Ahitophel performed

<sup>1</sup> See Comm. on Genes. p. 737 note 23. <sup>2</sup> Comp., however, 1 Sam. III. 3.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 17. <sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. IX. 12, 13.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. XVI. 2, 5. — But the term *priest* (כֹּהֵן) in 1 Sam. II. 35, does not refer to Samuel, but to Zadok the son of Ahitub (see *supra*). Even Öhler (in Herz. VIII. 354) repeats the long exploded pleas derived from "the extraordinary character of that time, when by the removal of the Ark the legal sacrificial order was destroyed, and from the prophetic avocation of Samuel"; and similarly Plumptre (l. c. II. 922) "his training under Eli, his Nazarite life, his prophetic office, were regarded apparently as a special consecration" (comp. l. c. p. 104). The view of Thenius (Exeget. Handb., on 1 Sam. VII. 5, p. 26) that Samuel intended to introduce a more liberal worship of Jehovah, and therefore designedly made opposition to the traditional priesthood, is an unwarranted conjecture.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. XIV. 37; XXIII. 2.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. XXVIII. 6.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Sam. XIV. 36; comp. 1 Sam. XXIII. 9; XXX. 7.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Sam. VI. 14, 17, 18.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Sam. XXIV. 25.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Sam. VIII. 18; 1 Ki. IV. 5; but 1 Chr. XVIII. 17 has instead of כֹּהֲנִים the words לֵד הַמֶּלֶךְ the

*first at the king's hand* (Engl. Vers. *chief about the king*), see also 2 Sam. XX. 26; comp. Gesen. Thes. pp. 663, 664; *De Wette*, Einleit. p. 273. The Vulgate and Luther have in both passages correctly *sacerdotes*, Targ. כֹּהֲנֵי, Kimchi כֹּהֲנֵי, Sept. in one passage evasively *ἐκκλησιασται*, in the other *ἐκκλησιασται*, and the English Vers. in the one *chief rulers*, in the other *principal officer*. It is needless to adduce the unsuccessful apologetic attempts of Keil (Über die Chron. p. 346), Movers (Über die Chron. p. 302), Saalschütz (Mos. R. I. 108, who seriously quotes the Chronist as a trustworthy and decisive witness), Öhler (in Herz. VIII. 15, who believes that the state officials were invested with a character kindred to the priesthood); Ewald (Alterth. p. 276, who observes that the ordinary law was suspended in favour of members of the royal house), Plumptre (l. c. II. 915, "David and his sons were admitted not to distinctively priestly acts . . . but to an honorary, titular priesthood", and "the house and lineage of David had a kind of quasi-sacerdotal character"), and others. Vatke (l. c. p. 346) remarks, "These priests are, on the rolls of the royal officers, separated from the proper priests, and Zabud is called the friend, that is, the adviser of the king (1 Ki.

the sacrifices in his native town Giloh.<sup>12</sup> Solomon offered a thousand holocausts on the great height at Gibeon;<sup>13</sup> later he presented holocausts and thank-offerings before the Ark at Jerusalem;<sup>14</sup> he himself, though priests were present and assisted him,<sup>15</sup> consecrated the Temple, sacrificed, blessed the people, and prayed in their name;<sup>16</sup> and then three times every year he offered sacrifices and burnt incense in the Temple.<sup>17</sup> The pious king Uzziah (B. C. 811 to 759) did not hesitate to do the same.<sup>18</sup> Ahaz offered sacrifices and libations on the new altar which he caused to be constructed on a model sent from Damascus.<sup>19</sup> But on the other hand, we find priests employed in warfare. Abiathar was one of David's zealous followers at the time of his earlier adventures. More than 8,000 armed Levites and priests were, according to the Chronist, among his supporters in his war for the royalty over Israel.<sup>20</sup> Zadok was in his youth a valiant hero.<sup>21</sup> His son Ahimaaz, who took an active interest in the struggles of his time, was chiefly distinguished by swiftness and resolute action.<sup>22</sup> Benaiah, the son of the priest Jehoiada, was a captain of the royal guard and a general in the reign of David and Solomon.<sup>23</sup> Azariah, the son of the chief priest Zadok, was, by the latter sovereign, appointed to a political office.<sup>24</sup> The priest Jehoiada directed the revolt which caused the downfall and death of Athaliah, and the elevation and accession of Joash.<sup>25</sup> The same military spirit and genius were preserved in the tribe of Levi, shone with greatest lustre in the later periods of Hebrew history, and were rendered famous by the patriotic and brilliant exploits of the priestly Maccabees and the adroit manoeuvres of the priest Josephus.<sup>26</sup>

IV. 5), whence we may infer that upon them chiefly devolved the duty of consulting the oracle": which is not impossible, but does not follow from Judg. XVII. 5. <sup>12</sup> 2 Sam. XV. 12.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Ki. III. 2—4; comp., however, 2 Chr. I. 3, 13; see Comm. on Gen. p. 740. <sup>14</sup> 1 Ki. III. 15.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Ki. VIII. 3—6, 10, 11.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Ki. VIII. 5—66.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Ki. IX. 25; comp. XIX. 21. That these sacrifices took place on the three great *Mosaic* festivals, is an addition of the Chronist (2 Chr. VIII. 12, 13). The remark of George (Jüd. Feste p. 58), that the allusion to kings who sacrificed means only that they presented the offerings, while the religious functions were performed by priests,

is hardly worthy of his usual clearness and decision of interpretation.

<sup>18</sup> 2 Chr. XXVI. 16—21.

<sup>19</sup> 2 Ki. XVI. 12, 13; see pp. 34, 35.

<sup>20</sup> 1 Chr. XII. 26—28; comp. 2 Chr. XX. 21, 22; see also XIII. 12.

<sup>21</sup> 1 Chr. XII. 28, נָבוֹר דָּוִד; comp. 1 Chr. XXVI. 6—8; 2 Chr. XXVI. 17.

<sup>22</sup> 2 Sam. XVIII. 19 *seq.*

<sup>23</sup> 1 Chr. XXVII. 5; 1 Ki. II. 25, 35; IV. 4; comp. 2 Sam. VIII. 18; XX. 23.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Ki. IV. 2, 4; comp. II. 35.

<sup>25</sup> 2 Ki. XI; 2 Chr. XXIII; comp. also XIII. 12, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Comp. 2 Macc. VIII. 1. See, in general, Comm. on Gen. pp. 735, 737—740. Some of the facts here adduced are represented in a different light by Stanley (Lectures on the History of



In fact, all the Levitical ordinances of the Pentateuch are so continually contravened, almost during the whole period from Joshua down to the completion of the Temple and considerably beyond it, that their existence during this time cannot be admitted.<sup>1</sup> The discrepancies prove irrefutably that the priesthood was then freely permitted to all Israelites, especially such as were distinguished by birth or social position.

We now proceed, lastly, to attempt

## V. A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE ORDER OF PRIESTHOOD AMONG THE HEBREWS.

1. At first, and as long as primitive customs prevailed among the Hebrews, the head of each family performed the sacerdotal functions. This was the more easily feasible because religious acts and rituals were then of the simplest and plainest nature.<sup>2</sup> Such practice is recorded in the history of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who, wherever an occasion required it, built altars, offered sacrifices, and directed purifications for themselves and their households.<sup>3</sup> It is related in the narrative of the exodus of their descendants from Egypt, when the chief of every house performed all the rites connected with the paschal sacrifice.<sup>4</sup> It is stated with regard to the "young men of the children of Israel",<sup>5</sup> who assisted Moses in the ceremonies of the covenant concluded between God and the people after the proclamation of the fundamental laws,<sup>6</sup> whether they were the firstborn<sup>7</sup> or any of

the Jewish Church, II. 407—410), based on Ewald (*Alterthümer*, pp. 292sqg.), who, for instance, remarks that "the priestly exclusiveness of the tribe of Levi was, in earlier centuries, by no means so decided as not to be broken through at the extreme points" (p. 276), and he calls these exceptions "minor fluctuations" (p. 277). On the deviations of the later times, after the promulgation of the Pentateuch, see *infra* Sect. V.

<sup>1</sup> It must, therefore, be disputed that "the practice of the post-Mosaic times coincides, in many respects, with the younger regulations of the Law" (*Knobel*, *Levit.* p. 422); exact coincidences are rare and exceptional.

<sup>2</sup> It needs hardly to be observed that the chiefs were not regular priests

in the proper sense of the word; nor does this follow from Num. VIII. 14—18 (comp. *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Gen. XII. 7, 8; XIII. 18; XXI. 33; XXVI. 25; XXXI. 54; XXXIII. 20; XXXV. 1—4; XLVI. 1; comp. IV. 3, 4; VIII. 20; see pp. 15—17.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. XII. 7, 22; comp. also III. 13; V. 3; X. 25.

<sup>5</sup> נערי בני ישראל.

<sup>6</sup> Exod. XXIV. 5, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Targ. Onk. and Jonath., Saad., Rashi, Pera. in loc.; comp. *Mishn. Zevach.* XIV. 4 (עד שלא הוקם המשכן) (היו הבמות שותרות ועבודה בבכורות), Targ. Onk., Jonath., and Jerus. in Genes. XLIX. 3 (Reuben ought to have received the rights of primogeniture, the priesthood, and the rulership); *Hieron. Quaest.* in Gen. XVIII; *Epist.* 126 ad



the sons deemed most fit for the task and appointed by the father.<sup>9</sup> It is recorded with regard to Jesse,<sup>9</sup> Ahitophel,<sup>10</sup> and others.<sup>11</sup> Long before the installation of the Levites into their clerical offices we find mention of "priests who come near the Lord",<sup>12</sup> who manifestly belonged to all tribes of Israel alike, and were probably not all firstborn.<sup>13</sup> Thus the Ephraimite Joshua remained constantly in the tent of Moses which served as the "Tent of Meeting" (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד), ministered to him,<sup>14</sup> and accompanied him even on Mount Sinai,<sup>15</sup> while Aaron stayed in the camp with the Israelites.<sup>16</sup> Even the services of women were permitted.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the priestly dignity was combined with that of military leadership and royalty, and generals and kings were commonly also supreme judges, as Gideon and Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon.<sup>18</sup> The Hebrews shared these practices with most of the other ancient nations. Thus Melchizedek, king of Salem, was High-priest,<sup>19</sup> and was, therefore, later regarded by the Jews as the type of the Messiah, by the Christians as the type of Christ.<sup>20</sup> Jethro, the Midianite, was both emir and priest.<sup>21</sup>

Evagr.; comp. Exod. XXII. 28, בְּכֹר בִּנְךָ חֹהֵלִי.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Judg. XVII. 5; also Exod. XXIV. 11, אֲצִילֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, see Comm. on Exod. p. 472. Ewald (Alterth. p. 272) understands, without probability, "younger and innocent boys", a meaning which is certainly not required by the word נָעַר, see Comm. on Genes. p. 436. <sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. XX. 6.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Sam. XV. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Job I. 5; XLII. 8 (for the Book of Job, though composed at a late period, describes patriarchal life and manners); Gen. VIII. 20; etc.; see p. 28.

<sup>13</sup> הַכֹּהֲנִים רַגְלָיִם אֵלֶיךָ, Exod. XIX. 22, 24.

<sup>14</sup> Jewish expositors consider them as such (comp. *Talm. Zevach.* 115; Rashi and Ebn Ezra on Exod. I. c.). See Comm. on Exod. p. 338. Ewald (l. c.) says justly, "Not all feel themselves equally fit, nor are all equally worthy to perform the sacrifices properly; therefore there were priests long before the Levites" (comp. also *Bochart, Hieroz.* I. ii. 50, pp. 575, 576; *Vitrings, Obs. sacr. L.* II. c. 2, pp. 268—283; *Outram, De Sacrif.* pp. 42—47; *Bauer, Gottesd.*

*Verf.* II. 284, 285, 302—304; *Gramberg, Relig. Id.* I. 6; *Bohlen, Genes. Einleit.* § 16). That the firstborn were originally indeed the priests follows not only from the statement that they belonged to God, but that they were replaced by the Levites (p. 582).

<sup>14</sup> Exod. XXXIII. 7, 11.

<sup>15</sup> Exod. XXIV. 13.

<sup>16</sup> Comp., however, Exod. XIX. 24; XXIV. 1. <sup>17</sup> See *supra* p. 573.

<sup>18</sup> See p. 639. Hence the truth and value of the following remark will be estimated: "In the reigns of David and Solomon the priestly order broke its strict hereditary bounds; some of its highest functions, those of sacrifice and benediction, were performed by two powerful kings, who united in their persons to a degree unknown before, the royal and sacerdotal offices" (*Stanley, Jewish Church*, II. 422), which is virtually a reversal of historic facts.

<sup>19</sup> Gen. XIV. 18; Ps. CX. 4.

<sup>20</sup> Hebr. VI. 20; VII. 1—3; see pp. 150—153.

<sup>21</sup> Exod. II. 16; III. 1; XVIII. 1, 12, where Targ. Onkel. renders אֱלֹהֵיךָ by אֱלֹהֵי מִצְרָיִם; see Comm. on Exod. p. 319.

## 642 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

In the heroic times, the Greek kings were at once military leaders, judges, and pontiffs.<sup>1</sup> The same was the case with the Italic and Roman princes and kings, and later with the emperors.<sup>2</sup> In the time of the Republic, the functions that had been discharged by the king, passed to the *rex sacrorum*: the name was designed to recall the primitive arrangement, although the "rex" was wholly stripped of political power, excluded from all offices of state, and elected by the colleges of pontiffs and augurs.<sup>3</sup>

2. These customs were, on the whole, preserved up to the early period of the Hebrew monarchy.<sup>4</sup> But there lived, scattered throughout the territory of the commonwealth, the tribe of Levi, weakened by temerity and execrated for cruelty, without social influence and territorial possession, unsettled, roaming, and helpless. This was still the position of the Levites not only in the later part of the period of the Judges, when, unable to punish the Benjamites for a brutal crime, they were obliged to invoke the aid of all the other tribes;<sup>5</sup> but it was their condition in the earlier time of the divided empire as depicted in the last address of Jacob, "Simeon and Levi are brethren; an instrument of violence is their burning rage, into their council my soul shall not come; in their assembly my glory shall not join: for in their anger they slew men, and in their self-will they hamstrung oxen. Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce, and their wrath, for it is cruel: I will disperse them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Aristot.* Polit. III. 10, στρατηγός γάρ ἦν καὶ δικαστής ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος; comp. VI. 5; etc.; see *Schömann*, Griech. Alterth. II. 392sqg.; *Hermann*, Gottesd. Alterth. § 33, esp. note 8; and on domestic worship in general, *Schömann*, l. c. pp. 525—539.

<sup>2</sup> *Virg.* Aen. III. 60, Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos; to which Servius remarks, Sane majorum haec erat consuetudo, ut rex etiam esset sacerdos vel pontifex, unde hodieque imperatores pontifices dicimus.

<sup>3</sup> In Greece also, those officials, to whom, after the abolition of monarchical government, the religious functions that had devolved upon the kings, were entrusted, were called βασιλεῖς (as the ἀρχὴν βασιλεὺς in Athens);

and in some cases the wife of such functionary bore the name βασιλίσσα or βασίλισσα (comp. *Schömann*, l. c. pp. 394—396, 400).

<sup>4</sup> That the Hebrew kings officiated as priests must appear the more natural if the Hebrew monarchy is considered as a theocratic institution, according to which the kings act as representatives of God: but this conception was formed and took root only in the course of time; in this respect, it is sufficient to compare the older account of the establishment of the monarchy (1 Sam. IX. 1—X. 16) with the later one (VIII. 10, 17—XII. 25). Correct and questionable statements are mixed by *Richt.* in Stud. und Krit. 1865, pp. 67, 68.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. XIX. 29 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. XLIX. 5—7; see Comm. on Gen. pp. 724—726. Severe as these

Yet a portion of this tribe, represented by the glorious names of Moses and Aaron, had, at some early period of Hebrew history, distinguished itself by ardent and pious zeal in the cause of religion.<sup>7</sup> Levites were therefore even in the time of the Judges not only admitted but preferred for priestly offices, both in the pure worship of Jehovah and that of pagan deities.<sup>8</sup> It was they who chiefly carried the Ark of the Covenant.<sup>9</sup> They taught and judged the people, obtained influence as advisers of the kings, and acquired the control of the treasures of the Temple. Gradually they devoted themselves entirely to priestly pursuits, which at once secured subsistence to themselves and relieved the chiefs of families from duties often burdensome and inconveniently interfering with their general occupations.<sup>10</sup> They were at first not numerous, and they acted without connection, organisation, or systematic distribution. The Danites had at one time no more than one priest;<sup>11</sup> in Shiloh, Eli officiated with his two sons, assisted by Samuel,<sup>12</sup> and later Ahiah.<sup>13</sup> But they gradually increased, since at Nob there were at one time at least 85;<sup>14</sup> and they were then divided into various classes according to the different branches of the service.<sup>15</sup> Nor

denunciations are, they tend to prove that Levi had, at some earlier period, formed an independent tribe with martial and political pretensions, and it is therefore, no doubt, unjustifiable to strike out Levi from the list of the tribes; this is proposed by Vatke (l. c. pp. 221, 222) who contends (l. c. p. 350) that the Levites had originally been no more than a family which enjoyed higher authority in the Mosaic age, and was later also chosen for the priesthood with preference, because Moses had belonged to it; and he believes that that family could not have been raised to a tribe, in the usual sense, before the Babylonian exile, when the disproportionate number of priests and Levites who returned from the captivity favoured such a claim.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. XXXIII. 8, 9; Ex. XXXII. 27—29; Num. XXV. 6—13; comp. XVII. 11—13.

<sup>8</sup> See Judg. XVII. 10, 13 (עֲלִי וְאַהֲרֹן); XVIII. 19; 1 Ki. XII. 31, 32; XIII. 33; comp. also pp. 354, 355; Vatke, l. c. pp. 196, 198.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Ki. II. 26; see *supra* p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> From the tenour of these remarks, it is obviously questionable to assert, that the appointment of the Levites as a priestly tribe "dates back to the oldest times, and is connected with the division into tribes, at which they received no territorial property" (George, Jüd. Feste, p. 58).

<sup>11</sup> Judg. XVIII. 19, 30.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Sam. II. 18.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. XIV. 3, 18.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Sam. XXII. 18; but the Sept. states the number at 305, while Josephus (Ant. VI. xii. 6) increases it to 385.

<sup>15</sup> The Chronist states that 8,333 priests and Levites joined David at Hebron when he aspired to the sovereignty over the whole land (1 Chr. XII. 26—28); and according to the Talmud, not fewer than 24,000 were permanently stationed at Jerusalem, and 12,000 at Jericho, in addition to those scattered through the land; comp. *Mishn. Yom. II. 3, 5—7* (in offering a bullock as a public sacrifice 24 priests

## 644 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

was their power at first considerable, for Saul could venture to command the massacre of large numbers without meeting with any opposition.<sup>1</sup> Their services were particularly in requisition at the national Sanctuary, first at the Tabernacle, where we find them officiating in Shiloh,<sup>2</sup> at Nob,<sup>3</sup> and elsewhere;<sup>4</sup> but more exclusively still they served at the Temple; and it may be that, from the time of Solomon, after the establishment of a magnificent worship in Jerusalem, Levites were there employed in such large numbers that the whole tribe, at least gradually, could be looked upon as dedicated to the priestly service, which circumstance must have appeared the less surprising because not a few ancient nations had a separate sacerdotal tribe or caste.<sup>5</sup> Thus the Levites assumed, in the course of time, the rights of spiritual primogeniture, and boldly represented themselves, in religious matters, as substitutes for the Israelites.<sup>6</sup> But this was, not unjustly, regarded as pretentious arrogance by the Reubenites, the oldest of the Hebrew tribes, which naturally claimed their religious prerogatives.<sup>7</sup> A struggle ensued from which the Levites came forth victorious.<sup>8</sup> David still was anointed as king by the *prophet* Samuel,<sup>9</sup> but Solomon, although the prophet Nathan was present who took a subordinate part in the transaction, by the *priest* Zadok, whose sanction was necessary to render the authority of the new prince legitimate.<sup>10</sup> Priestly influence had, therefore, in the interval perceptibly advanced. But the dignity was, even at Solomon's time, not yet hereditary; for Azariah, the son of the priest Zadok, was a scribe of the king (סופר),<sup>11</sup> while, on the other hand, Zabud, the son of the prophet Nathan, was a priest.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, from the time of David, priests occupied high and responsible civil offices and even military posts, which secured to them considerable influence upon important matters of state;<sup>13</sup> nay they gained the confidence both of the kings and the people in a manner that they could act as mediators when both stood opposed to each other in hostility.<sup>14</sup> They were so highly honoured, in the time of Joel, that this prophet expected from their intercession with God certain rescue from the locust plague;<sup>15</sup> they were revered in the time of Hosea, who branded the opposition of the people to

were engaged); see also Acts. VI. 7 (πολύς τε ὄχλος τῶν ἱσραήλ).

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. XXII. 18.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. I. 3; II. 12 *sqq.*; etc.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. XXI. 1—10.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 27—29.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald (Alterth. p. 276) observes aptly, Erblichkeit der Lebensbeschäftigung schleicht sich überall leicht ein,

wo das alte Geschlechts- und Stammesleben noch vorherrscht.

<sup>6</sup> See *supra*, p. 582. <sup>7</sup> Deut. XI. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Num. XVI. 1 *sqq.*

<sup>9</sup> 1 Sam. XVI. 12, 13.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Ki. I. 34, 39, 45. <sup>11</sup> 1 Ki. IV. 2.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Ki. IV. 5; see p. 639.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Ki. I. 7, 8, 39; see *supra* *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> 2 Sam. XIX. 11. <sup>15</sup> Joel II. 17.

their guidance as a punishable crime,<sup>16</sup> and no less so in the time of Isaiah or of king Ahaz over whom the priest Uriah had considerable influence.<sup>17</sup> They were frequently consulted, employed as teachers, and requested to decide on religious doctrines and rites.<sup>18</sup> Their authority was indeed not uniform; thus the priest Amaziah was entirely subject to the power of the idolatrous king Jeroboam II, acted in the spirit of the latter, and thereby called forth the vehement indignation of the prophet Amos.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, both priests and Levites were often intensely hated by the people on account of moral depravity, time-serving selfishness, and greedy avarice; they thus merited the severest denunciations and threats of indignant prophets. They were described by them as venal, mercenary, and fraudulent, as capable of every act of baseness and violence, and allowing the people to live in ignorance and vice; they were taxed with betraying their allegiance to God, and indulging in their iniquity even in the Temple.<sup>20</sup> While they persecuted and massacred such pure-minded teachers, who held up the mirror to their perverseness, they frequently made common cause with false seers and leaders. Nor did they display fearless and death-despising courage, as many prophets did, when idolatrous kings like Manasseh introduced heathen abominations and undermined the very elements of the theocracy.

3. Now, having gained the foundation of power, they could attempt measures for further aggrandisement. Their efforts were equally directed towards securing an easy competence and establishing spiritual authority. Their first demands in the former respect were comparatively reasonable; and when they began to fix them in writing, in the Book of Deuteronomy or about the end of the seventh century (B. C. 620), they seem still to have felt the expediency or necessity of caution and moderation. They received the money of all expiatory offerings.<sup>21</sup> Under theocratic kings such as Hezekiah, they were supplied with tithes and firstfruits in abundance, and thus began to see their claims recognised. But they were bolder in their pretensions with regard to the latter or spiritual point. They demanded unconditional obedience to their judicial decisions under penalty of death,<sup>22</sup> and they rose against all opponents with conscious defiance; for in the so-called blessing of Moses they are mentioned in the following terms, "Let Thy Thummim and Thy Urim be with Thy holy one, whom Thou didst prove at Massah, and with whom Thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah; who said to his father and to his mother, I have not seen him, neither did he

<sup>16</sup> Hos. IV. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Isai. VIII. 2; comp. 2 Ki. XVI. 10—16.

<sup>18</sup> Mic. III. 11, 12. <sup>19</sup> Am. VII. 9, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. the passages quoted above

p. 597, note 5; see also *Jost*, l. c.

p. 148; *Phumpe* l. c. II. 923—725.

<sup>21</sup> 2 Ki. XII. 17; see p. 274.

<sup>22</sup> Deut. XVII. 8—13.

## 646 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

acknowledge his brethren, nor know his own children; for they have observed Thy word and kept Thy covenant; they shall teach Jacob Thy judgments, and Israel Thy Law; they shall put incense before Thee, and whole burnt-sacrifice upon Thy altar: bless, o Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands; smite through the loins of those that rise against him, and of those that hate him, that they rise no more."<sup>1</sup> They perseveringly and dexterously aimed at the establishment of a hierarchy. So much had their pretensions increased within the period that intervened between the date of Jacob's and of Moses' last address.<sup>2</sup> But it is more than doubtful whether they had even then any chance of seeing their demands really acceded to. For on the one hand, they were classed together with the poor and the helpless, and like them recommended to the compassionate regard of the prosperous.<sup>3</sup> And on the other hand, even the pious king Uzziah (B. C. 800) deemed it feasible to enter the Holy of the Temple and to burn incense on the golden altar, although this was later represented as nefarious audacity;<sup>4</sup> king Ahaz (743—728) directed new arrangements to be made in the Temple service, to which the priests submitted without resistance;<sup>5</sup> the reforms introduced after the discovery of the "Book of the Law" were exclusively superintended by king Josiah, upon whom alone the Hebrew historian bestows praise for the execution of the important measures;<sup>6</sup> and the second Isaiah, writing in the latter part of the Babylonian exile, could venture to describe that time as supremely happy and glorious, when non-Levites, returning from their dispersion into foreign lands, would be freely admitted to the priesthood.<sup>7</sup> The priestly claims were the theories of gifted and ambitious men of the tribe of Levi, and were by them consistently based upon its pretended election by God for exercising spiritual supremacy in Israel. The progress of their influence was retarded by the innumerable forms of idolatry

<sup>1</sup> Deut. XXXIII. 8—11.

<sup>2</sup> Or between about 950 and 800; for the blessing of Moses was written before the abduction of the ten tribes, since it speaks of Joseph as a royal and ruling chief (Deut. XXXIII. 13—17). It is therefore impossible to suppose that the Levites came forward as the elected class at so early a time as that of David; so Vatke (l. c. p. 348) leaning upon Jeremiah XXXIII. 24, where שרף משפחות, namely hereditary theocratic kings and priests, are mentioned together. But quite unhistorical, ac-

cording to our deductions, is the opinion that the statements of Deuteronomy with respect to the Levites agree with the time of Joshua (so *Stähelin*, *Geschichte der Verhältnisse des Stammes Levi*, in *Deutsch. Morgenl. Zeitschr.* 1855, pp. 708 *seqq.*; *Öhler*, in *Herz*. VIII. 351; and many others).

<sup>3</sup> See *supra* p. 600.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chr. XXVI. 16—21.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Ki. XVI. 10—16; comp. also XXIII. 4.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Ki. XXIII. 1 *seqq.*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Isaiah*. LXVI. 21.



to which the whole nation, including many of their own tribe,<sup>8</sup> clung with incredible tenacity, from the comparatively venial aberration of the worship of Jehovah through images of the ephod and of teraphim, to the ruthless iniquities of the rites of Moloch. Yet, undaunted by the opposition they had to encounter, especially on the part of liberal and intrepid prophets, they pursued their schemes with wonderful pertinacity and firmness.

4. For a long time, all the members of the tribe of Levi had, on the whole, performed the same priestly functions and enjoyed the same worldly privileges.<sup>9</sup> But the various ministrations were so widely different in their nature and importance, that it was deemed advisable to mark them by decided distinctions, and to entrust them to different divisions of the tribe. It was considered inappropriate that the chief office of the priesthood, that of mediation between God and the Israelites, should be exercised by the same class of men who performed the less significant and the menial services of the Sanctuary. Now, Aaron, the elder brother of the great deliverer, leader, and legislator Moses, was by national tradition believed to have been the first High-priest appointed already in Moses' time; and indeed some of his descendants are, in the historical Books, mentioned as having filled the same dignity for several generations, to have consulted the will of God by means of the Ark,<sup>10</sup> and to have acted as supreme judges. All these circumstances tended to secure to his family distinction and reverence. Therefore, the priesthood in the stricter sense, with all its high prerogatives, was reserved to Aaron's lineal issue, while the other branches of the tribe of Levi, or the Levites more properly so called, were charged with the lower duties of the sacred service.<sup>11</sup> The desire of the non-Aaronites, as Korah, to participate in the priestly office, was then deemed a presumption as iniquitous as formerly the analogous claim of the Reubenites,

<sup>8</sup> Ezek. XLIV. 10—13; XLVIII. 11.

<sup>9</sup> See *supra* p. 598<sup>10</sup> See *supra* p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> The middle Books of the Pentateuch seem desirous to represent the process in this light, that at first Aaron and his family were appointed as priests, and then only the other branches of the tribe, or the Levites; this is expressed with some distinctness in Num. XVIII. 1, 2, "And thy brethren also of the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring thou with thee, that they may be joined to thee"; but it can be proved that for a long

time all the Levites were priests, but not that a portion of the tribe was superior to the rest in dignity or privileges. Ezekiel (XLVIII. 11) accounts for the difference in the position of priests and Levites by the circumstance that the former remained faithful to Jehovah, while the latter went astray with the bulk of the Israelites; and the Levitical duties are described as almost degrading in relation to the priestly functions; but this theory does not explain the first and original distinction established between both.



## 648 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

and therefore deemed worthy of the same awful punishment.<sup>1</sup> And now, the Aaronites or priests alone were represented as elected by God,<sup>2</sup> and were by anointment supposed to be filled with the Divine spirit, which enabled them to bless and to judge, to advise and to teach; whereas the Levites, acting as their subordinate assistants, were merely considered as substitutes for the firstborn Israelites, who could properly be claimed by God.<sup>3</sup> While, therefore, in reality, the members of the tribe of Levi officiated in the name and by permission of the *Israelites*, they now presumed to hold their office from *God*, who was said to have singled them out and sanctified them. Thus the ideal hierarchy was completed. At the general census of the people, the Levites were not numbered,<sup>4</sup> partly in order to separate the holy ministers of God from the vulgar mass, and partly because they did not stand in need of that gift of atonement which was required of every Israelite at each census.<sup>5</sup> Now, as the priests were chiefly required at the common Sanctuary in Jerusalem, those members of the tribe who lived in its vicinity, or in the towns of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, were traced to the line of Aaron and declared to be priests, while the other portions remained distributed over the other provinces.<sup>6</sup>

5. Moreover, the priests and Levites had now the courage and confidence to claim, at least theoretically, much more considerable emoluments, which, had they been really granted to them, would have made their position highly commanding from a worldly no less than a spiritual point of view; and they exacted them in a manner which not only rendered them independent of the people, but raised them infinitely above it; for they were made the direct and proud recipients of God's own bounty.<sup>7</sup> They introduced or proposed essential alterations most favourable to their order in the precepts regarding the tithes, the first-born, and the portions falling to their share at the various sacrifices; they demanded for their abodes 48 towns with the surrounding districts which was evidently an attempt at greater concentration, although this was unable to prevent the complete dismemberment of the tribe; and they now represented their dispersion, the natural and inevitable result of historical causes, as a legislative measure wisely commanded by God

<sup>1</sup> Num. XVI. 1—32; comp. especially vers. 8—10; XXVI. 9—11.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Num. XVI. 1 *sqq.*; XVII. 17—25.

<sup>3</sup> Num. III. 12, 13, 41, 45; VIII. 16—19; see p. 601.

<sup>4</sup> Num. I. 47—54; comp. XXVI. 62.

<sup>5</sup> Exod. XXX. 11—16.

<sup>6</sup> If Aaronites had lived only in the districts near Jerusalem, it might well be asked how they could accomplish their vocation in the centuries from Joshua to David, since during this time the national Sanctuary was never at Jerusalem but in various other parts of the country. <sup>7</sup> See p. 695.

and designedly adopted for special religious ends; though even as such it was far from answering the purpose for which it was ostensibly devised, as has above been pointed out.<sup>8</sup> Yet, though many members of the tribe were notorious for hypocrisy, deceit, violence, and every iniquity which deserved and received the severest castigation,<sup>9</sup> the instances of Jeremiah and Ezekiel are alone sufficient to prove that some at least were animated by noble aspirations and worked ardently for the spiritual improvement of the people; and when the exiled Jews obtained permission to return to the holy land, the priests predominantly availed themselves of this privilege, and more than 4,000 returned with Zerubbabel alone.<sup>10</sup> Thus the priests became the expounders of the Law, the guides and, in some respects, the prophets, while the people, wholly excluded from all participation in the sacred rituals, and having become anything rather than "a kingdom of priests," lost all their natural religious privileges, which they could at no future time hope to regain, since the priesthood was for ever made hereditary in one family. And now the dignity of the High-priest, in whom the holiness of the tribe and its sacred mission culminated, was created, or at least invested with supreme significance and authority; the High-priest was not only the representative of the theocracy, but equivalent to it in spiritual glory.<sup>11</sup>

6. These notions and pretensions are found systematically set forth in the middle Books of the Pentateuch, especially in parts of Leviticus and Numbers written after the Babylonian captivity. "As long as the royal power was opposed to the priesthood, the hierarchy could not thrive; but when the former ceased at the time of the exile, the latter lifted its mighty head, and soon afterwards the towering colossus stood immovable."<sup>12</sup> Yet even then these demands were but very imperfectly acted upon, since from that time down to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus we find incessant deviations from the Levitical precepts of the Pentateuch. Both Levites and priests lived together in Judah

<sup>8</sup> See p. 602. From Isa. XXIII. 17, 18 it has been concluded that the priests were considerably enriched after the fall of Tyre; but the allusion is too obscure to allow a safe inference.

<sup>9</sup> See *supra* p. 597.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. 2 Chr. XXIV. 20; Ezra II. 36—38; Neh. VII. 39—42; see also *Öhler* in Herz. XII. 184.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *George*, Jüd. Feste, pp. 62—64, whose arguments for the very late introduction of the High-priesthood are deserving of attention, esp. p. 63:

High-priests are not mentioned by Jeremiah, nor even by Ezekiel in his description of the future service of the Temple, whereas they constantly occur in works written after the close of the exile (see p. 575). — "Passages like Lev. XXI. 10 and Num. XXXV. 25 prove that the epithet *גביר* was not yet quite established as distinctive of the chief priest" (*Hervey*, in Smith's Bibl. Dict. I. 804), which just remark supports the views alluded to.

<sup>12</sup> *George*, l. c. p. 60.

## 650 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

and Benjamin, and in Jerusalem itself.<sup>1</sup> Even High-priests married foreign wives.<sup>2</sup> They tore their garments on hearing a blasphemy<sup>3</sup> or on receiving an account of a national calamity.<sup>4</sup> They became the creatures and tools of the monarchs by whom they were arbitrarily installed or deposed, especially when the dignity was, through bribery or violence, obtained by worthless or very youthful persons.<sup>5</sup> Occasionally, two or more High-priests occupied the office at the same time,<sup>6</sup> a practice opposed to its very essence.<sup>7</sup> In the period of the Maccabees, the High-priesthood was held by Jonathan and Simon, the sons of Mattathias, of the family of Jarib or Joarib,<sup>8</sup> of which it is uncertain whether it belonged to the line of Eleazar or Ithamar.<sup>9</sup> We hear of removals and even of murders of High-priests;<sup>10</sup> and Josephus<sup>11</sup> observes distinctly, "At first the High-priests held their offices to the end of their lives, although afterwards they had successors during their life-time." Antiochus Eupator deposed the High-priest Onias Menclaus, and appointed in his place Jacimus, "who was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of the family of Onias." After the death of Jacimus, the Jews were for seven years without a High-priest. Agrippa II permitted the musical Levites to wear priestly dress.<sup>12</sup> The Jews frequently refused the payment of the Levitical imposts as burdensome,<sup>13</sup> and had to be roused by popular leaders to a sense of their obligations.<sup>14</sup> We find mention made of "poor priests" who glean in the fields together with poor Israelites,<sup>15</sup> and of "a cereal sin-offering of priests,"<sup>16</sup> that is, a tenth part of an ephah of flour presented as a sin-offering in cases of such extreme poverty that the worshipper could not even afford two pigeons or turtle-doves, much less a lamb.<sup>17</sup> Nor does Philo draw a very glowing

<sup>1</sup> See *supra* p. 634. <sup>2</sup> Neh. XIII. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. XXVI. 65.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. XI. 71; comp. *Joseph. Bell. Jud.* II. xv. 4; *Mishn. Horay.* III. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 Macc. VII. 9; 2 Macc. IV. 7, 24; XIV. 3, 7, 13; *Jos. Ant.* XV. iii. 3; ix. 3; XVII. iv. 2; vi. 4; XVIII. ii. 2; XIX. vi. 2, 4; XX. ix. 1, 7; XX. x. 1; *Bell. Jud.* IV. iii. 6, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Annas and Caiaphas, Luke III. 2; John XI. 49 and XVIII. 13; *Joseph. Ant.* VII. xiv. 7 (*Σαδούκων καὶ Ἀβιαθάρων τῶν ἀρχιερέων*); XX. xix. 2; *Bell. Jud.* IV. iv. 2.

<sup>7</sup> See *supra* p. 575.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Macc. XIV. 17, 29, 30, 35, 41; II. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Selden*, l. c. I. 10, p. 153; and Herod, his son Archelaus, and

the Romans appointed High-priests from families of no particular distinction (*Jos. Ant.* XX. x. 1); see p. 632.

<sup>10</sup> *Jos. Ant.* XV. iii. 1, 3; XVII. vi. 4; XX. ix. 7, "Herod deprived Matthias of the High-priesthood, and installed Joazar as his successor"; "Agrippa deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of the High-priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus."

<sup>11</sup> *Ant.* XX. x. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Jos. Ant.* XX. ix. 6; comp. p. 587.

<sup>13</sup> *Talm. Sot.* ad *Mishn.* IX. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Neh. XIII. 12.

<sup>15</sup> *Mishn. Terum.* IX. 2, 3; *Talm. Terum.* 57a, עניי כהנים.

<sup>16</sup> מנחת חוטא של כהנים.

<sup>17</sup> Lev. V. 11; see p. 250.

picture of the worldly condition of the priests; he not only alludes to priests in difficulty,<sup>18</sup> but he plainly observes, "The neglect of some persons.... is the cause of poverty (*πενία ἀπὸ αὐτῶν*) to the ministers of God;" and he speaks of a future time when he hopes the latter will be blessed with abundance of the necessities of life.<sup>19</sup> During the procuratorship of Festus and Albinus, priests are related to have died of want, because the avaricious High-priests Ishmael and Ananias deprived them, by violence, of the *tithes*,<sup>20</sup> as if they had no other source of revenue whatever.

7. Yet when the Pentateuch was generally diffused and thoroughly studied, it could not fail to secure for the priests much of the authority and power which it claimed in their behalf.<sup>21</sup> Armed by this legislative code which they had themselves composed or devised, but had surrounded with a glorious prestige by the fiction of a supernatural origin at so early a time as that of the great mythical hero and lawgiver Moses, the priests had found the means of enthralling the entire life of the nation and of individuals by laws and rituals which rendered their services indispensable both on all grave and all minor occasions and emergencies. Accordingly, we find that after the Babylonian exile the hierarchy unfolded itself more decisively and took deeper root. All circumstances were favourable to its development. The wonderful deliverance from captivity through Cyrus, the hope of the realisation of splendid prophetic promises after the fulfilment of predictions of fearful tribulations, the growing aversion to heathens and paganism, and, not least, the uncertain political condition of the country, all this rendered the people disposed not only to tolerate but to court and to accept priestly advice. Zerubbabel was, at his return to Palestine, accompanied by 5,292 priests, 341 Levites, and 392 Nethinim, or nearly the seventh part of all immigrants, who, besides servants and singers, amounted only to 42,360 souls.<sup>22</sup> The priests were obliged to prove their pedigree, and to show that they really belonged to the holy tribe.<sup>23</sup> They were compelled to dismiss their foreign wives,<sup>24</sup> some of whom were married even to sons of High-priests.<sup>25</sup> While the

<sup>18</sup> *Ἐὰν τις ἀπορῶσι.*

<sup>19</sup> De Praem. c. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Jos. Ant. XX. viii. 8; ix. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. Jos. Vit. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Ezra II. 36—65. The view of Hengstenberg (Auth. des Pent. II. 8, 9) that the heathen rulers favoured the *theocratic* portion of the Jews because they saw in it the pith or kernel of the nation, has little probability, for

it attributes to the heathen princes a familiarity with the deeper principles of a religion, which they had never shown much aptitude to understand or to appreciate. The theocratic portion especially longed for the return into the country in which the Temple had stood.

<sup>23</sup> Ezra II. 61—63.

<sup>24</sup> Ezr. IX. 1; X. 15, 18—21.

<sup>25</sup> Neh. XIII. 28.

## 652 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

workmen were engaged in erecting the new Temple, the priests were present in their holy vestments, and blew the trumpets, whereas the Levites sang the hymns of David to the sound of musical instruments,<sup>1</sup> and took part in the solemnities held at the consecration of the new walls of the town.<sup>2</sup> The High-priest was the chief of the Sanhedrin;<sup>3</sup> as such he exercised spiritual jurisdiction over all Jews, even those who did not dwell in Palestine; and he could not be opposed or contradicted with impunity.<sup>4</sup> The Asmoneans were at once High-priests and civil rulers.<sup>5</sup> Combining clerical with worldly power, they were called priest-kings after the order of Melchizedek.<sup>6</sup> Judas, called Aristobulus, was High-priest and king, and wore a diadem; and after the death of Herod, "High-priests were entrusted with the dominion over the nation;"<sup>7</sup> and they were often supposed to be endowed with the gift of prophecy; thus Hyrcanus was called ruler, High-priest, and prophet.<sup>8</sup> Yet they were not raised above the law; the Mishnah declared, "the High-priest can be a judge and be judged, he may serve as witness, and others may bear witness against him;" he was subject to almost all the levirate regulations (or those of the *דפּ*), except that he was not permitted to marry his deceased brother's widow; and he had even to suffer the punishment of stripes, if he had forfeited it by some offence.<sup>9</sup> The priests and Levites were divided into classes and their duties clearly regulated and defined.<sup>10</sup> For large numbers of them were required for the complicated and symbolical rituals of the Pentateuch, and their multitude was regarded as a blessing for the people.<sup>11</sup> The Levites themselves were deemed too holy to be charged with the low and menial

<sup>1</sup> Ezer. III. 10, 11; it was different under Nehemiah (Neh. III. 1, 17, 18, 22, 26; V. 11, 12).

<sup>2</sup> Neh. XI. 27—43.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. XXXVI. 57; Acts V. 21; VII. 1; XXIII. 2. <sup>4</sup> Acts IX. 1, 2, 14; XXIII. 4; Jos. C. Ap. II. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Joseph. Vit. c. 1.*

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Ps. CX. 4; see *supra* p. 150 see also *Michaelis*, *Typische Gottesgelahrtheit*, Pref. pp. 9—88, and 118—126.

<sup>7</sup> *Jos. Ant. XX. x. fin.* Justinus in his distorted and mostly absurd account of the Jews observes that after the death of Moses, his son Aruas (Aaron), initiated in the Egyptian rites, was made king; and he continues, "*semperque exinde hic mos apud Judaeos*

*fuit, ut eosdem reges et sacerdotes haberent*"; see also the enthusiastic description of the High-priest Simon, the son of Onias, in Sir. L. 5—21, "how he was honoured in the midst of the people in his coming out of the sanctuary! He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud and as the moon at the full, as the sun shining upon the Temple of the most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds."

<sup>8</sup> *Joseph. Ant. XIII. x. 7*; comp. John XI. 51; also *Grätz*, *Gesch. der Juden*, III. 112, 113.

<sup>9</sup> *Mishn. Sanh. II. 1*; comp. I. 5; *Comm. on Genes. p. 620.*

<sup>10</sup> See *supra* pp. 566, 585.

<sup>11</sup> Jer. XXXIII. 18, 21, 22.

offices entrusted to them in the Law; and they were therefore assisted in their task by servants who were regarded as the property of the Temple.<sup>12</sup> Tithes and firstfruits, the firstborn, and other imposts, were delivered up conscientiously,<sup>13</sup> and often with exaggerated minuteness.<sup>14</sup> Store-rooms (לשכות) were, in the precincts of the Temple, set apart for the contributions,<sup>15</sup> which stood under the careful control and administration of appointed officials.<sup>16</sup> Thus the priesthood enjoyed authority, honour, and influence;<sup>17</sup> then Malachi could declare, with regard to the priest, what in some respects is the absolute reverse of the terms used in Jacob's address, "The Law of truth was in his mouth, and iniquity was not found in his lips; he walked with Me in peace and equity, and turned many away from iniquity; for the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and people should seek the Law at his mouth; for he is a messenger of the Lord of hosts;"<sup>18</sup> they formed a kind of aristocratic caste;<sup>19</sup> Christ himself, the mediator, was distinguished by the name priest or High-priest;<sup>20</sup> and the word כהן assumed, in the kindred dialects, the meaning of *prince* or *noble*.<sup>21</sup> The very literature of the Jews was thenceforth visibly coloured by the spirit of the Law. Even Ezekiel, living in the earlier period of the Babylonian exile, described the ideal priesthood of the future, on the whole, in harmony with the precepts of the Pentateuch.<sup>22</sup> But the Chronist could attempt to rewrite all the annals of his nation from a Levitical point of view, and to alter, nay palpably to falsify, the facts recorded by anterior, more truthful, and less biassed historians; he could, for instance, relate that when king Uzziah, though severely rebuked by the priests, did not desist from burning incense upon the altar, he was smitten with leprosy on the spot, and was never healed to the day of his death,<sup>23</sup> though

<sup>12</sup> עֲבָדָיו; see *supra* p. 584.

<sup>13</sup> Neh. X. 36—40; XII. 44—47; XIII. 5, 12; 2Chr. XXXI. 11; comp. Mal. III. 8, 10; Ezek. XLIV. 28—30; Judith XI. 13; Tobit I. 7, 8; *Joseph. Vit.* c. 12; comp. *Mishn.* Avoth III. 13 (מַעֲשֵׂוֹת לְעוֹשֵׁר, tithes are a fence to wealth); V. 8, 9; Sol. IX. 13. Persons specially authorised inspected, for fixed fees, the firstborn beasts to decide whether they were sound or defective, that is, whether they belonged to the priests or to the Jewish owners (*Mishn.* Bechor. IV. 5).

<sup>14</sup> Matth. XXIII. 23; Luke XI. 42; see p. 604.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. 2 Chr. XXXI. 11; Neh. X. 38; XII. 44; XIII. 5, 12; Mal. III. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Neh. XII. 44; XIII. 12.

<sup>17</sup> Sir. VII. 31—35; *Jos. Ap.* II. 21; *Philo, De Praem.* cc. 1, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Mal. II. 6, 7; comp. 2 Chr. XVII. 7—9. With what right Ewald (*Alterth.* p. 275) sees in these words "the description of the *original* virtues of Levi," requires no comment.

<sup>19</sup> *Jos. Vit.* 1, παρ' ἧμῶν ἡ τῆς ἱερουσύνης μετεωρεὶς ταπεινότης ὡς γένους λαμπρότης. <sup>20</sup> See p. 158.

<sup>21</sup> See *supra* p. 559. <sup>22</sup> Ezek. XLIV. 15—31; see, however, *supra* p. 649 note 11.

<sup>23</sup> 2 Chr. XXVI. 16—21.



## 654 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

Uzziah's great predecessor Solomon had done the same act with perfect impunity. Finally, the Levites killed even the paschal lambs instead of the Israelites,<sup>1</sup> and thus deprived the latter of the last vestige of their original prerogatives.

Yet the exposition of the Law was not the exclusive privilege of any single class. It was the common right of all who possessed acumen, ability, or learning. Thus the scribes<sup>2</sup> and scholars formed gradually a more and more influential order honoured merely for their knowledge and piety. This was the more important as the main work of the nation for many centuries after the return from exile centred in the literary and legal development of the Scriptures. Among the doctors of the Mishnah were men from all tribes. Hence the priests could not maintain an intellectual preponderance, nor secure a dangerous superiority over the minds of the Jews. The demolition of the Temple by the Romans naturally deprived the priests and Levites of all spiritual power and nearly of all revenues. As the right of teaching is independent of descent, and the office of Rabbi may be held by any Jew of a certain moral and scholastic qualification, they enjoyed from that time to the present day only a few unimportant privileges in the Synagogue and the social life of the Jewish communities.<sup>3</sup>

---

8. After this sketch we shall briefly advert to the principal arguments which have been urged in favour of the traditional view. To trace the institution of priesthood, in the spirit of the Pentateuch, to Moses,<sup>4</sup> is absolutely against all historical evidence. As indeed the first origin of the sacrificial service goes back into remote ages, so also the first origin of the priesthood; but sacrifices and the priesthood remained long beyond the age of Moses in a primitive and

---

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chr. XXX. 17; XXXV. 10—14.

<sup>2</sup> סופרים, comp. 1 Chr. XXIV. 6; 2 Chr. XXXIV. 13.

<sup>3</sup> In the Synagogues, the Aaronites are called upon first, and the Levites second, to read the Law, or rather to speak the blessing over it, and then only other members of the congregation follow; and Aaronites pronounce or rather chant, on the five great festivals (Passover, Pentecost, New Year, Day of Atonement, and Tabernacles), that blessing over the people which is prescribed in Numbers (VI. 23—27), while the Levites minister to them in washing their hands which is required before the ceremony. Grace

after meals, which is said aloud and with certain additional formulas if three or more persons partake of the meal, is spoken by an Aaronite if one is present. The firstborn sons are *redeemed* from priests (by פְּרִיִן הַבֵּן) for a small sum of money (see *supra* p. 611). Aaronites are not allowed to enter a house in which a dead person lies, except it be one of their nearest relatives.

<sup>4</sup> Bauer, Gottesd. Verf. II. 297—301 (and in general to p. 384), who argues, as if Moses had followed the example of the Egyptians; and similarly many others (f. i. *Plumptre*, l. c. II. 916; *Knobel*, Levit. p. 420).



patriarchal state. It has been asserted, that a gradual growth or development of the laws concerning the priestly functionaries is impossible or improbable, because these laws are closely connected with those regarding the general institutions of public worship;<sup>5</sup> but this is plainly moving in a vicious circle, and it is indeed surprising to find an able and learned man offer an argument so unlogical and unsatisfactory as this, "If the whole tribe of Levi was already at the time of Moses an initiated and priestly order, public worship must necessarily even in that period have been worked out and fixed in the manner described in the Pentateuch; for what necessity was there for appointing a whole tribe as priests, if there was no well-regulated and complicated worship?" that is, the sacrificial laws of the Pentateuch existed because the priestly ordinances were established, and the priestly ordinances were established because the sacrificial laws existed: instead of furnishing a proof at least of either proposition, it is attempted to support one unproved assumption by another equally unfounded. On the contrary, it may be maintained with much greater justice, that the priestly organisation is closely allied to the whole method of public worship; and since Moses did not introduce the sacrificial laws of the Pentateuch, as we have demonstrated elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> so he cannot have fixed the priestly organisation of the Pentateuch, nor have singled out a separate tribe for the service of Jehovah.<sup>7</sup> Let us briefly consider some occurrences that happened in the time of Saul and David. When the Ark of the Covenant had, by the Philistines, been returned to Beth-shemesh, it was by the inhabitants of the latter town sent to Kirjath-jearim, where it remained for a very considerable time, at least twenty years, far from the Tabernacle of which it formed the very soul and centre, and under the charge of a "stranger", Abinadab, and his son Eleazar;<sup>8</sup> and David, fearful of the terrible consequences of its presence, left it for three months in the house of Obed-Edom in Gath, and brought it to Jerusalem only when he was informed of the happiness that visibly blessed Obed-Edom's family.<sup>9</sup> If the duties of the priests and Levites had, at that time, been so clearly defined and so solemnly enjoined as is done in the Pentateuch, and if this organisation had even approximately resembled that attributed to Moses, how is it possible to account for such a neglect of the most sacred implement of the Tabernacle, which it was the chief duty of the whole tribe to guard and to honour?<sup>10</sup>

9. Again, the Deuteronomist ordains<sup>11</sup> that the "priests the Levites" should furnish every king with a copy of the Law that he should read in it daily and might act in accordance with its precepts. But king Josiah, when in the eighteenth year of his reign the "Book of the Law" was found, was astonished at its contents, which were perfectly strange to him. This ordinance of the Deute-

<sup>5</sup> So *Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 10.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 37 *sqq.*

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Fatke*, l. c. p. 221.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 2; 1 Chr. XIII. 3; see *supra* p. 637. <sup>9</sup> 2 Sam. VI. 9—12.

<sup>10</sup> It is needless to criticise the strange apologetic views designed to remove this difficulty; a specimen may be seen in *Hengstenberg*, *Auth. des Pent.* II. 48—51 ("das Volk sollte erst wieder innerlich Volk Gottes werden, ehe das Heiligthum unter ihm wieder hergestellt wurde"; "mit dieser Periode hat es eine besondere Bewandniss", etc. etc.). Far removed from the truth is, therefore, the view that "the reigns of David and Solomon were naturally the culminating period of the glory of the Jewish priesthood" (*Plumptre*, l. c. II. 923): under these reigns the priesthood just began to rise in authority. <sup>11</sup> Deut. XVII. 18.

den, ehe das Heiligthum unter ihm wieder hergestellt wurde"; "mit dieser Periode hat es eine besondere Bewandniss", etc. etc.). Far removed from the truth is, therefore, the view that "the reigns of David and Solomon were naturally the culminating period of the glory of the Jewish priesthood" (*Plumptre*, l. c. II. 923): under these reigns the priesthood just began to rise in authority. <sup>11</sup> Deut. XVII. 18.

## 656 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

ronomist can, therefore, not have existed at that time, for else it would certainly have been acted upon by a king so pious as Josiah. The same remark applies to the injunction that the priests should, on the Feast of Tabernacles of every seventh year, read the Law to the assembled people; history shows before the seventh century no trace of the execution of such a precept; it disproves, in fact, the existence of a book of which even theocratic kings could be ignorant. The second Isaiah, liberal and high-minded, not only breaks through the traditional barriers, but declares, with an enthusiastic glance into the future, that even heathens who worshipped Jehovah would be acceptable as priests and Levites; so that even he, living in the sixth century, did not deem an hereditary priesthood indispensable, and attached greater weight to an inward vocation than to descent.<sup>1</sup> The circumstance that the priesthood is found in the tribe and family of Moses, and not among the Reubenites, the descendants of Jacob's firstborn son, does not prove that Moses was its founder or author, but only that his race or tribe evinced a more ardent interest or zeal in religious matters than the rest of the Israelites, whether they did so from inclination or necessity: had Moses indeed been the founder, *his* progeny, and not that of his brother Aaron, might justly be expected to have been singled out for the priestly dignity. According to the Pentateuch, Moses is said to have appointed from the various families of the Levites for the service of the Tabernacle 8,580 men,<sup>2</sup> of whom, as a compact body, there is no trace in subsequent periods at least to the time of Saul and David. It is indeed inconceivable how the existence of the priesthood in the tribe of Levi from early times can be maintained, since in Jacob's address, whether this be understood as history or prophecy, it is expressly pronounced, "Into their council my soul shall not come; in their assembly my glory shall not join,"<sup>3</sup> and the priests are just described as "the near ones" and "holy ones."<sup>4</sup> It is therefore inadmissible to assert that that arrangement goes back to the remotest times and is connected with the division of the tribes (*George, Feste*, p. 57). It has been averred that the Levites wandered about in the period of the Judges without settled abodes, because not all the Levitical towns had come into the undisturbed possession of the Hebrews (as Gezer and Aijalon):<sup>5</sup> but they wandered about, in a similar manner, long after the period of David and Solomon; and why were they not received in those Levitical towns, which had been conquered and which would certainly have sufficed for the accommodation of all? If it was temporarily impossible to live fully and completely in accordance with the "Mosaic" regulations, why was this not done as much as feasible?

<sup>1</sup> See *supra* p. 646; comp. *Gramberg*, *Relig. Id.* I. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Num. IV. 36—48. <sup>3</sup> Gen. XLIX. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 560. It is hardly less than preposterous to assert that those words of Jacob, "later turned into a blessing, were fulfilled in the tribe of Levi", because the Levites after the sin of the golden calf, vindicated truth and justice in honour of Jehovah (*Öhler*, in *Herz*. VIII. 347; comp. *Philo*, *Vit. Mos.* III. 19): this is rather playing with the Bible than interpreting it.

Unhistorical also is the whole conception of *Saalschütz*, *Mos. Recht*, I. pp. 90, 95 *sqq.* to 126 *passim*; *Archäol.* II. 342—360, ch. 78; see also *Hallmann*, *Staatsverf. der Israeliten*, pp. 137—142; *Jost*, *Gesch. des Judenth.* I. 146, 147; *Plumptre*, in *Smith's Bibl. Dict.* II. 914—925 (who believes that it is "hardly necessary to do more than state these theories", namely the results of historical criticism); I. 100—108; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. XXI. 21, 24; comp. XVI. 10; Judg. I. 35; *Öhler*, in *Herz*. VIII. 353.

Critics who maintain a different opinion from that advocated in this treatise, are yet compelled to admit that "Moses hardly gave a written law concerning priests and Levites, but rather introduced religious institutions by way of practice;"<sup>6</sup> or "its origin goes back to the earliest time; the Mosaic ritual, however much we may question the antiquity of some of its details, contains, no doubt, the groundwork on which the subsequent system was founded;"<sup>7</sup> or "the new priests were at first only the prophet Moses himself and Aaron, these possibly supported by their nearest relatives; the lower functions were performed by the domestic priests of the elder class who maintained themselves for a long time as ministers in private houses",<sup>8</sup> or "even the mode and extent of many duties of the priestly order changed in the lapse of centuries so exceedingly that, in later times, the common priests and often even the High-priests hardly still represented the arrangements made in the age of Moses and Joshua."<sup>9</sup> All this may be correct in so far as Moses possibly regulated and modified some customs of his time in harmony with the doctrines of monotheism — how much, it will ever be impossible to determine, considering the uncertain accounts we possess of the life and times of Moses. For this reason it is also precarious to argue that the new truths promulgated by Moses, together with the institutions and customs based upon them, required a new priesthood to guard them faithfully, to apply them with skill, to hand them down to future ages, and to guard them against errors and fluctuations:<sup>10</sup> when these new truths promulgated by Moses, shall have been accurately or even approximately ascertained and defined, it will be time to speculate upon the 'probable guardians appointed by him to protect them; and it is no more than a vague supposition to assert that "after Moses, there appeared in Israel a new priesthood distinguished by enlightenment, wisdom of rulership, and energy, and surpassing the preceding priesthood as decidedly as the religion of Jehovah surpassed the former creeds."<sup>11</sup> The contrary practices found in the post-Mosaic ages down to a late period of the divided empire, do not chronologically follow but precede the injunctions of even the earliest portions of the Levitical law as laid down in the Pentateuch, which were the result of severe efforts and protracted struggles on the part of the tribe of Levi; for although theocracy may be an ancient political form, especially in the East,<sup>12</sup> and may, in principle, have been acknowledged among the Hebrews in comparatively early times, as those of Gideon and Samuel,<sup>13</sup> yet it requires extended periods before it can be made the basis of such a hierarchy as is delineated in the Pentateuch.<sup>14</sup>

10. Customs indeed wavered and fluctuated, in many respects, for a very long time, before they were fixed by a uniform law, and sometimes opposing ordinances were, side by side, incorporated in the same code, without an attempt at conciliation.<sup>15</sup>

The priesthood was at first evidently extended over the whole tribe; had it from the beginning been limited to the progeny of Aaron, it would be impossible

<sup>6</sup> *Knobel*, l. c.

<sup>7</sup> *Stanley*, *Jewish Church*, II. 406.

<sup>8</sup> *Ewald*, *Altenthum*, p. 294.

<sup>9</sup> *Ewald*, l. c. p. 283.

<sup>10</sup> *Comp. Ewald*, l. c. pp. 274, 275.

<sup>11</sup> *Ewald*, l. c.

<sup>12</sup> It is too much to consider it as the

"oldest" (*Bähr*, *Symb.* II. 9); for it pre-supposes a considerable degree of abstraction and religious education.

<sup>13</sup> *Comp. Judg.* VIII. 23; 1 *Sam.* VIII. 7; see, however, p. 355 note 14.

<sup>14</sup> See *supra* pp. 587—597.

<sup>15</sup> See *supra* pp. 598, 599.

## 658 B. CONSECRATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTS.

to find reasons for the multifarious deviations manifest in subsequent periods, and especially for the position assigned in Deuteronomy to "the priests the Levites" (הכהנים הלויים) identical with "the priests the sons of Levi." This designation cannot possibly prove that "in later times, it had become customary in connection with the priesthood to regard principally the descent from Levi;" for the entire historical development shows that, in the lapse of time, the contrast between priests and Levites was maintained with increasing rigour, and the functions of both were separated with growing severity; in later ages, even all those Levites were refused admission into the holy service who were unable to trace their pedigrees to Aaron's family.<sup>1</sup> And hence it follows that the writings in which that designation is employed, and especially the Book of Deuteronomy, is of earlier date than those in which it is absent; just as the privileges and emoluments granted to the priests and Levites in the several Books are safe criteria of their relative dates. It is generally contended that Deuteronomy is meant to give supplementary laws only; but even if this were the case, as it certainly is not, its complete and systematic silence with regard to the difference between priests and Levites would be unaccountable.

In short, a natural, organic, and historical progress is only conceivable and traceable, if the priestly commands of Deuteronomy are regarded as the earlier, those of Leviticus and Numbers as the later ones; and all these regulations can only be harmonised with the accounts of the historical Books if they are placed in the latest times of the Hebrew monarchy, and partly in the period after the Babylonian exile. Not even Ezekiel, in his description of the ideal state, which he certainly desired to invest with the utmost splendour, ventured to raise his proposals so high as Leviticus and Numbers demand in reality. His festival sacrifices are moderate compared with those of the hierarchical Books; for the seven days of Tabernacles he requires only an aggregate of 105 animals,<sup>2</sup> whereas the Book of Numbers prescribes 212;<sup>3</sup> he is neither aware of nor does he insist upon an idea like that of the Pentateuch, of a Levitical tribe and one priestly family destined to retain their high dignity for all future times;<sup>4</sup> and he does not invest the office of the High-priest with particular eminence or spiritual power.<sup>5</sup> Do these circumstances not irresistibly force upon us the conclusion that not even Ezekiel knew the Books of Leviticus and Numbers as complete compositions, as otherwise he would, certainly, have been led to adhere to their arrangement, and at least to reproduce their spirit?<sup>6</sup>

11. The sketch above attempted indeed justifies the remark, "The sons of Levi were essentially a warrior caste; as their first father, so were they; ... every

<sup>1</sup> See p. 563. This will also serve to show how untenable is the opinion that "the Levites endeavoured to become more and more equal to the higher priests, if not in duties, at least in dignity", and that therefore the Deuteronomist "no more" mentions the distinction between "higher and lower priests" (so *Ewald*, *Alterth.* p. 300).

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. XLV. 25.      <sup>3</sup> See p. 309.

<sup>4</sup> *Comp. Vatke*, l. c. p. 349.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra* p. 631.

<sup>6</sup> Hence *Vatke* (l. c. p. 344) observes justly, that as "there existed in the period of the Judges no distinct priestly tribe, and the priestly dignity was not yet strictly circumscribed in opposition to the totality of lay-men, so the same applies, with few modifications, to the times reaching down to the Babylonian exile"; and again, "it was only in the later time of the empire of Judah that the system of the Pentateuch was rendered possible; indeed it began at

step of their early history is marked deep in blood."<sup>7</sup> This character of the tribe gave rise to the traditions concerning the slaughter of the Shechemites,<sup>8</sup> the massacre of the worshippers of the golden calf,<sup>9</sup> and the murder of the idolatrous Israelite and his paramour by the hand of Phinehas.<sup>10</sup> For a long time, the Levites may have been ready, as they perhaps were compelled, to defend by the sword the Sanctuary which it was their duty to guard;<sup>11</sup> and this warlike attitude, which appeared even at so late a period as that of the Maccabees, may have been congenial to their turbulent tastes.<sup>12</sup> Yet this native character of the tribe must be distinctly separated from the character of the priestly office which was gradually conferred upon its members. That office, as delineated in the Pentateuch, was not warlike but peaceful; it did not require "the vigour and fierceness of youth", but the calmness and equanimity of manhood and old age; nor did it demand "the robust frame which could endure the endless routine of the sacrifices and carry away the bleeding remains, the quick eye and ready arm which could strike the fatal blow;"<sup>13</sup> these were not *priestly* functions; the victims were, as a rule, killed by the worshippers themselves;<sup>14</sup> the priests had merely to sprinkle the blood, to watch over the burning of the animals or of parts of them, and of the frank-incense, and thereby to secure the grace of God and His forgiveness; all the other duties were performed by the Levites who were themselves later assisted by the Nethinim. The blowing of the trumpets and the address to the army at the beginning of battle had no military but a religious import; the former was meant to symbolise that the Hebrews "would be remembered before the Lord and delivered from their enemies;"<sup>15</sup> and the latter is in harmony with the theocratic scheme of the Pentateuch. We should, therefore, not be justified in acceding to the remark, "Those who were prepared to wash their feet in the blood of the living enemies of their country, and to shed their own blood in the vanguard of the Israelite host, were not unsuited to the more tranquil, though not less sanguinary work of the sacrifices;" even more questionable is the opinion, "this remorseless energy was a concentration of the indomitable zeal which was to be the weapon (so to speak) of the whole Hebrew race in its conflicts with the world;"<sup>16</sup> but after all that has been said, it needs hardly to be pointed out with how little justice a distinguished writer and learned divine compares the Hebrew priests to *butchers*, "one of the coarsest of human occupations," and then exclaims, "Butcher and Priest are now the two extremes of the social scale; a fine moral lesson is involved in the fact that they were once almost identical".<sup>17</sup> But their office was neither "narrow" nor "outward;"<sup>18</sup> it was not "almost wholly independent of any other conditions than those of a physical and ceremonial nature;"<sup>19</sup> it does not "repel us by the coarseness of its grain and the rudeness of its subjects;"<sup>20</sup> it bears not merely "a secular and earthly character."<sup>21</sup>

that time gradually to develop itself, and became then a fixed practice after the Babylonian exile" (p. 216); comp. the judicious observations of the same critic l. c. pp. 118, 119.

<sup>7</sup> Stanley, *Jewish Church*, II. 407.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. XXXIV. 25—30.

<sup>9</sup> Exod. XXXII. 26—29.

<sup>10</sup> Num. XXV. 11—13.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. *Ewald*, *Altorth.* p. 292.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *supra* p. 639.

<sup>13</sup> Stanley, l. c. p. 411.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 184.

<sup>15</sup> Num. X. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Stanley, l. c. pp. 408, 412.

<sup>17</sup> L. c. p. 413.

<sup>18</sup> P. 418.

<sup>19</sup> P. 420.

<sup>20</sup> P. 424.

<sup>21</sup> P. 427.

**SUMMARY.**—Moses carries out the commands previously concerning the consecration of Aaron and his sons and its utensils. He directs Aaron and his sons; he then clothes them with their official vestments of the Tabernacle and its vessels, and Aaron himself presents a bullock for a sin-offering; puts some of the flesh on the brazen altar, and burns the flesh partly at the camp (vers. 14—17); then he offers a ram for a burnt-offering, and lastly, a ram specially for the consecration. He puts blood on the right ear, right hand, and right thigh, and sprinkles the rest on the altar around; he takes the fat parts, together with the right shoulder and thigh, and puts them on Aaron's and his sons' hands, waves, and burns them on the altar, while he appropriates to himself the breast and the thigh. He mingles oil and blood taken from the altar upon the bread, and after which the priests eat the meat in the Court (vers. 22—32). The same ceremonies are repeated the next day. At this time Aaron and his sons are forbidden to leave the Tabernacle.

## 1. And the Lord spoke to Moses

<p>1—5. Commands had been given for constructing the Tabernacle and its utensils (Exod. XXV. 1—XXVII. 19; XXX. 1—10, 17—21); Aaron and his sons had been appointed priests, and their official vestments described (XXVIII); the ceremonies to be observed at their consecration had been minutely specified (XXIX), together with the ingre-</p>	<p>ed to rear the holy in- to anoint clothe, a sons (XL. carried o had recei- regarding nacle and</p>
---	---

Aarón and his sons with him, and the garments, and the anointing oil, and the bullock for the sin-offering, and the two rams, and the basket of unleavened bread; 3. And assemble all the congregation to the door of

kinds of sacrifice. It seemed, therefore, desirable to premise a comprehensive code of the sacrificial laws; such a code was presented in the seven first chapters of Leviticus; and now the narrative returns to the point where it was broken off at the end of Exodus, and at once proceeds to the historical account of the initiation of the holy functionaries at the national Sanctuary. A general connection between the second and the third Book of the Pentateuch can, therefore, not be disputed; and the arrangement of the parts must be regarded as essentially logical (comp. notes on I. 1—9). This conclusion is confirmed by the manner, in which the writer here describes the execution, which plainly refers to the corresponding injunctions in Exodus (comp. vers. 2, 3, 9, 13, 17, 21, 29, 35, 36; see Phil. Rem.). Yet it would be rash to contend that this was the position of the respective portions in the original documents. The command in Exodus (XXIX) is so detailed that it can hardly be declared unintelligible or supposed to require extraneous elucidation; it alludes to the various sacrifices as matters entirely familiar to Moses; without additional or particular directions, it states, "it is a sin-offering", or "it is a burnt-sacrifice", or "it is a ram of consecration" (vers. 14, 18, 22); it exhibits the whole of the ceremonial law in full operation, as has even been admitted by champions of a different opinion (as *Bähr*, Symb. II. 424); it would indeed have been to Moses no more than an aggregate of obscure phrases, were it not framed on the supposition of his perfect acquaintance with the sacrificial laws. Its authors

could, therefore, not possibly have deemed it necessary to interpose between the behest and the achievement a long and varied account of the ritual of sacrifices. Hence it must be inferred, what indeed is sufficiently manifest from our observations on the preceding chapters, that these laws were inserted in their place — and we must concede, inserted on the whole judiciously — by the revisers of the two Books, who could find no better arrangement for the multifarious and often incongruous matter at their disposal. Moreover, it cannot be denied that the second Book concludes, in some respects, abruptly. For after all the orders had been given, the text summarily states, "And Moses did according to all that the Lord had commanded him; thus he did" (Exod. XL. 16); and yet the consummation of the charge concerning the anointing of the Tabernacle and the consecration of the priests, is there not related, but is reserved for a much later place, where it seems to stand severed from its natural connection. It is most probable that the narrative, forming the groundwork of the composition, was originally continuous, but that the *laws*, which also constituted documents complete in themselves (comp. VII. 37, 38; XXVI. 46; XXVII. 34), were inserted where the context seemed to require or to admit them.

Moses provided himself with all the objects which he knew to be necessary for the ceremonial — the holy garments of Aaron and his sons, one bullock and two rams, and a basket containing three kinds of unleavened cakes (Ex. XXIX. 2); and then he proceeded with Aaron and his four sons, *Eliab*.



here as known and familiar; for instance, we read here **פֶּר הַחֶמֶת וְאֵלֶּים** (ver. 1), whereas Exodus has simply **פֶּר אֶמֶת** (not only without the demonstrative **הַחֶמֶת** but without the qualifying **וְאֵלֶּים**) and **וְאֵלֶּים שְׁנַיִם**; more strikingly still, our chapter has merely **וְאֵת כָּל הַמִּצּוֹת** *and the basket of unleavened bread*, whereas in Exodus the contents of the basket are minutely described (ver. 2, "unleavened bread, and unleavened cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil; of fine flour of wheat shalt thou make them"; comp. ver. 3, **כָּל אֶמֶת**), to which specification our chapter could naturally refer. For the same reason, the washing of Aaron and his sons, and their investiture with the holy garments, are mentioned without explanatory introduction (vers. 6 *seq.*). Indeed, the whole purport of the previous command is implied in the verse, "And Moses said to the congregation, This is the thing which the Lord ordered to be done" (ver. 5); and our chapter is very careful in stating that Moses faithfully carried out the injunctions before received from God

of the only mally, b (the dr omitted and Th although plate (n of the n fied (ve 6). The simply is to la Book, l sons ne "from tl (ver. 33 abide a day an the cha for so l Exodus flesh of 31, **וְאֵת** Moses cook it able the fact Tabern

to the door of the Tent of Meeting. 5. And Moses said to the congregation, This is the thing which the Lord has commanded to be done.

but in an appendix at the conclusion of the ceremony (vers. 36, 37; comp. Ex. XL 9—11, 12—16). In other respects also, the *order* of the rites varies materially in both sections. For the succession of the acts to be performed with the ram of consecration (אֵיל מִלְחָאִים), is, in Exodus, as follows (vers. 20—26): Moses was 1. To put some of its blood upon the ear, hand, and foot of Aaron and his sons; 2. To sprinkle the rest of the blood round the altar; 3. To sprinkle a part of this blood and of the anointing oil upon the garments of Aaron and his sons; 4. To place the fat and the fat parts, together with the right shoulder and one of each of the three sorts of unleavened cakes, upon the hands of Aaron and his sons, and to move these objects as a wave-offering before God; 5. To burn them upon the altar; and 6. To wave the breast, and to keep it as his own portion. But in Leviticus (vers. 22—30), the sprinkling of the blood and of the anointing oil upon the garments is not the third, but the last act of Moses; this seems indeed the more plausible order; for thus the sacrifice is first completed, and then follows the sanctification of the vestments; whereas, in Exodus, the latter ceremony interrupts the sacrificial ritual. Yet it may be urged as an explanation that, in the command, everything that concerned the blood was to be strung together (1—3), while in the execution, the probable and rational arrangement was observed (see *infra* on ver. 30). Nor can we be surprised at the omission, in Leviticus, of some general laws which, in Exodus, are connected with the injunctions, as the suppression of the statute regarding the breast and the right shoulder of

thank-offerings to be invariably handed over to the priests, or the silence concerning Aaron's holy garments in which all his successors were to be consecrated (Exod. vers. 28—30); for our chapter is simply the narrative of a single and special event, and therefore appropriately excludes all general or legislative remarks. Be this as it may, the differences pointed out, like some minor deviations in diction and sense (comp. Exod. ver. 31 and Lev. ver. 31), are without great weight; the correspondence is too clear, the coincidences are too varied to allow a doubt with regard to the connection which obviously exists between the two sections. — But this affords all the more reason to suppose that both stood originally in a much greater proximity than they occupy in the present form of the Pentateuch; therefore, the assertions of a perfect logical unity in the arrangement (*Ranke*, *Untersuch.* I. 100—102; II. 73—75, 82—85; *Bertheau*, *Gruppen*, pp. 130—132, and others), are by no means justified, and there is force in the remark of De Wette (*Beiträge*, II. 299) that “the supposition of one compiler of both Books would render it impossible to explain, why the narrative was so dismembered”; — and in order to remove the inconsistency which, at first glance, is involved in Exod. XL 31, 32 (comp. *Gramb.* *Rel. Id.* I. 176, 193), it is necessary to translate the verbs there occurring (וָשַׁחַט and וָשַׁחַט) not as preterites, which would imply the existence of the whole service in full force, and would pre-suppose the actual consecration of the priests and the Tabernacle, but as futures, “That Moses and Aaron . . . should wash their hands . . . when they come into the Tent . . . they

6. And Moses made Aaron and his sons approach, and washed them with water. 7. And he put upon him the tunic, and girded him with the girdle; and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him,

should wash." — The writer evidently intended to convey that, in accordance with the solemnity of the occasion, or in order to prove in the most public manner possible the election of Aaron and his sons, the whole congregation was present in the Court of the Tabernacle, or partly before it (vers. 3, 4, Vulg. *ad ostium* and *ante fores*), and not, as has been contended (by Ebn Ezra, Dathe, Vater, Rosenmüller, Cahen, a. o.) merely the elders or chiefs of the tribes (the *זקני ישראל*, IX. 1; Exod. XII. 21; etc.; *קריאי העדה*, Num. I. 16, or *נשיאי עדה קריאי מועד*, Num. XVI. 2; comp. VII. 2; XXVI. 9; XXVII. 21; Lev. IX. 1 and 5; Exod. XII. 3 and 21; Deut. XXXI. 28 and 30; Josh. XXIII. 2; XXIV. 1; comp. *Michaelis*, Mos. R. I. §§ 45, 46; *Saalschütz*, Mos. R. pp. 36—53; *Keil*, Archäol. II. 217—224); he is unconcerned about the difficulties of space which rendered a literal execution impossible (comp. esp. Deut. XXIX. 9, 10, "You stand this day all before the Lord your God, your chiefs of your tribes, your elders, and your officers, with all the men of Israel, your little ones, your wives, and thy stranger that is in thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood to the drawer of thy water").

8—13. The consecration of the priests was accomplished by a double series of acts, each consisting of three distinct ceremonies. The first series comprised the washing, the clothing, and the anointing of the priests; the second the presentation of the three chief kinds of animal sacrifice — a sin-offering, a holocaust, and a thank-offering — though in a form partly modified from those prescribed for ordinary occasions. Either series included both preliminary or general, and special or

characteristic rites. For the first of the six acts — the washing — was designed partly as a common preparation and partly as an emblem of that purity so pre-eminently demanded by the priestly office; the second — the clothing — constituted the real investiture with the sacerdotal dignity, and visibly marked out Aaron and his sons for their sacred mission; the third — the anointing — was intended to typify that they were endowed with the holy spirit of God, and thus supernaturally fitted for their august functions; the fourth and the fifth, or the two first of the second series — the sin-offering and the burnt-offering — were again general preparations usually accompanying solemn rituals, and expressive of that feeling of sinfulness and submissive obedience which is particularly desirable in human mediators between their fellow-creatures and God; while the sixth act — the thank-offering — formed a peculiar and most essential part of the ceremonies, so that the sacrifice was most emphatically called "the offering of the consecration" (*קרבן קדש*). The three preliminary acts symbolised the *duties* and *requirements*, the three others the *distinctions*, the *endowments*, and the *privileges*, of the priesthood; and the six, in their combination, suggested everything that characterised the sacerdotal office and its ministers.

Holy actions required a state of perfect purity. They were, therefore, usually commenced by washing the garments or bathing the body. The Hebrews were enjoined to do the former when the revelations of Mount Sinai were announced as impending (Exod. XIX. 10, 14); the latter formed

and girded him with the band of the ephod, and dressed him with it. 8. And he put the breast-plate upon him: and he placed on the breast-plate the Urim and the

probably one of the chief rites to be observed by the stranger who adopted the faith of the Israelites (comp. Comm. on Exod. p. 433). so that the Talmudical rule arose, "circumcision without baptism is unavailing" (מל ולא טבל מל ולא טבל); and both ablution and change of garments were ordered by Jacob when he purified his household, directed its members to remove all idols, and pledged them to the and true sole worship of God (Gen. XXXV. 2; see p. 167). While ordinarily, or previous to every official function in the Sanctuary, the priest was commanded to wash his hands and feet with the water of the laver in the Court (see p. 572), the High-priest, on the Day of Atonement, was charged to bathe his whole body before he commenced his solemn duties (Lev. XVI. 4). How much more indispensable must the same complete lustration have appeared when the first High-priest and the first priests were initiated in their holy ministrations, and were to be marked as men singled out for perpetual purity and elevation of mind, and as instruments of peace and atonement. How this lustration was accomplished by Moses, and before the whole congregation, is not noticed in the text; it is hardly probable, that the whole people were supposed to witness it; and the Court was sufficiently extensive to admit of an arrangement suitable for the requirements of the case. Such acts of cleanliness are so natural, that we should expect to find them, on similar occasions, among other nations also, even if they were not recorded by distinct historical testimonies, as, for instance, with regard to the initiation into the mysteries of Isis, which was necessarily preceded by

careful ablutions (comp. *Apul. Metam.* XI. p. 410, ed. Nisard, "deducit me ad proximas balneas, et prius sueto lavacro traditum, praefatus deum veniam, purissime circumrorans abluit;" see *supra* p. 167—171, and on the sacredness of water pp. 232—234; also *Kitto* on ver. 6). The rites ordained for the consecration of the *Levites* differed, indeed, in many respects, from those prescribed for the consecration of the *priests*, since the ceremonials were designed to reflect, in a significant manner, the difference between the internal nature of the office of either; yet the Levites had not only to clean their bodies, but also to wash their garments (Num. VIII, 7, 21); in the former respect, they were equal to the priests, but, in the latter, they were inferior; for as they received no distinct or official vestments, they were required to clean their ordinary clothes; their initiation was a *cleansing* (טבל), not a *sanctifying* (קדש); they were ordered to be pure in their external appearance and in their thoughts, because their life was connected with the Sanctuary, but they were not dressed in peculiar and symbolical garments, because their services, subordinate and menial, bore no relation to the work of grace and atonement.

The clothing of Aaron and his sons was, therefore, no indifferent or unessential act; it was a part of the actual induction into their sacred offices; it invested them with the visible emblems of their holiness and their functions, and marked them as distinct from the rest of the nation; justly, therefore, observed the Talmud, "when the priests are clothed in their garments, their priesthood is upon them, when they are not clothed in their garments, their

**Thummim.** 9. And he put the mitre upon his head, and put upon the mitre, on its forefront, the golden plate, the holy crown, as the Lord had commanded

priesthood is not upon them" (Zevach. 17b; comp. also *Maimon. Kele Hamikd.* X. 4; Cusari I. 99). It is on account of the importance of this act, that all the articles of the High-priest's dress, as they were put by Moses on Aaron, are separately enumerated, and are thus evidently intended to recall their significant meaning — the tunic and the girdle, the robe and the ephod, the breast-plate with the Urim and Thummim, and the mitre with the golden plate; the drawers (דִּשְׁדָּשׁ) alone are not mentioned, because, as has been plausibly supposed, Aaron put them on himself immediately after his ablution (comp. VI. 3; Exod. XXVIII. 42); and in the same manner, the garments of Aaron's sons are specified (ver. 13).

The washing typifies the removal of uncleanness, whether physical or moral, and the clothing is the outward badge of the priest's avocation; therefore, the former implies essentially a negative element, and the latter is of an external nature appealing to the senses: then the anointing, the third act of the first series, supervenes as a positive element; it adds the endowment of the priest with the spirit of God; it tends to enlighten his mind and to ennoble his heart, in accordance with the meaning of his vestments. For oil typifies the holy spirit, and the sanctity which it ensures (see p. 115). It will, therefore, be understood why the anointing was used chiefly to mark the gradation between the various classes of the priesthood. For while the High-priest was distinguished by a pouring out of oil upon his head, the seat of reason and intellectual life, and hence the noblest part of the human

organism, and by a pouring out — not a sprinkling — so copious that it could poetically be described as flowing down his beard (Ps. CXXXIII. 2), and denoted the fulness and abundance of the Divine spirit required by, and granted to, the spiritual chief of the nation, the common priests were more sparingly anointed, and the Levites not at all: for the High-priest was the embodiment of the entire sum of theocratic holiness; the common priests represented merely individuals; and the Levites were but the servants of the priests (see p. 583). Moreover, while every new High-priest was to be anointed in the same manner as Aaron himself (Exod. XXIX. 29, 30; Lev. VI. 13, 15), the anointing of his sons was supposed to suffice for the ordinary priests in all future ages, when the consecration of the chief was considered to involve that of the whole order, and descent alone was deemed sufficient to secure sacerdotal rights (comp. *Abarbanel* on Exod. XXX. 22—33). — This seems to have been the law, if we take the ordinances of the Pentateuch as a whole. Yet the subject is not without difficulties, since the statutes do not agree among themselves. First, it is surprising that the anointing of Aaron's sons is neither mentioned in the commands concerning the consecration, in Exodus, nor in our chapter. The omission can hardly be accidental in descriptions so detailed and so accurate even with respect to minor points; it can only be explained by the supposition that the author of these portions considered the anointment of the common priests not to have taken place in Moses' time. On the other hand, it is elsewhere stated not only that

Moses. 10. And Moses took the anointing oil, and anointed the Tabernacle and all that ~~was~~ therein, and sanctified them. 11. And he sprinkled thereof upon the altar seven times, and anointed the altar and all its

Aaron's sons were to be anointed (Exod. XXVIII. 41; XXX. 30), but that they were to be anointed in the very same manner as Aaron himself (Exod. XL. 15); they were consequently called "anointed priests" (כֹּהֲנִים מְשֻׁחִים, Num. III. 3), as the High-priest is designated "*the* anointed priest" (הַכֹּהֵן הַמְשֻׁחַ); and they are said, like their father, "to have the anointing oil of the Lord upon them" (Lev. X. 7). It is insufficient to urge, in explanation of these discrepancies, that the High-priest was anointed by oil being poured (פָּסַח) upon his *head* (comp. ver. 12; XXI. 10, 12), the other priests merely by putting oil (מָשַׁח) with the finger upon the *forehead*, or by partially sprinkling it upon their body (see Philol. Rem.); for this would, on the one hand, not be a mode of anointing *identical* with regard to High-priest and priests (Exod. XL. 15); and it would, on the other hand, render the silence in our portion and in the corresponding chapter of Exodus still more surprising, since a difference so remarkable in the procedure of anointing would certainly have required particular notice. Nor ought it to be asserted that the sprinkling of the *garments* with the anointing oil which applied both to Aaron and his sons (ver. 30), harmonizes the contradictory passages (so L. I. Kurtz, *Opfercultus*, p. 285; comp. *Carpzov*, *Appar. Crit.* p. 66); for that ceremony was entirely distinct from the proper act of anointment; and — what is even more essential — the oil was not sprinkled alone, but mingled with the blood of the ram of consecration; and the blood formed at least an equally important ingredient. The

identity of the mode of anointing the High-priest and the common priests is, therefore, far from established.

The differences, though not to be reconciled, may at least be thus accounted for. First, it must be observed that at the time, when the passages under discussion were committed to writing, the question with regard to the anointing of the common priests had lost all practical importance, since it was generally agreed, that, after their first consecration by Moses, they required no anointing; and the ordinary practice of all ages confirmed this view. It was, therefore, only a matter of tradition or of speculative probability whether Moses anointed Aaron's sons or not. Now, on this point, either the sources or the opinions of the various writers differed. For a long time, all the Levites alike were admitted to priestly offices, as has been demonstrated above (p. 599); those who wrote at the periods when this usage prevailed, must naturally have considered the anointing of Aaron's sons superfluous, since these were the ancestors of but a very small minority of the priests. But when, later, the priesthood was exclusively reserved to Aaron's family, that is, to the progeny of Eleazar and Ithamar, it was deemed important to hallow them through the consecration of their sires by the hand of Moses himself. Therefore, on the whole, earlier documents omit, later ones mention the anointment of Aaron's sons. Again, for long periods the office of High-priest, which seems to be the culminating point of the institutions of Hebrew hierarchy, was less conspicuous or pre-eminent; it was,

vessels, both the laver and its base, to sanctify them. 12. And he poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him, to sanctify him. 13. And Moses

in a spiritual point of view, hardly superior to that of ordinary priests; and, therefore, the anointment of Aaron and of his sons was supposed to have been entirely identical (Exod. XL. 15). However, simultaneously with the gradual separation between the priests and Levites, the distinction between the High-priest and the common priests gained ground; and as that distinction could be marked most strikingly by the significant act of anointment, Aaron was represented as anointed, while his sons were not (comp. VI. 13; XVI. 32; XXI. 10, 12; Num. XXXV. 25); and this is obviously the point of view prevailing in our chapter (ver. 12). Two considerations were in conflict: the holiness of the priests, as the supposed descendants of Eleazar and Ithamar, seemed to demand the anointment of the latter; but the greater holiness of the High-priest appeared to require the restriction of that ceremony to Aaron alone; and this dilemma engendered a diversity of views and statements. Thus even minor points reflect the entire history of the spiritual development of the Hebrews, and support the results derived from general and comprehensive surveys.

The oil used for so solemn a rite was not to be the bare product of nature, but was to be enhanced in value and significance by the admixture of four fragrant substances, which number was to mark the completeness of the act, and the perfection of the priests' endowment with the Divine spirit (see p. 117).

Together with the appointed mediators, it was deemed essential to hallow the place where they were to perform their all-important work; therefore, with the oil used for the consecration

of the priests, Moses anointed first the Tabernacle in the stricter sense (*קֹדֶשׁ*) that is, the Holy and the Holy of Holies (Comm. on Exod. p. 476), and then the utensils of the Court, especially the brazen altar on which the sacrifices were to be burnt, and which, therefore, was the chief instrument of atonement (vers. 10, 11). That altar was sprinkled with the holy oil seven times, then anointed with all its vessels, and thus sanctified (comp. XVI. 9).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The passage above quoted from Apuleius (Metam. XI.) describing the initiation of "Lucius" as a priest of Isis, is highly interesting as a parallel, and evidently contains the origin or model of impressive customs observed even in some modern societies or fraternities: the very first step was his *ablation*; then he was taken into the temple of the goddess where he received secret instructions; next, after ten days of strict preparation, during which he was to abstain from luxurious food, especially all meat and wine, he was, in the night of the eleventh day, clothed in a new linen garment, and the chief ceremonies began; "*I approached the confines of death*", he relates, "and having trod on the threshold of Proserpine, I returned *having been borne through all the elements*"; thence those who have passed through the rites were called "*quodam modo renati*"; and he continues, "At midnight I saw the sun shining with its brilliant light, and I approached the presence of the gods beneath, and the gods of heaven, and stood near and worshipped them"; in the morning he was dressed in "twelve stoles", the chief of which was "the Olympic stole", of linen elegantly coloured, with a precious scarf falling



made Aaron's sons approach, and put tunics upon them,

from the shoulders behind the neck down to the ankles, all covered with sacred and symbolical figures, as Indian serpents, Hyperborean griffins, and winged birds; then "arrayed like the sun", with a burning torch in his right hand, a chaplet round his head, from which the shining leaves of the palm-tree projected like rays of light, and so placed as to resemble a statue, he was shown to the multitude; this he regarded as his "natal day", and celebrated it with festive banquets; the same rites were passed through on the next day, after which he was privileged to view the holy image of the goddess; lastly he poured out his feelings in an ardent prayer of praise and thanksgiving, and embraced the High-priest who had initiated him, and whom he thenceforth regarded as his "parent" (*meum jam parentem*). In opposition to ceremonials like these, Philo observes (*De Sacrif. c. 12*), and no doubt in harmony with the principles of the Pentateuch, "The lawgiver entirely removes out of his sacred code of laws all ordinances respecting initiations and mysteries, and all such trickery and buffoonery" (*πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην τερθραίαν καὶ βυρολογίαν . . . μηδεὶς οὐν μήτε τελειῶται τῶν Μυστικῶν ποικιλιῶν καὶ γυμνασίων, μήτε τελείτω*). — On the *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל*, who, according to Jewish tradition, was in the time of the second Temple, substituted for *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל*, since the holy anointing oil had been lost, see p. 575; also *Talm. Horay. 11b; 12a; Kerith. 3b; Reland, Ant. II. l. 3.* — Moses himself washed Aaron and his sons (ver. 6), at least partially, as he performed all the principal acts necessary for the consecration; *וַיִּרְדּוּ* is, therefore, not "he ordered them to wash or to bathe themselves" (*Ebn Ezra, Rashi, a. o.*); though, probably *וַיִּרְדּוּ* (ver. 17) is to be understood

in a similar manner (comp. ver. 31). — Geddes, following the uncertain authority of a few manuscripts, transposes some words in vers. 7 and 8, and reads, *וַיִּרְדּוּ עָלָיו מִן הַמִּטָּה וְהָיָה וַיִּזְגַּר וְכִי*, which alteration is obviously uncalled for. Aaron had been fully dressed, including the mitre (ver. 9), because, completely arrayed in holiness, he was to witness the important ceremony of the expiation of the Tent and the altar; when, therefore, oil was to be poured "on his head" (ver. 12), he had naturally to take off the mitre (comp. *Exod. XXIX. 6, 7*): it is unnecessary to assume a *hysteron proteron* in the text, and to suppose that the anointment of Aaron preceded his investiture with the garments, which would imply a very inappropriate anti-climax. — The multitudinous speculations bestowed upon the *form* of anointment are all equally futile and groundless, although they date partially from a very early time. The Talmud (*Kerith. 5b; Horay. 12a*) declares, "the kings were anointed in the manner of a crown (that is, all round the head), but the High-priests in the manner of a Greek X or K" (*כִּכְרִית כִּי* or *כִּכְרִית כִּי*), the oil being first poured upon the head, and then put between the eyebrows; this is explained by Rashi (on *Horay. l. c.*) in the following manner: "the person who performed the act, began by anointing between the eyebrows, then he drew the finger over the head, and continued till he reached the neck, so that the anointment took the form of כ" (comp. also *id. on Talm. Kerith. l. c., on Exod. XXIX. 7, and XXX. 26; Kimchi on Ps. CXXXIII. 2*): but the Hebrew כ has no resemblance either with the Greek X or K, and to add to the singularity of the explanation, Rashi observes elsewhere (on *Exod. XXIX. 2*), that the Greek כ has the form of the Hebrew כ. Yet both

and girded them with girdles, and put turbans upon them, as the Lord had commanded Moses.

14. And he [Moses] caused the bullock for the sin-

views, namely that the anointment took the shape of the Hebrew **נ**, and that it took that of the Greek **X**, have been extensively adopted, the former chiefly by Jewish writers, because **נ** is the initial of **נִסָּךְ**, or because the High-priest was to serve God with his hand (**נִסָּךְ**, Abarbanel), the latter by Christian interpreters, because **X** resembles the cross (comp. Ezek. IX. 4); and the High-priest is the type of Christ (e. g. *Selden*, De Succ. in Pontif. II. 9; *Schickhard*, De Jure Hebr. Reg. Cap. I. theor. 4, p. 75; *Lundius*, Jüd. Heiligth. III. xxvii. 28, 29; *Reland*, Antiqq. III. I. 5, 7, comp., however, *Ravius* in loc.); while *Vitranga* (Obs. Sacr. p. 457) curiously combines both opinions ("quia in ea litera **X** latet duplex litera caph Hebraea, ad dorsum sibi obversae, hac specie **נ**, et quia litera **נ** est prima vocis **נִסָּךְ**"). — The Talmudical distinction between **נִסָּךְ** and **מִשְׁחָה** is fictitious (*Talm.* II. cc.). Yet it has frequently been defended, and most elaborately by Abarbanel, who maintains (on Exod. XXX. 22—33, Rule V, p. 104a ed. Amsterd.), that the two acts symbolise two different characteristics of the High-priest — his election and his endowment with the holy spirit, though he cannot help confessing that both terms appear to be synonymous; nor are the reasons by which he endeavours to account for the anointment of all successive High-priests, but of the first common priests only, at all acceptable, namely, because the former were invariably elected or singled out from among their brethren on account of their excellence, whereas the latter were all alike admitted to the sacred functions merely on account of their birth: but according to the tenour of the Law, the dignity of the High-priest

was evidently also meant to be strictly hereditary; but it was so important and comprehensive, that it seemed, at every change, to require a renewal of the Divine spirit and grace (comp. *Carpzov*, Appar. Crit. pp. 59, 60, 67, 68; *Vitranga*, l. c. pp. 454—457; *Bauer*, Gottesd. Verf. II. 317, 318; *Bähr*, Symb. II. 167, 168; etc.). — It has, on the one hand, been asserted that "the later High-priests were not anointed, and that the anointment of Aaron was the first and the last, valid for all future times" (*Hengstenb.* on Pa. CXXXIII. 2, vol. IV. 2, p. 82); while it has, on the other hand, been contended that even all the common priests of later times were anointed and consecrated (*Keil*, Comm. on Lev. pp. 60, 61): the commands of the Pentateuch on both points are beyond misconception (Exod. XXIX. 29, 30; Lev. VI. 13, 15). Nor is there any foundation for the opinion that later "not all the priests of the house of Aaron were anointed, but the sacrificial priests only, from whom the High-priest was chosen" (*Ewald*, Alterthümer, p. 290): the Pentateuch knows no such distinction between "ordinary" and "sacrificial" priests. — The suffix in **נִסָּךְ** (ver. 9) refers to Aaron, for **מִשְׁחָה** is of feminine gender. — The singular **וְנִסָּךְ** (ver. 13; comp. Exod. XXIX. 9), where logically the plural would be required "and he girded them with girdles" (comp. **וְנִסָּךְ**, **וְנִסָּךְ**), must be understood in a distributive sense, "he girded each of them with a girdle" (comp. Gramm. § LXXXV.); the plural **וְנִסָּךְ** (Exod. XXVIII. 40), which the Samaritan codex offers, was, perhaps, not commonly used.

14—21. The second or sacrificial series of ceremonies begins with a sin-

offering to be brought near; and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the bullock for the sin-offering; 15. And Moses slew *it*, and took the blood, and put *it* upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger, and purified the altar; and he poured the *other* blood at the bottom of the altar, and sanctified it, and expiated it. 16. And Moses took all

offering, and then proceeds to a holocaust. The first of these introductory acts corresponds with the preliminary rite of bathing in the first series, to which it is on the one side kindred, on the other opposed; for it is indeed negative in its character, in as much as it aims at the removal of sin; but it does not express this object merely by an external symbol, but accomplishes it by a sacrifice which secures Divine grace and forgiveness: the purification is, by the sin-offering, not only aimed at, but effected; and it is effected in a much deeper sense than it can even be aimed at by the lustration. However, the sin-offering killed on this exceptional occasion strictly resembled no sacrifice of the same class, as ordinarily presented. For commonly, either the blood of the sin-offering was partially brought into the Holy, and then the entire victim was burnt; or the blood did not come beyond the Court, and then certain parts of the victim were allowed to be eaten (VI. 18, 19, 23; see pp. 259, 260). But the blood of the sin-offering here commanded for the consecration of Aaron and his sons was wholly disposed of at the brazen altar in the Court (ver. 15), and yet the animal was to be completely delivered up to the flames (ver. 17). Why, on the one hand, was no part of the blood taken into the Sanctuary? or why, on the other hand, could the flesh not be eaten? To begin with the latter point, it will be easily understood, that there was no suitable person to receive and to consume the flesh. The priests, to

whose share it ordinarily fell, could not eat it, because they were, in this instance, not the atoning mediators, but the objects of atonement themselves; nor could Moses partake of it, because it was "most holy", and could, therefore, be permitted to priests exclusively (VI. 18, 19), and not even to him who, on that extraordinary occasion, and by the special command of God, performed priestly functions. Less obvious is the explanation of the other point. It might appear, at first sight, particularly appropriate to take a part of the blood of expiation into the Holy, to put it there on the altar of burnt-incense, and to sprinkle it before God (IV. 5—7, 16—18), since a more solemn opportunity for the exercise of the most imposing rites can scarcely be imagined than the initiation of the permanent intercessors between God and his chosen people. If, nevertheless, in this most essential respect, the less sacred ceremonial was observed, and the blood was disposed of at the brazen altar alone (IV. 25, 30, 34), the reason can only be analogous to that which involved the clue to the former question, namely, that Moses, the *Levite*, though he anointed all implements of the Sanctuary, was on no account, and not even once and exceptionally, to be permitted, in connection with sacrifices, to enter the Holy, which was reserved for the *priests* alone, and which it was a heinous crime and an impious rebellion, on the part of any "stranger" to defile by his presence (see p. 563). Moreover, the blood was

the fat, that *was* upon the bowels, and the great lobe of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and burnt *it* upon the altar. 17. But the bullock, both his hide, his flesh, and his dung, he burnt with fire without the camp; as the Lord had commanded Moses. 18. And he made the ram for the burnt-offering come near; and

brought into the Holy in two cases only — if the sacrifice was presented in the name of the whole nation or of the High-priest, because the former *is* the sum of all theocratic holiness, and the latter *represents* it; but he represents it only *in consequence* of his consecration; therefore, while the consecration was not completed, and while he was not fully qualified for his elevated office, he could neither claim its high prerogatives, nor did he bear all its heavy responsibilities in a manner that his sin should require so powerful an expiation. Therefore, Aaron's sin-offering was not even invested with its full solemnity, when he himself presented his first initiatory sacrifice, irrespective of a peculiar transgression or of periodical atonement (IX. 9). Yet that particular sin-offering was to be connected with a particular object; it was not merely designed to purify the priests, but also to sanctify the altar, where they were thenceforth charged to approach the presence of God; it was not simply an expiatory sacrifice, but most properly an offering of initiation: for as the *sin* of the people defiled the *Sanctuary* and its utensils (XVI. 16, 19), it was necessary not only to remove the former, but also to sanctify the latter. Therefore, the blood was not simply "sprinkled round about upon the altar", as was the case with holocausts (I. 5, 11) and the thank-offerings (III. 2, 8, 13), nor was it merely "put upon the horns" of the altar with the finger, as was done with the sin-offerings of the less solemn kind (IV. 25, 30, 34); but

"Moses took the blood and put it upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger, and purified the altar" (ver. 15): the horns of the altar were not only to be carefully touched with the blood by the finger, but they were at all sides to be so entirely covered with the blood, that this ceremony might be understood to mean not merely the atonement of those, for whom the sacrifice was presented, but also the sanctification of the altar itself. Now the meaning of the rituals observed at this sin-offering will be clear. Moses brought the bullock to the Court of the Tabernacle; Aaron and his sons placed their right hands on the head of the victim, because they were, in this instance, not the priests, but the offerers. Moses killed the animal, because he, the chosen mediator of the Covenant, through whom Israel became the people of God and a holy nation, was to perform as many functions as was compatible with his position; he disposed of the blood in the manner described and burnt the fat and the fat parts on the altar in the Court, while all that remained of the animal he directed to be delivered up to the flames without the camp (vers. 14—17).

The last preliminary was a holocaust; it was even more important than the sin-offering; it was not merely negative in its nature; for it typified the complete and absolute abandonment of all human and selfish aims, and the unconditional submission to the Divine will and guidance; it followed, therefore, appropriately after the sin-offering, by which Aaron and

Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram. 19. And Moses killed it; and sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about. 20. And Moses cut the ram into its pieces, and he burnt the head, and the pieces, and the fat. 21. And Moses washed the bowels and the legs in water; and he burnt the whole ram

his sons had become worthy of being accepted as the pure servants of God; and Moses might well hope, that the animal then rising in the flames of the altar, would indeed be "a burnt-sacrifice for a sweet odour to the Lord".

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The custom of the consecration of priests by means of sacrifices seems to have been of early date among the Hebrews; king Abijah reproached Jeroboam and his followers in these terms, "Whoever comes to consecrate himself (למלא ידו) with a young bullock and seven rams, may be a priest to no-gods" (2 Chr. XIII. 9). — It cannot be doubted that the words, "And Moses took the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger, and purified the altar, and poured the other blood at the bottom of the altar", allude to *the same* altar, namely that of burnt-offering; the supposition that they refer to the two different altars, the first part to the golden, the second to the brazen one, would involve a defiance of all rules of intelligible expression (comp. IX. 9; see IV. 7, 18, where the two altars mentioned in a similar connection, are clearly and even minutely distinguished); while the assumption that the altar of burnt-incense is meant, is rendered impossible by the fact that blood was never poured out at the bottom of that altar, within the Holy (comp. Rosenm. in loc.), but when blood was put on its horns, it was also sprinkled "before the Lord", that is, on the vail (see IV. 6, 7, 17, 18; pp. 501, 502), to which no allusion

is made in our passage. — From Exod. XXIX. 10, 11, 16, 20, it is clear that *Moses*, and not Aaron, brought the bullock to the door of the Tabernacle, and killed it, and that he likewise slaughtered the two other sacrifices (והקריב and ושהחט); therefore ויש (in ver. 14) must be referred to the subject of the preceding verse; while וישחט (in vers. 15, 19, 23) is to be connected with the *following* subject (ויקח משה), in accordance with a not unusual peculiarity of the Hebrew syntax (see on I. 1). This is also the case in vers. 16 (ויקח משה and ויקח), 20, 21; and we have translated accordingly. — ואת זרם (ver. 15) stands for ואת כל זרם (IV. 7, 18), and means, like the latter phrase, all the *remaining* blood; see on IV. 7. — Here (ver. 15) and in IX. 9, the verb יצק is employed in the sense of *pouring out* (comp. 1 Ki. XXII. 35), while elsewhere, in similar contexts, שפך is used (IV. 7, 18, 25, etc.) without difference of meaning. — Although לכפר עליו may simply mean "to make atonement upon it", since this was the chief object of the altar, it is, with greater probability, here to be rendered in connection with the preceding ויקדשוהו, "and he sanctified it by expiating it", that is, "and expiated it" (comp. the corresponding passage in Exod. XXIX. 36 וזמחו על דמובו; also XXX. 10; Lev. XVI. 18, 33; see Gramm. §. 98. 5; so also Rosenm., De Wette, Herzheimer, a. o.), because the whole verse treats of the expiation of the altar, and כפר is, in this sense, synonymous with נקח which Onkel. here renders נקח (see

upon the altar: it *was* a burnt-sacrifice for a sweet odour, an offering made by fire to the Lord, as the Lord had commanded Moses.

22. And he made the other ram come near, the ram of consecration; and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram. 23. And Moses slew *it*, and took of its blood, and put *it* upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon

p. 476). — In ver. 17, first the whole animal (וְהַדֹּפֶר) is mentioned, and then its parts (וְהַמִּזְבֵּחַ) are specified, while Exod. XXIX. 14 has, more simply, וְהַדֹּפֶר וְהַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְהַדֹּפֶר וְהַמִּזְבֵּחַ. — Whether Moses himself performed the burning of the sin-offering without the camp (ver. 17), and the washing of the bowels and of the legs of the holocaust (ver. 21), is uncertain, as these operations might well have been confided to any clean assistant, and the verbs שָׁחַט and שָׁחַט may be taken in an impersonal sense. — Philo (Vita Mos. II. 17) understands the holocaust as an offering of gratitude for all the blessings enjoyed by man; but even if gratitude were in accordance with the nature of the burnt-offering, it would stand in no relation to the ritual of consecration, to which all acts must be referred.

22—32. And now followed the concluding ceremony, in which the whole ritual culminated; it was the proper and distinctive "sacrifice of consecration"; it defined and qualified all the general acts which had preceded. External and inward purification, atonement and free devotion of all powers and thoughts to God, investiture with the characteristic garments, and endowment with the holy spirit — all these duties and qualifications were necessarily to be symbolised, before the priests could be introduced to the rights and privileges of their office. In form, that sacrifice was a thank-offering; it was, therefore, evidently designed

to express the humble gratitude of Aaron and his sons for having, without any title or merit, been selected for functions so exalted and for prerogatives so uncommon; but it was connected with rites which once more and comprehensively pointed to the peculiar nature of their mission. Moses brought the animal, a ram like the burnt-offering, to the door of the Tabernacle; Aaron and his sons, of course, imposed their hands upon its head; and when Moses had killed it, he put some of its blood upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot; and he then repeated the same ceremony with Aaron's sons. The significance of these acts is self-evident: they were to remind the priests, that henceforth it was their duty pre-eminently, to listen to the commands of God, to act in accordance with His will, since even their consecration was a "filling of the hand" (מִלֵּא דַּלְמָא), and to walk in His ways (comp. Exod. XXVIII. 35); the general piety emblematically enjoined by the holocaust, was thus distinctly specified in its chief manifestations, and was clearly brought home to the minds of the elected ministers. The *right* members of the body were chosen for this peculiar ceremony, because the right side was regarded as the more honoured, more important, and more auspicious, and therefore included the left (see p. 176 note 2; comp., however, *Lucan*, Phars. VI. 563); and the *extremities* only, and not the *entire* members



the great toe of his right foot. 24. And Moses made Aaron's sons come near, and put of the blood upon the tip of their right ears, and upon the thumbs of their right hands, and upon the great toes of their right feet; and Moses sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about. 25. And he took the fat, and the fat tail, and all the fat that *was* upon the bowels, and the great lobe

were marked with the blood, because the act was symbolical, and the most conspicuous part sufficed to point to the whole and to represent it. The blood of the ram of consecration was, therefore, the blood of pledge and covenant; it bound the priests to the authority of God as their Lord and sole Master. It was, hence, not superfluous even after the oil with which they had been anointed. For the oil bestowed upon them, supernaturally, enlightenment, and wisdom, and holiness of heart; but the blood typified their own personal efforts in which they vowed to be untiring in virtuous and godly conduct; the one raised them above the level of ordinary humanity, the latter reminded them most forcibly of their human obligations; the former, in fact, was freely and graciously granted to them by God, the latter involved a mutual compact. In view of this paramount importance of the consecration-offering, it might well be asked, why the animal selected for it was a ram, and not, like the sin-offering, a bullock, which was regarded as the noblest victim (pp. 82, 83). We may venture the supposition that as the ram was the ordinary, and perhaps the most primitive, sacrificial animal, it was deemed particularly appropriate for a ceremony designed to convey the ordinary duties and privileges of priesthood, since it recalled more plainly than any other animal, the usual service of the altar. A distinction from the sin-offering might have appeared the more desirable, because the sin-offering was a preparatory,

the thank-offering the characteristic sacrifice of the ceremonial.

After Moses had sprinkled the remaining blood "on the altar round about", as was the custom in all thank-offerings, he proceeded to another and very remarkable ceremony meant to illustrate another side of the priestly mission. He took the fat, and the fat parts, and the right shoulder of the victim, put upon this flesh and fat one cake of each of the three unleavened kinds which he had brought with him in a basket, placed the whole upon the hands of Aaron and his sons, and consecrated it to God by the peculiar rite of waving (*וּשְׂאֵף*, pp. 199—201); after which he "took all of it from their hands, and burnt it on the altar upon the burnt-offering; it was a consecration (*דְּבָרֹה*), for a sweet odour, an offering made by fire to the Lord" (ver. 28); while he himself received, for his own portion, the breast of the victim, after he had waved it also. Now, what was the meaning of this "consecration"? It could not denote that God presented the priests, for the future, with the portions so hallowed (thus *Bähr*, *Symbol.* II. 426; *Winer*, *Real-Wört.* I. 381; *Öhler* in *Herz.* XII. 179; a. o.); for on the one hand, the breast which fell to the share of the priests, was not consecrated, while, on the other hand, the fat and fat parts, which were always burnt, were among the waved objects. Nor could it symbolically promise and guarantee to the priests that sacrifices would never be wanting among the Hebrews; nor did it exactly refer to



was not generally burnt on the altar. That ceremony cannot, indeed, be explained by the ordinary sacrificial practice, because it is entirely exceptional and singular in character. Aaron and his sons could not receive the right shoulder and the breast, their usual perquisites in thank-offerings, because the ram was not sacrificed for others, but in their own name, and because they were, at that time, not even fully authorised as priests — they were virtually not more than private individuals. Those parts might, therefore, have naturally been assigned to Moses. But though Moses, on this one occasion, *officiated* as priest, he *was* no priest; a distinction was to be made between him and the consecrated functionaries of the Sanctuary; and he received, therefore, but one of the parts, while the other — the right shoulder, which was the proper gift (תְּרִיבִי) set aside for the priests — was included in the objects to be burnt on the altar (comp. p. 554). Though Moses was not permitted to partake of the sin-offering, it might be supposed that he was allowed to eat of the thank-offering, because the former was so sacred that its blood was, in certain cases, brought into the Holy while the latter

it was not even families. The solemnity of the than the light con offering. This is the words, "And shall eat those t atonement was m to hallow them; not eat thereof, for XXIX. 33). That A allowed to consun found surprising, sacrifice as one o with God is consid be eaten in the C itself, and not me and the remaind the very same d with the praise-o was to be reserv day, as was pern thank-offerings. offering included as was the case i ferings (VII. 13), part of the sacrific which everything kept aloof, as al paschal lamb, wh virtually also a th 2911. Everywhe

Aaron's hands and upon his sons' hands, and waved them *for* a wave-offering before the Lord. 28. And Moses took them from their hands, and burnt *them* on the altar upon the burnt-offering: they *were* consecrations for a sweet odour; it *was* an offering made by fire to the Lord. 29. And Moses took the breast and waved it *for* a wave-offering before the Lord; it was the portion of Moses from the ram of consecration, as the Lord had commanded Moses. 30. And Moses took of the

the service of the altar, and to offer the sacrifices in the name of the chosen people.

The altar, a principal object in the Tabernacle, had been anointed with oil (vers. 10, 11); it had also been sprinkled with the blood of the holocaust and of the ram of consecration (vers. 19, 24); it had thus been marked both as a place of Divine holiness and as an emblem of solemn covenant concluded between God and His appointed ministers; in a similar manner, the High-priest, and through him the whole order of priests, had been anointed with oil, and had been marked with the blood of consecration in some of the most important parts of the body allowing a symbolical reference to moral and religious conduct. But not even these acts, so clearly corresponding with each other, were deemed sufficient to express the intimate connection between the priests and the altar, and to enforce the idea that the former were not only sanctified, but allied to God. A still more striking ceremony was performed. The oil and the blood that mingled upon the altar, were sprinkled upon Aaron and his garments, and upon his sons and their garments: the sanctification and the alliance were to be exhibited, not as two separate ends, but as one and the same object coinciding by their reciprocal bearing; the priests were sanctified only in order to be allied to God, and they could be

so allied only by being sanctified. They were to be holy not merely as religious functionaries but in all their relations of life; therefore, the blood and the oil were sprinkled both upon their official garments and their persons; the garments were thus consecrated as holy and priestly vestments exclusively devoted to religious service, and not to be profaned to other purposes; while the persons were sealed as entirely and unreservedly claimed by God, and raised above the human standard. Thus the ceremonial is aptly brought to a conclusion by a significant act which judiciously combines and concentrates the most essential of the preceding rites.—It follows, from these remarks, that the oil and the blood were of equal importance, and that neither the one nor the other was subordinate. It follows also that both were not, as in some other cases, separately sprinkled upon the priests and their vestments (comp. XIV. 14, 15, 25, 26), but in the compound form they had assumed by mixing upon the altar; else the separation would unquestionably have been stated in the text, as it was stated in those instances alluded to; moreover, it would have been impossible to mention, in the command of Exodus (XXIX. 21), first the blood and then the oil, and in our chapter (ver. 30) first the oil and then the blood; since in the case of their being sprinkled separately, the order in which this was

ments, it aimed at the consecration of the garments and the persons alike. Nor can it be considered singular, that the marking of the ear, the hand, and the foot preceded the sprinkling of the altar with the mingled oil and blood, a circumstance which has occasioned needless speculations (comp. Kurtz, *Opfercultus*, pp. 280—290): for the proper act of expiation was the sin-offering, the first of the sacrificial series; after the confession of absolute allegiance conveyed by the holocaust, the ceremonies of the ram of consecration appropriately commenced with the marking of the members, at once the most striking and the most specific act denoting the priests' readiness and zeal, which they could then promise with purified minds; and the ritual is terminated by a most comprehensive and suggestive act, recalling the priestly privileges and duties.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — It seems evident that the holocaust was more closely connected with the preceding sin-offering than with the following thank-offering. The latter stands so decidedly separate from the rest, and is so manifestly the distinctive sacrifice of consecration, that it must appear strange indeed to couple it with the

which followed the chief medium consecration; yet to render מלואים "consecration" or "completion," Sept., and thus to identify (so Targ. Jonath. ככולא; comp. רחן ומשלימין אהנים בכרותם מלואים has a di on VII. 37). The (איל) has been the circumstance leaders of the *primores civitatis* ever, not the ram in the Pentateuch victim. — The relative meaning described is that Levi ben Gershon nothing but a was presented offerers were not honoured by His gift. But when it and purified, the caust which was Him, and by

Moses said to Aaron and to his sons, Boil the flesh at the door of the Tent of Meeting, and there eat it with the bread that is in the basket of consecration, as I

favour and grace of God to such a degree that they could eat with Him at the same table" (see also *Abardanel* on Exod. XXIX): it is unnecessary to point out, how far this vague and general explanation expresses the specific character of the rites. Philo (l. c.) interprets the ceremony of marking the ear, the hand, and the foot with blood, in the following manner: *ὅτι δὲ τὸν τέλειον καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ βίῃ παντὶ καθαρύνειν — λόγον μὲν γὰρ ἀκοῇ δικαίει, χεῖρ δὲ ἔργον σύμβολον, διαθέδου δὲ τῆς παρὰ τὸν βίον ποίης*. The objections that have been raised against these and similar explanations (for instance, by *Philippson*, *Pentat.* pp. 575, 576) are of little weight. — *וְהָיָה קֶרֶן* (ver. 23) is the tip of the ear, the extreme part; Onkel. *מִן הָאָזְנוֹת*; Sept. *λεβὸς τοῦ ὠτός*; Vulg. *extremum auriculae*; Luther *Ohrknorpel*, and Targ. Jonath. *מִן הָאָזְנוֹת דְּמַצִּיעָא* (*cartilago*). — The Samaritan codex reads (in ver. 25) *וְהָיָה לֶב וְהָיָה לֶב* (comp. Exod. XXIX. 22), which is more correct and more logical than the received reading *וְהָיָה לֶב וְהָיָה לֶב*, since the *לֶב* is, according to the usual Biblical conception, counted as one of the fat parts (III. 9; VII. 3; comp. IX. 19; see p. 494). — Keil (*Archäol.* I. 265; comp. *Comm. on Levit.* p. 60) thus interprets the ceremony of sprinkling the mingled oil and blood, "The blood taken from the altar typifies the *soul* united with God through atonement; while the holy anointing oil is the symbol of the *spirit* of God, the principle of all spiritual life in the kingdom of God; hence that act of sprinkling endows the *souls* and the *spirits* of the priests with the heavenly power of Divine life:" however, the

blood typifies, in this ceremony, not so much the *soul* as the *covenant*; and the explanation, singular in itself, would be extremely strange, if, as is required, it be applied to the *garments* (comp. also *Kurtz*, *Opfere.* pp. 292, 293). — Instead of *עַל אֹרֶן עַל-כִּבְיֹוֹ* (ver. 30), an asyndeton, we read, more distinctly, in Exod. XXIX. 21, *עַל אֹרֶן וְעַל-כִּבְיֹוֹ*. Wessely supposes that asyndeton to intimate that the sprinkling was intended for Aaron's *garments* principally, because his *person* had already been anointed, whereas in the case of the sons, it was required both for the garments and the persons — a playful speculation. — It is not easy to understand, how blood could at all be taken from the altar, as it had already some time before been sprinkled upon its sides (even if the more favourable arrangement of Exodus be adopted, see *supra* p. 663), and none of it was allowed to come upon its upper surface (see p. 191 note 7); it must, therefore, have rapidly flowed down to the base or coagulated at its sides. — We may here refer to the analogous, though more immoderate ceremonies of the "Taurobolium," which sacrifice was, among other occasions, presented at the initiation of the High-priest of Cybele. It has been described as "a baptism of blood", and was believed to effect spiritual regeneration. The High-priest, gorgeously dressed in a toga of silk and a golden crown, entered a large pit over which were placed boards loosely joined and perforated with holes. A bull covered with garlands and flowers was led upon the boards, and there slaughtered so that the blood fell through the chinks and holes in showers upon the priest, who not only received

have been commanded, saying, Aaron and his sons shall eat it. 32. And that which remains of the flesh, and of the bread you shall burn with fire.

33. And you shall not go out of the door of the Tent of Meeting, *for* seven days, until the days of your consecration be at an end; for *during* seven days you

it eagerly upon his body and clothes, but "held back his head and face to let it flow on his cheeks, his ears, lips, and nostrils, nay, he allowed the eyes to be wetted, and even moistened his tongue with it, and some he swallowed." (Guttas ad omnes turpe subjectans caput, Et veste et omni putrefactus corpore: Quin os supinat, obvias offert genas, Supponit aures, labra, nares obicit, Oculos et ipsos perluit liquoribus, Nec jam palato parcit et linguam rigat, Donec cruorem totus atrum conbibat). When he came forth in such horrible state, he was received with congratulations by the people, who adored him at a distance, because they now considered him as entirely purified by the blood of expiation (Omnes salutant atque adorant eminus, Vilis quod illum sanguis et hos mortuus Foedis latentem sub cavernis laverit; see *Prudentius*, Carmina, Peristephanon X, Romani Martyris Supplicium, vers. 1011—1050, pp. 278, 279 ed. Obbarius). — The Septuagint adds after אֵל מוֹעַד (ver. 31) appropriately ἐν τόπῳ ἀγίῳ, and the Samaritan text בְּמִקְוֵי קֹדֶשׁ. — It seems preferable to read in ver. 31 (and in X. 18) כִּי אֵל מוֹעַד as *I have been commanded* (as in ver. 35 and X. 13), instead of וְאֵל מוֹעַד (and so translate here Sept. ἐν τόπῳ συντάτταται μοι, Vulg. sicut praecepit mihi Dominus, Onk. וְאֵל מוֹעַד כִּי אֵל מוֹעַד, and in X. 18 Sept. ἐν τόπῳ συντάτταται μοι, Vulg. sicut praeceptum est mihi, Targ. Jonath. וְאֵל מוֹעַד כִּי אֵל מוֹעַד); for Moses would hardly refer to his own repetition of the Divine commands (ver. 5), but rather

to the commands themselves (comp. ver. 36; IX. 6; and Exod. XXIX. 31); moreover, it is nowhere intimated when and where Moses had previously explained these to Aaron and his sons.—On אֵל מוֹעַד see note on V. 9.

33—36. In order to endow the ceremonial of consecration with the utmost solemnity of which it was capable, it was to be repeated, in exactly the same manner, for *seven* successive days, during which Aaron and his sons were forbidden to leave the holy precincts of the Tabernacle, whether by day or by night. If this were not clear from our text, "And you shall not go out of the door of the Tent of Meeting for seven days, until the days of your consecration be at an end; for during seven days shall you be consecrated" (ver. 33), it is raised beyond all doubt by the wording of the commands in Exodus, "For seven days shall he of Aaron's sons who will be priest in his stead put the garments on" (XXIX. 30); and "For seven days shalt thou make an atonement for the altar and hallow it" (ver. 37); nay, it is expressly stated, "Seven days shalt thou consecrate them" (אֵל מוֹעַד ver. 35), which naturally necessitates seven times the "ram of initiation" (אֵל מוֹעַד) — "and thou shalt offer *every day* (לְיָמָיו) a bullock for a sin-offering of atonement" (ver. 36); the other acts, both those which precede, and those which follow, are then matters of course; and the re-iterated expiation of the altar is specially mentioned (vers. 36, 37). Indeed, if any deviations from the ritual described had been intended,

shall be consecrated. 34. As has been done this day, so the Lord has commanded to do, to make an atonement for you. 35. And you shall abide *at* the door of the Tent of Meeting day and night *for* seven days, and

the text, so elaborate and so minute, would not have failed to specify them; it is scarcely possible to understand the assertion that the two rams were offered on the first day only, since a repetition of these sacrifices would have been without aim and object (*Bähr*, l. c. p. 415): for what was more important and more characteristic than the ram of consecration, with its varied and most significant rites? And if it is certain from the plain statement of our passage that the sin-offering — the mere negative element in the sacrificial series — was presented seven times, it is impossible to doubt that the two other sacrifices, positive and specific in their import, were deemed equally indispensable; and this view is corroborated by Ezekiel's account of the initiation of future priests (XLIII. 25, 26), an account presenting various other parallels of great interest (vers. 22—27). Seven is the number of *sanctification*; therefore, every chief act was to be repeated seven times; for to *consecrate* is to *sanctify* (see p. 561); but seven is also the number of *covenant*; the ceremonial was to express the perpetual covenant concluded between God and the house of Aaron; its meaning is, therefore, well expressed in the words of Sirach, "Moses consecrated him (Aaron), and anointed him with holy oil; this was appointed to him by an everlasting covenant, and to his seed, so long as the heavens should remain, that they should minister to Him, and execute the office of priesthood, and bless the people in His name" (XLV. 15).

It needs hardly to be observed, that the ritual executed in the manner specified and explained, everywhere be-

trays its very late origin. It exhibits, as has been admitted on all sides, the whole of the ceremonial law in full operation; it alludes, as to a well-known and familiar matter, to sin-offerings, the most recent class of sacrifices, which was not even in the time of the Deuteronomist legally fixed; and it bespeaks that stage of Levitical organisation which, as we have proved, characterises the most advanced phase in the spiritual life of the Hebrews. We will not urge that history has preserved to us no instance, nor even any indirect mention of or remote allusion to any pontifical consecration approaching in its mode that which is here ordered for all successive High-priests; nor do we attach much importance to the fact, that in some passages of the Pentateuch where the rites of consecration are referred to, no animal sacrifice whatever is named, but that it is simply stated, "And thou shalt clothe with the sacred garments, Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him; and thou shalt anoint them, and consecrate them, that they may serve Me as priests" (Exod. XXVIII. 41; comp. XXX. 30); or "And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons to the door of the Tent of Meeting, and wash them with water; and thou shalt clothe Aaron in the holy garments, and anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may serve Me as priest; and thou shalt bring his sons, and clothe them with tunics; and thou shalt anoint them, as thou hast anointed their father, that they may serve Me as priests" (Exod. XL. 12—15): we do not consider such omission altogether decisive or cogent, for it may be designed in passages preceding the statement of the sacrificial legislation. But we are

the High-priest's anointment, as "an eternal statute" (VI. 12—15). Now that ritual, though evidently not stated with completeness, contains features entirely different from those described in our chapter. A cereal offering is ordained to be prepared in a peculiar manner; while no animal sacrifice is mentioned. The High-priest himself, and not Moses, was evidently meant to present the offering. It is preposterous to find in this passage an allusion to "the impending consecration of the priests" (*Ranke*, *Untersuch.* II. 84), as if an internal connection existed between that ordinance and our chapter. Even if we were inclined to ignore the *argumentum ex silentio*, we are compelled to conclude from what is plainly stated, that, at earlier periods, the consecration of even the chief priest was accomplished in a most simple manner, by anointment, and by a cereal oblation presented in the morning and the evening; while gradually, as the Levitical principles and theories were unfolded, the ceremony assumed larger proportions, and was at last invested with every significant symbol which the new system was able to devise.

The initiation of the *Levites* will be described and explained in its due

and holy thoughts had scarcely realized the clearness the position of the execution of the duration of *seven* with holy acts in accordance with the Pentateuch (see pp. 448—450, on which we need not take to denote that "the created to that God universe in seven" Rosenm., Gerlach, justly (*Herz*. XII the succeeding is sin-offering, but others sacrifices also for the prescribed was effected by the creation, which is a holocaust"; compare p. 62. — At the also identical on successive days pari ceremoniarum *Apuleius*, l. c. sup. (in ver. 33) and to be taken in the consecration it has been done, grammatically. n



## CHAPTER IX.

**SUMMARY.**—On the eighth day, Aaron, by the direction of Moses, sacrificed a sin- and a burnt-offering for himself and his sons, and a sin-, a burnt-, and a thank-offering for the people, and added to them the necessary cereal oblations. In both cases, the sin-offering was presented in the same manner as that brought on the days of consecration, that is, the blood came on the brazen altar of the Court only, and yet the flesh was burnt entirely (vers. 8—11, 15). In the thank-offerings, both the breasts and right shoulders of the victims were waved, a deviation from the ordinary ritual suggested by the peculiar nature of the occasion (ver. 21). Then Aaron blessed the people (ver. 22), and went with Moses into the Holy, and both blessed the people again; after which God appeared in His glory, and sent fire from heaven which consumed the sacrifices on the altar: the people, at once rejoiced and awed by the miracle, worshipped God (vers. 23, 24).

1. And it was on the eighth day *that* Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel. 2. And he said to Aaron, Take for thyself a young calf for a

1, 2. After the priests had been installed into their office, it was deemed desirable at once to exhibit them in the full activity of their ministrations. No time was to be lost to prove how essential their services were for the welfare of the theocracy, and how eagerly the new officials themselves longed to perform their noble functions. Therefore, as a natural continuation in the description of the inaugural rites, follows an accurate account of the sacrifices which they presented on the first day of their priesthood, which was the eighth after the commencement of the consecration. As, in spite of their election and anointment, the sense of human sinfulness and frailty which they shared with those for whom they interceded, was to be kept alive in their minds, the offerings at which they officiated in the name of the people, were preceded by offerings in their own behalf. And these sacrifices were a sin-offering and a holocaust, both recalling moral insufficiency and dependence; they did not include a thank-offering, because such stern and humiliating feelings were to be mingled

with no element which, however distantly and indirectly, might foster the sentiments of pride and self-complacency. In order to distinguish the sacrifices of the eighth day from the more solemn ones of the week of consecration, the sin-offering was no bullock, which is the *victima maxima*, but a young calf, pointing indeed to that solemnity, but inferior to it in degree; though the holocaust consisted, as in the previous ceremonies, of a ram. In reality, Aaron and his sons might seem to require, on the eighth day, no particular expiation, since they had passed the preceding seven days exclusively in acts of atonement and holiness; but the principle that they could not possibly be the mediators for the forgiveness of the people, unless they had first secured it for themselves, was to be strikingly enforced in their very first acts of public ministration.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — It is evident from these remarks that the command specially addressed to Aaron (קֹדֶשׁ עֲגֹל בְּכֹרֶךָ וְכִי) applies to his sons also; for as the High-priest

vers. 9, 12, 18—20), and required, therefore, the same preparation. — Jewish tradition considers that the “eighth day” was a day of new-moon, the first of Nisan (comp. Exod. XL. 2), and that, on this day, the offerings of the chiefs of the people commenced or were continued (Num. VII; comp. *Talm. Zevach.* 101*b*; *Shabb.* 87*b*); and on these unsupported conjectures, it bases numerous fanciful interpretations in this and the next chapter, which it would be unprofitable to mention in detail (comp. also *Targ. Jonath.* on X. 16).

3, 4. An offering more grand and more comprehensive than that of the priests, was prescribed for the people; for it was intended as the first active manifestation of the holy community at the national and sanctified altar through hallowed intercessors; it partook, therefore, also of the character of an initiatory sacrifice. It comprised all the chief classes — the sin-, the burnt-, and the thank-offering —, coupled with a cereal oblation, and it included all the ordinary sacrificial animals. The sin-offering consisted of a kid of the goats usually set apart for public sacrifices of that kind (pp. 83, 84): but each of the two other offer-

valued victims people were pre and to manifest t they had advanc towards their lo they had witne an essential poi had received; t the certainty worldly destini ests and those happiness, peace of God, were established-upo ations. Yet, th deep gratitude, tunity for festi was tempered i new covenant to be supernatu self and His gl the midst of th pably to prove had ordained i bernacle, the sa and that He w offerings that that holy plac ministers (see o fore, the thank- from the *speci number* of the

offering, 4. Also a bullock and a ram for a thank-offering, to sacrifice before the Lord; and a bloodless offering mingled with oil; for to day the Lord will appear to you.

5. And they brought *that* which Moses commanded before the Tent of Meeting: and all the congregation drew near, and stood before the Lord. 6. And Moses

convivial repasts were to be moderate and of no protracted duration. All arrangements prescribed were thoughtfully adapted to the character of the occasion.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — Aaron was to speak to "the children of Israel" (ver. 3) who attended the ceremonies (ver. 5; comp. VIII. 3, 4), probably through the elders (ver. 1); yet it is unnecessary to read (in ver. 3) *וְאֵל וְקִנִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל* (Samar., Sept. *εἰς ἑσπερας*; see p. 664). — The calf and the lamb together formed the holocaust (hence the singular *עֹלָה*, vers. 3, 16, 22, 24), as the ox and the ram combined constituted the thank-offering (whence *שְׁלֵמִים* has, in vers. 4, 18, 22, the meaning of the singular). — The thank-offering was to include a *שֵׁן*, which is of epicene gender (Gramm. § 22. 2); for that sacrifice might consist either of a male or a female animal (see p. 243). — It is evident, that the Divine vision here promised ("for to day the Lord will appear to you", ver. 4; comp. ver. 6) is an *exceptional* manifestation, designed as a special sanction of the inauguration of Aaron's family; it cannot, therefore, be brought into connection with the general promise of God, that He would meet with the children of Israel at the Tabernacle "that it be hallowed by His glory" (*וְנִקְדָּשׁ בְּכִבוֹדִי*, Exod. XXIX. 43) — a view taken by those anxious to establish a fictitious continuity in the narratives and statements of the second and third Book of the Pentateuch (so *Ranke*, Unter-

such. I. 101). The command concerning the consecration of the priests and the order concerning its execution stand, indeed, in a close relation; but the account of the execution is supplemented by the introduction of incidents quite peculiar to this section and not referring to anterior allusions. — The past *וַיֵּרָא* (ver. 4), unless indeed the reading *וַיֵּרָא*, or the participle, be preferable, has the sense of the future, "to day God will appear to you" (comp. Gramm. § 93. 4), that is, so certain and infallible is the promise that God may be said to have already appeared to you. It is less simple to understand the words to mean, before the day has passed, the Lord will have appeared to you (comp. Gramm. l. c. 6).

5—21. The whole congregation assembled in the Court of the Tabernacle and before it. They stood thus "before the Lord", in His holy presence. Moses explained to them the ceremonies about to be performed, that they might understand the important effects which these rites were designed to work for their own spiritual condition and that of their religious guides. They were to be adequately prepared for appreciating the Divine manifestation that was expected. Then Moses solemnly called upon Aaron to approach the altar and to commence the sacrifices (ver. 7). Now, in these sacrifices, Aaron, the High-priest, performed all the significant and truly sacerdotal functions. He occupied a position so conspicuous that through him the general

of the sin offering, which *was* for himself; his sons of Aaron brought the blood to him; he put his finger in the blood, and put *it* up on the altar, and poured out the *other* blood of the altar. 10. But the fat, and the l

command concerning the offerings was addressed to the people (ver. 4, **וְאֶתְכֶם**); and to him the general execution was confided so far, that Moses no longer watched the details, while these were in course of performance (comp. IX. 16). Nay, he was immediately afterwards honoured with a direct communication from God (X. 8; comp. Num. XVIII. 1, 8, 20); while his sons assisted him in all those ministrations which were later committed to the Levites. Thus the holocaust and the sin-offering could be called *his* sacrifices (ver. 7), though they were intended for his sons likewise (comp. XVI. 6, 11). But the atonement which he was to obtain through the offerings, was not so important for the sake of himself, but on account of the people to whose benefit it would redound: for the High-priest's purity involved the purity of the nation, as the High-priest's guilt implied the nation's guilt, and in him the ho-

Israelites was to offer his sacrifices (ver. 7).

The priests' duties on the eighth day differ from that of the seventh day. In neither day was blood brought wholly disposed of, though the flesh was (see p. 671). For on the eighth day had Aaron full independence remained, to exercise the control of the sanctuary; he was not permitted to leave the Court; he was to appear in the presence of God. Yet, in the offering of the holocaust, more solemn than on the seventh day; the victim

great lobe of the liver of the sin-offering, he burnt upon the altar, as the Lord had commanded Moses. 11. And the flesh and the hide he burnt with fire without the camp. 12. And he slew the burnt-offering, and Aaron's sons presented to him the blood, and he sprinkled it round about upon the altar. 13. And they presented the burnt-offering to him, with its pieces and the head; and he burnt *them* upon the altar. 14. And he washed the bowels and the legs, and burnt *them* upon the burnt-offering on the altar.

15. And he brought the people's offering, and took the goat, which *was* the sin-offering for the people, and

expiation of the priests but, at the same time, for the sanctification of the altar, wherefore a complete marking of the horns was deemed necessary as a fit symbol. Then followed the holocaust, probably accompanied by the usual cereal oblation (p. 217), though this is not mentioned in the account. As it was the first burnt-offering after the consecration, the text is explicit in describing the manner, in which it was to be sacrificed, in order to obviate any possible impurity; the head and the other principal members were to be first delivered up to the flames, and formed the proper holocaust, and then only the bowels and the legs were added, after they had been carefully washed (see p. 240). The sin-offering, with which the sacrifices for the people commenced, was presented with exactly the same ceremonies as that which the priests offered for themselves: a part of the blood was put on the horns of the brazen altar, and the rest poured out at its base; yet all the flesh was burnt. For as the priests were not yet, to the full extent, the free mediators, so was the people not yet the free theocratic community; therefore, no blood of the sin-offering came into the Holy. However, not even the priests were allowed to eat of the flesh, because, whatever the ceremonial, it was

the sin-offering of the *people*, among whom the priests were also concluded; and naturally nobody could partake of the flesh of his own sin-offering. For as the sacrifice of the High-priest was, at the same time, a sacrifice of the people, so the sacrifice of the people was, *eo ipso*, a sacrifice of the High-priest and of the priests; the connection between the one and the other was so intimate and so clearly organic, that it is impossible to speak of a sacrifice of the people in contradistinction to that of the priests (so *Hofmann*, *Schriftbeweis*, II. 1. p. 282): the latter formed an indispensable part of the former. Hence this expiatory sacrifice stood midway between that ordinarily presented for the whole people and that of an individual Israelite (comp. pp. 279, 280).

Now, all these things were executed under the immediate command of Moses (comp. vers. 1—6), and in such a manner as to secure not only his satisfaction, but also the approbation of God, who appeared in a wonderful vision to express His sanction (ver. 23). And yet it is later stated that Moses was greatly incensed at Aaron and his sons for not having eaten the flesh of the sin-offering, as they ought to have done, since the blood of the victim had not been brought into the Holy; and that he was only appeased when

*the fat* parts of the bullock and of the tail, and that which covers *the bowels*,

Aaron pleaded exceptional circumstances in extenuation of the otherwise unjustifiable omission (X. 16—20). It is, therefore, impossible to doubt that we have here two different views on the same subject by two writers — the one taking the whole nature of the initiation into account, and therefore regarding the exclusion of the blood from the Holy as an incidental point which does not destroy the character of the offering as one of the whole people; the other strictly insisting upon the fact of that exclusion, and applying to it a general and formal rule: the view of the former is more comprehensive and more developed, that of the latter limited and rigid. The narrative in our chapter manifestly embodies the later and more matured conceptions (see also on X. 16—20).

After the holocaust had been presented with the prescribed rites, and in conjunction with the legal *minchah*, the last act followed — the thank-offering, in which evidently the ceremonial of the day was meant to culminate. The fat and the fat parts of

the breasts and the liver were sanctified by the rite of waving and his sons alone were washed on that occasion, the whole was included in the offering deemed desirable for the priestly portion given up by the Levites by a free oblation, though most probably the most valuable offering (comp.

PHILOLOGIC  
פָּקַד (ver. 5) see  
The construction  
וְהָיָה יְדִיָּהוּ הָעֵשׂוֹי  
not so plain as  
ing phrase in  
is used instead  
difficulty if  
וְהָיָה, which  
account of the  
the thing which  
mandated that  
apocopated from  
end or result,

and the great lobe of the liver — 20. They put the fat *and the fat parts* upon the breasts, and he burnt the fat *and the fat parts* upon the altar. 21. And the breasts and the right shoulders Aaron waved *for* a wave-offering before the Lord, as Moses had commanded.

22. And Aaron lifted up his hands towards the people,

is the thing which the Lord has commanded; do it, and the glory of the Lord will appear to you" (De Wette; which would give to the verb *וַעֲשׂוּ* an impossible meaning, besides entirely disregarding the masoretic accents). — In order to avoid a serious difficulty pointed out in the notes on vers. 22—24, the Sept. renders *וְהִקְטִיר* (ver. 10), utterly against the Hebrew usage, by *ἀνέχευεν*; since the fat was later burnt by the heavenly fire. — From the explanation above given of the commands regarding the holocausts it follows that *עַל־הַעֹלָה* (ver. 14) does not mean "in the manner of the burnt-offering", but simply "on the burnt-offering" (see on III. 1—17, ver. 5). — *וַיִּמְצִיאוּ* (vers. 12, 18) is literally *to make find or touch*, that is, *to hand over or to deliver up* (as in 2 Sam. III. 8; Zecl. XI. 6), equivalent to *וְהִקְרִיב* (ver. 9); the distinctions attempted between both verbs (for inst. by Wessely — *וַיִּמְצִיאוּ* is to put into the hand, *וְהִקְרִיב* to put within reach of somebody) are artificial. — *וַיִּמָּוֶת* (ver. 15) is *to kill for a sin-offering* or *וַיִּמָּוֶת* (comp. VI. 19; see note in loc. p. 544); the Sept. and Vulg. render incorrectly *καὶ ἐκθύσας αὐτόν* (sc. *λαόν*) and expiatoire altari. — *כַּמִּצְוָה*, scil. *וְהִקְרִיב*. — *כַּמִּצְוָה* (ver. 16) according to the ordinance (comp. V. 10). — The *athnach* under *שֹׁר* (ver. 19) is required by the sense, since the *אֵלֶיהָ*, which in sheep only was counted to the fat parts, stands in antithesis to *וְהַחֲלָבִים* of the *שֹׁר* (see p. 494). — *וְהַמִּכְסָה* (ver. 19) *that which covers, the covering*, that is, evidently, *הַמִּכְסָה אֶת־הַקֶּרֶב* (III. 3, 9, 14, etc.)

*the fat that covers the bowels*; the Sept. has indeed the addition *ἐπὶ τῆς κοιλίας* and after *וְהִקְטִיר* *καὶ τὸ στέαρ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶν*. — It seems preferable to connect the 19th and 20th verses in this manner: "And the fat . . . they put the fat etc." (so Vulg., Luth., a. o.), a construction like that of IV. 11, 12; for the intervening verb *וַיִּרְקְחוּ* (ver. 18) almost forbids us to suppose *וְהַחֲלָבִים* (ver. 20) to depend on *וַיִּמְצִיאוּ* (ver. 18). — In offering the ram of consecration, the waving of the right shoulder preceded the burning of the fat (VIII. 25—29); but in the thank-offering of the people, on the eighth day, the burning of the fat preceded (ver. 20), evidently because the fat was not, as in the former case, also waved: it is, therefore, unnecessary to take *וְהִנִּיף* (ver. 21) as a pluperfect. — Instead of *כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה* the Samaritan text and many Hebrew manuscripts read *כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱמֹ* (comp. VIII. 13, 17, 21, etc.) and the same sense is expressed in some copies of the Sept. and other ancient versions — a difference analogous to that between *צִוָּה* and *צִוָּה* in VIII. 31 and 35, see p. 680.

22—24. Now Aaron and his sons were indeed fully invested with all the symbols of their office; they were thoroughly qualified even for its highest functions; and Aaron, filled with the spirit of God in consequence of his anointment, and purified from sin by repeated expiatory offerings, could, for the first time, raise his hands and bless the people in the name of God. Thus his ministrations in the



and blessed them; and he came down from offering the sin-offering, and the burnt-offering, and the thank-

Court were completed on that momentous day, and he could "descend" from the elevation leading to the altar not by steps, but by a gently sloping dam of earth, on which he had performed the rites of the various sacrifices (Comp. Exod. XX. 23; see Comm. on Exod. pp. 380, 484). But it remained for him to burn incense on the golden altar; and it was for this purpose probably, that he entered the Holy, not however alone, but together with Moses, who had been the mediating link between him and God (ver. 23). But it is surprising, according to the stricter views of the Pentateuch, that Moses should have been permitted to step into the Holy, which was scrupulously reserved for Aaron and his descendants alone. We are hence entitled to infer that this statement dates from a time, when the distinction between priests and Levites was not yet rigidly enforced, and when all the members of the tribe of Levi were admitted to priestly functions (p. 600). The later date of the concluding verses of this chapter is confirmed by other reasons. We will lay no stress on the circumstance, that the people are blessed again by Moses and Aaron (ver. 23), after they had been duly blessed by Aaron (ver. 22), to whom this privilege was later exclusively assigned: but it is impossible not to see the discrepancies implied in the following words, "And there came a fire out from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat and the fat parts: and the whole people saw it, and they shouted, and fell upon their faces" (ver. 24). These statements are in contradiction both with those immediately preceding and those before recorded. For the burnt-offering sacri-

ficed on the eighth day had been actually burnt, as is distinctly remarked and even twice repeated (vers. 13, 14, ויקטר על המזבח); moreover, the thank-offerings had been presented *after* the holocaust, and their fat and fat parts also had been burnt upon the altar (ver. 20, ויקטר החלבים (המזבחה)): how then was it possible that after all this a fire should "consume upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat and fat parts"? Again, on a previous occasion, the command had been given to keep a perpetual fire upon the brazen altar (VI. 5, 6); it must be supposed that this command had at once been complied with; for one of its chief objects was that the altar should always be in readiness for the regular morning and evening holocausts (VI. 2, 5); and these were indeed supposed to have been duly offered at the time of the consecration (comp. vers. 17, מלכך עלה הבקר). If, therefore, a pure fire, miraculously sent from heaven, was at all desirable, it should have been sent when the service of the brazen altar was *commenced*, and not after it had for some time been in full operation, and had been employed in the most solemn sacrifices of consecration. Thus the narrative is not only encumbered with a mythical element, but it is so encumbered purposely and contradictorily: the simplicity of the conceptions maintained in previous sections is abandoned, and partially replaced by crude and heathen notions (see p. 530). Under these circumstances, we are justified in asking, whether the words, "And the glory of the Lord appeared to all the people" (ver. 23), occupy their right place? Probably, they formed indeed part of the original narrative of the chapter, because they

offering. 23. And Moses and Aaron went into the Tent of Meeting, and came out, and blessed the people:

are alluded and pointed to in earlier verses (4, 6), which we have no decisive criteria for declaring as interpolations; but they may have concluded the chapter, in this manner, "And Aaron lifted up his hands towards the people, and blessed them; and he came down from offering the sin-offering, and the burnt-offering, and the thank-offering: and the glory of the Lord appeared to all the people" — it may be, in the form of a cloud, as He is frequently described to have shown Himself (Ex. XIII. 21, 22; XVI. 10; XXIV. 16; XXXIII. 9; XL. 34—38; Num. XII. 5; 1 Ki. VIII. 10; 2 Macc. II. 8). Thus the account of the eighth day would be complete and well-finished. But when the revisers intended to add the miracle of the heaven-sent fire, they deemed it, not injudiciously, to be an apt illustration of the promised vision, and arranged the matter accordingly: "the glory of the Lord appeared to all the people, and there came a fire out from before the Lord". For indeed the "glory" (כבוד) or "goodness" (חסד) of God (Exod. XXXIII. 18, 19, 22) manifested itself, according to Biblical and ancient notions generally, like "a devouring fire", or "a burning fire" not consuming its object (Ex. III. 2), or a brilliant light shedding a halo around (Exod. XIII. 21, 22; XIX. 18; Hab. III. 4), filling sacred spots (Exod. XL. 34, 35; Num. XIV. 10; XVI. 19; XVII. 7), and revealing the Divine presence, whether to destroy, to threaten, or to encourage (Lev. X. 2; Num. XI. 1—3; XVI. 35; Job I. 16), and as the nature of fire was held to be kindred to the nature of God, the Jews and Neoplatonicians developed, in the course of time, the idea of a *logos* — a ray emanating from God as from the essence of light; and Philo could

declare not only that "God is the first light", the "archetype of every other light", or rather that the real model was "His own most perfect word, the light" (ὁ πληρότατος αὐτοῦ λόγος, φῶς); but even, "The invisible Divine reason, perceptible only by intellect, was called the image of God; and the image of this image is that light, perceptible only by the intellect, which is the image of the Divine reason" (De Somn. I. c. 13; De Opif. Mundi c. 8; comp. De Victim c. 4; see Ezek. I. 27, 28; Ps. CIV. 2; Dan. II. 22; VII. 9, 10; 2 Ki. II. 11; VI. 17; Wisd. VII. 26; James I. 17; John I. 4, 5; also Cusari II. 54; see *supra* pp. 527—530). But, in whatever form the author of the main narrative understood the vision to have taken place, it could not, as we have shown, assume the form of fire sent from heaven in order to burn the holocaust and the fat on the altar: this feature is evidently derived from an older, because less pure and simple, document, or from a general tradition which not unfrequently represented such heaven-sent fire as a certain mark of God's favour and a striking proof of His omnipotence (comp. Judg. VI. 17, 21; XIII. 19, 20; 1 Ki. XVIII. 38; 1 Chr. XXI. 26; 2 Chr. VII. 1; 2 Macc. II. 10; Philo, Vit. Mos. III. 18; also Rev. XIII. 13; Virg. Ecl. VIII. 105; and Aen. XII. 200, Audiat haec Genitor, qui foedera fulmine sancti). When, therefore, the people saw the miracle, they at once recognised the Divine presence, and acknowledged the Divine power: "they shouted" in awe, and "fell on their faces" in deep submission and gratitude (comp. Gen. XVII. 3; Judg. XIII. 20; 1 Ki. XVIII. 39; esp. 2 Chr. VII. 3).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The custom that the priest "lifted up his

and the glory of the Lord appeared to all the people.  
24. And there came a fire out from before the Lord,

hands" (וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת-יָדָיו) when he blessed the assembled congregation, may have originated in the circumstance that, in blessing individuals, the hands were imposed upon the heads of those upon whom the benediction was pronounced (comp. Gen. XLVIII. 14, 17, 18; see p. 178 note 5; *Rosenm.* Schol. on ver. 22; *Ewald*, *Alterth.* p. 45; and some older writers): in the former case, the imposition of the hands was recalled and imitated as far as feasible (comp. Luke XXIV. 50). — The blessing here bestowed upon the people first by Aaron, and then by him together with Moses, appears to have been formally uttered by them in virtue of their dignity and office, for "Aaron lifted up his hands to the people, and blessed them"; it is different from the general expression of approval and thanks, which is likewise termed "blessing" (בָּרַךְ), but was permitted to any private individual, and was conveyed by Moses before (Exod. XXXIX. 43). But whether it is meant to be that blessing prescribed in Numbers (VI. 24—26), as the Talmud, followed by many writers, contends, or some other benediction, cannot be decided, as it is difficult to determine the relative dates of that formula and of our chapter. The Midrash declares the blessing to have consisted of the last verse of the 90th Psalm ("let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us" etc.), inscribed "the prayer of Moses"! (comp. Targ. Jonath. "May the spirit of God receive your sacrifice with favour, and remit and pardon your sins"). — וַיֵּרָא (ver. 22) is not merely *abii*, *recessit* (Clericus), but *he descended*, since a sloping dam of earth led up to the top of the altar (Comm. on Exod. p. 484). — Though מִן הַקֹּדֶשׁ frequently means the *Court* of the Tabernacle, in contradistinction

to שָׂרָף the *Holy* (comp. XVI. 3, 4, 17, esp. 20, 23), it must here evidently be taken in the latter signification, since Moses and Aaron first went into it, and then "came out" to bless the people, who were assembled in the Court (comp. ver. 5). The object of Moses and Aaron in entering the Holy was most probably to burn incense (hardly "ut Moses Aaroni ostenderet quomodo esset suffitus adolendus", Clericus), not to pray, and certainly not "to send the promised vision", or, as has been ludicrously, if not profanely, observed, "that Moses might introduce Aaron and present him to God" (Keil). — The fat and fat parts (הַחֲלָבִים) burnt by the miraculous fire, included of course those of the sin-offering likewise, though this was not properly "food of the Lord." — De Wette also (*Beiträge* II. 302—304) and others declare the two last verses to be an interpolation, for reasons similar to those above urged. The attempts at proving that they do not destroy the unity of the narrative are ineffectual. For instance, on the one hand, the previous allusions to the burning (וַיִּקְטֹר) of the sacrifices (vers. 13, 14, 20) were understood as "anticipations" (Corn. a Lapide, per anticipationem accipienda), which is against all common sense and the usage of any language; on the other hand, the Divine manifestations here mentioned (ver. 23) were taken as *past* events, so that נִצָּחַן was translated as a pluperfect, "fire *had* come out", namely after the first sacrifice (and so Geddes נִיָּרָא "and God *had* appeared"); but נִצָּחַן is manifestly co-ordinated with וַיִּבֶן, וַיִּצֶן, etc. and with וַיִּקְטֹר, etc. Again, it has been observed that the flesh which Aaron had before begun to burn, by putting it on the permanent fire of the altar, was now

and consumed upon the altar the burnt-offering and

fully consumed by the fire of God (Vater, Stähelin, Herxheimer, a. o.), which would assign to the latter a most insignificant part, nay render it superfluous; or that "it is only necessary not to suppose Moses and Aaron to have stayed in the Sanctuary so long, that the sacrifices must inevitably have been burnt on the altar in the mean time" (*Ranke*, *Untersuch.*, II. 80) — however short their absence, the *holocaust* at least must have been all but consumed, since it preceded the thank-offering; and what is more essential, the miracle would be meaningless, unless we suppose that the fire sent from heaven, and that fire alone, consumed the sacrifices. Nor can the words 'וְכִי יִשַׁלַח אֱלֹהִים אֵשׁ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתִאָּכַל אֶת הַזֶּבֶחַ' describe the ordinary burning of the offerings by the permanent fire of the altar, which was called "fire of Jehovah"; for the process was evidently meant to be miraculous, and filled the people with rejoicing, awe, and veneration; and the term "fire came out from before Jehovah" cannot refer to fire already on the altar. The view that the ordinary flame required *hours* for the combustion of the sacrifices, whereas the heavenly fire accomplished it in a *moment*, and that this was the miracle (*Brentano*, *Wogue*), besides being trifling, is open to all the objections we have urged (comp. also *Talm.* Yom. 21*b*; *Maimon.* *Mishnah* Tamid II. 1; *Cusari* II. 26 init.; see *supra* p. 7 note 23). — Jewish tradition, not satisfied with the one extraordinary miracle recorded in our narrative, declared that a heavenly fire descended to consume *every* sacrifice accepted by God with favour (comp. *Pirke R. Eliczer* c. 53; *Cusari* III. 53, וְתִרְאֶה הָאֵשׁ; II. 26 med., נִפְעֲלָה הָאֵשׁ בְּחִפְזָא אֱלֹהִים בְּרִצּוֹנוֹ, בְּאוֹמְרוֹ וְהִידָּה אוֹת קִבּוּל מִנְחָתָם וְחִשּׁוֹתָם, nay that this distinction was accorded

to all the sacrifices of the patriarchs (*Cusari* II. 14, הַמִּזְבֵּחַ שֶׁהָיָה לְאַבְרָהָם); Theodoret renders indeed, in Gen. IV. 4, with respect to Abel's sacrifice, καὶ ἐπετίμασεν ὁ θεός; and the words וְעוֹלֶהךָ יִדְשֶׁנָּה (in Ps. XX. 4) were explained in a similar sense (so *Kimchi*, שִׁשְׁלַח אֵשׁ לְשַׂרְפָּהּ וּקְבִלְנָהּ לְרִצּוֹן). Similarly *Solinus* (*Polyhist.* V. 23) remarks with respect to sacrifices performed on a certain hill in Sicily, "Si adest deus, sacrorum probator, sacramenta, licet viridia, ignem sponte concipiunt, et nullo inflagrante halitu ab ipso numine fit incendium"; and to enhance the miracle he adds, "ibi cupulantibus alludit flamma, quae flexuosis excessibus vagabunda, quem contigerit non adurit; nec aliud est quam imago, nuncia perfecti rite voti" (see *supra* p. 529; comp. also *Plin.* H. N. II. 107 (111); *Bochart*, *Hieroz.* L. II. c. 35, pp. 360—364). The compilers indeed desired the two last verses to be *considered* as the "culminating point" of the narrative; but they were unable to remove the traces of the heterogeneous composition. It is singular that the very same miracle of heavenly fire descending to consume the sacrifices has in several other instances been added by Levitical interpolators (comp. 1 Chr. XXI. 26 and 2 Sam. XXIV. 25; 2 Chr. VII. 1, 2 and 1 Ki. VIII. 62, 63). *Philo* (*Vit. Mos.* III. 18) describes our miracle in a manner well reflecting the Jewish notions on the subject, "From out the innermost shrine, whether it was a portion of the purest possible aether or whether the air, according to some natural change of the elements, had become dissolved with fire, a body of flame suddenly shone forth, and with impetuous violence descended on the altar and consumed all that was there-

the fat *and the fat parts*. And the whole people saw it, and they shouted, and fell on their faces.

on, with the view, as I imagine, of showing in the clearest manner that none of the things that had been done, were accomplished without the special providence of God"; and he derives the necessity for such miraculous flame from the circumstance that the ordinary fire "is defiled by infinite impurities", since it is used for boiling and roasting animals, burns men, and lays entire cities in ashes (comp. also *Joseph. Ant.* III. viii. 6, *ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν τῷ βωμῷ, αἰφνίδιον ἐξ αὐτῶν πῦρ ἀνήφθη αὐτόματον, καὶ ὅμοιον ἀστραπῆς λαμπηδόνι ὁρώμενον τῇ φλογί, καὶ πάντα ἑδαπάνα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ*). Less in harmony with the spirit of our passage is the explanation of Hengstenberg (*Opfer*, p. 33), that the fire which consumed the sacrifices was "an emblem of the Divine nature", and

signified "the watchful energy which allows nothing to exist by its side"; for that flame was evidently not "the devouring fire" which is an occasional attribute of the Deity jealously combating the worship of any other god (*Deut.* IV. 24; see *supra*); and more artificial still is the remark of Keil (*Archäol.* I. 209), that the fire typifies "the strength and energy of that Divine holiness, which rules on the altar, devours what is sinful and transitory in the sacrifices, in order to enhance and to sanctify the vital power of the purified gift": for, according to the tenour of the narrative, that fire referred to the sacrifices only in so far as it implied a ratification of the election of Aaron's family for the priestly office — if it is at all permitted to interpret a mythical trait irregularly appended.

## CHAPTER X.

**SUMMARY.**—Nadab and Abihu, the two eldest sons of Aaron, burnt incense in an unlawful manner, for which offence they were killed by a heavenly fire. Moses reproved Aaron for his negligence in superintending his sons; and when the bodies had been buried by relatives, Aaron and his two surviving sons were forbidden to evince any demonstration of grief and mourning, as this would be incompatible with the nature of their office (vers. 1—7). Then follow a few ordinances regarding the duties of the priests (ver. 8—11). Aaron and his two sons were commanded to consume their portions of the thank-offerings and of the cereal oblations which had been presented on the "eighth day" (vers. 12—15); and finally, Moses argued with Aaron and his sons because the latter had burnt the flesh of the people's sin-offering entirely, instead of eating the priestly portions of it; but he was satisfied with the reasons urged by his brother in justification (vers. 16—20).

### 1. And Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took

1—7. There lived in the reminiscence of the people a tradition of an offence committed by Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's two eldest sons, against the strict laws concerning the burning of incense, and of the rapid and fearful retribution which befell them

in consequence (comp. XVI. 1; Num. III. 4; XXVI. 61; 1 Chr. XXIV. 2). The compilers of Leviticus considered that they could find no more appropriate place for that legend than immediately after the consecration of the priests and the Divine vision that had sancti-

either *of them* his censer, and put fire therein, and put incense thereon, and presented before the Lord a strange offering made by fire, which He had not commanded them. 2. And there went out fire from before the Lord, and devoured them, and they died before the Lord. 3. Then

ioned it: the crime was the more striking after acts of such solemnity, and the terrible punishment was more justified after such singular manifestations of grace; the holy ceremonies and the Divine goodness on the one hand, and the profane levity of those who had been so signally distinguished on the other hand, appeared to form a strong and impressive contrast, which indeed makes itself felt in the almost dramatic progress of the narrative. This appears to have been the sole guiding principle in the arrangement of the portions; and it seems impossible to discover or to prove an internal connection and a pragmatic continuity. It has been contended that Nadab and Abihu, filled with joy and perhaps elevated by wine (ver. 9), wished to accompany the grateful shouting of the people with an incense-offering, and thus to enhance the homage of God; or that, terrified by the heaven-sent fire (IX. 24), and regarding it as a mark of Divine wrath, they considered a fumigation desirable to appease God and to save the people (comp. Num. XVII. 11, 12): but these combinations are fanciful and untenable; the conjecture that Nadab and Abihu had indulged in wine, is derived from a later passage which stands in no connection with ours (ver. 9); and it was absolutely impossible that they should have looked upon the heavenly fire as a manifestation of Divine anger.

God had commanded that Aaron alone was to burn incense in the Holy, on the golden altar, every morning and every evening; that the incense

should be prepared in a peculiar manner from certain fixed ingredients (Exod. XXX. 7, 8, 34—36); and that it was to be kindled by the holy flame taken from the brazen altar (comp. Lev. XVI. 12, 13). All these commands were contravened by Aaron's sons: they had no right at all to perform the fumigation; and they seem to have used ordinary incense, and to have burnt it in the Court, in unhallowed vessels, and at an irregular time (comp. XVI. 2). Thus they presented a "strange" (זָרָה) or unlawful offering, recklessly defying God's explicit injunctions. Therefore, the text states, "There went out fire from before the Lord, and devoured them, and they died before the Lord" (ver. 2), that is, in the Court of the Tabernacle (comp. ver. 4). It is scarcely legitimate to enquire, how the author pictured to himself the occurrence which he touches rather than describes, whether he understood lightning, or a flame descending from heaven similar to that which had fallen upon the altar, or a sudden and uncontrollable spreading of the blaze on the altar, or a fire in any other form. It is irrelevant to press the literal sense of mythical embellishments. It is sufficient to know that similar direct intercessions of God by means of fire were deemed possible (comp. Num. XI. 1; XVI. 35; 2 Ki. I. 10, 12; Job I. 16; *Talm. Sanh.* 52a). Thus much is certain that the writer did not consider the fire to have consumed the two men, whose hodies and very garments were left intact (vers. 4, 5); and in this sense we must understand the words that



Moses said to Aaron, *This is it* that the Lord spoke, saying, I will be sanctified through those that are near Me, and before all the people I will be glorified. And Aaron remained silent. 4. And Moses called: Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel the uncle of Aaron,

the fire “devoured” (לִאֲכָל) or “burnt” (שָׂרַף) them (vers. 2, 6). It appeared that the afflicted father might expect an explanation of the fearful punishment sent as an example and a caution. Moses was unable to offer him comfort; on the contrary, he could not help implicating in the guilt Aaron himself, who ought to have watched and directed his heedless sons; and Aaron acquiesced in the reproof: he was silent (דָּמָם); he withheld those loud and passionate wails natural on such mournful occasions (Exod. XI. 6 and Comm. in loc.; Ezek. XXIV. 15—17; comp. Ps. XXXVII. 7). The warning could not be more striking nor more conspicuous. The men so suddenly carried off by an awful death, had just been included in the most solemn rites which pointed them out as the special favourites of the Deity. They had before been deemed worthy of beholding the Divine presence (Exod. XXIV. 1, 11). They belonged to those who were to be “near God” (קָרְבָּיִם, see p. 560), enjoying His light and His glory. But this distinction, so far from being a shield and protection, singled them out the more strongly for Divine retribution; for, said Moses to his brother, “This is it that the Lord spoke, I will be sanctified through those that are near Me, and before all the people I will be glorified” (ver. 3). The guardians of the Law were expected to set the example of the most unswerving obedience. The choicer their privileges, the more uncompromising were their duties. Aaron felt the justice of the sentence; and merging his human feelings in the spiritual

requirements of his mission, he yielded in meekness and resignation. The event was to be rendered instrumental for teaching the lesson it implies, thoroughly and emphatically. It was indeed, under all circumstances, defilement in the *High-priest* to touch the corpses of even his children; but ordinarily, priests were permitted to approach the bodies of their brothers (p. 572): yet, in this instance, when Nadab and Abihu were to be buried, and taken from the Court of the Sanctuary to a place without the camp, not Eleazar and Ithamar, but some more distant relatives were charged with the task. Nor was the choice even of these relatives without significance. It fell upon Mishael and Elzaphan, the children of Uzziel. Why were the sons of the elder brothers Izhar or Hebron, likewise Aaron's uncles, passed over, and the sons of the younger Uzziel selected? (comp. Exod. VI. 18, 22). One of Izhar's sons was Korah, who later rose in impious rebellion against Aaron's priesthood (Num. XVI.), while of Hebron no children are mentioned. As Nadab and Abihu had been killed for the vindication of the Sanctuary and its laws, they were to be brought to their last resting place by men whose piety was unquestioned. Again, neither their father nor their surviving brothers were to show any outward mark of grief. The *High-priest* and the priests, ordinarily subjected to different rules of mourning, were this time placed on the same rigid footing. Neither the one nor the other were to neglect their hair or rend their garments, which



and said to them, Come near, carry your relations from before the Sanctuary out of the camp. 5. So they went near, and carried them in their tunics out of the camp,

were ordinary manifestations of affliction and despair (XXI. 10; Gen. XXXVII. 29, 34; Josh. VII. 6; Judg. XI. 35; 1 Sam. IV. 12; 2 Sam. I. 2, 11; III. 31; XIII. 13; 2 Ki. II. 12; etc.; see Comm. on Exod. XI. 6; comp. *Lucian*, *Dea Syr.* cc. 6, 53). They were not to leave the holy Tabernacle, the seat of serenity and peace, which no sorrow could approach or disturb. Their disobedience in this respect was threatened to cause not only their own death, but also disaster to the Community with which they were identified. An exhibition of sadness and dejection on their part was considered not merely as a weakness but a crime; for it tended to prove that they were unworthy of their great spiritual office, and that their human were stronger than their heavenly ties; whereas it was the duty of the true priest "to say to his father and to his mother, I have not seen them, nor to acknowledge his brothers, nor to know his children; but to observe the word of God, and to keep His covenant" (Deut. XXXIII. 9). For "the anointing oil of the Lord was upon them", by which they were raised above the level of human cares and anxieties (comp. XXI. 10, 12). But while the natural mourners were to display the utmost indifference, the whole *people* was invited to bewail the calamity which had befallen some of their appointed mediators; for the "holy nation" was to be reminded, in the most impressive manner possible, of the awful sanctity of the public worship. — The classical parallels of Minos who, on hearing of the death of his son Androgeus, completed the sacrifice to the graces in which he was engaged, merely taking off his crown and ordering the music to cease;

of the High-priest or consul Horatius Pulvillus who, while occupied in the dedication of a temple to Jupiter, received the news of his son's death, and yet completed the ceremony unmoved; and of Xenophon who, when informed during a sacrifice of the death of his eldest son Gryllus in the battle of Mantinea, laid aside his wrath, but resumed it when he learnt that his son had died bravely and victorious; these and similar parallels do not altogether coincide with our narrative; for in the two former cases, the father merely delayed the expression of his sorrow till after the sacred act, and in the third, he conquered his grief not by stronger feelings of religion but of patriotism; comp. *Apollod.* *Bibl.* III. xv. 7; *Liv.* II. 8; *Aelian*, *Var. Hist.* III. 3; *Diog. Laert.* *Xen.* X (54); *Val. Max.* V. x. 1 (ne — Pulvillus — patris magis quam pontificis partes egisse videretur), 2 *ext.* (Xenophon declared, *majo rem se ex virtute filii voluptatem, quam ex morte amaritudinem sentire*).

We need hardly point out the extreme rigour and severity which our narrative breathes; it shows the Levitical spirit in all its relentless sternness, insisting upon a literal submission to its injunctions with inflexible tyranny: the story is meant to serve as a terrible warning to all who dare to deviate from the minutest behests of the priestly legislation, and it reflects the most advanced stage of hierarchical pretension (comp. also Exod. XXVIII. 35, 43; XXX. 21; Lev. VIII. 35; Num. XVI; 2 Chr. XXVI. 16—21).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — On the genealogy of Aaron see Exod. VI. 16—25; Num. III. 1—4; XXVI. 57—61; 1 Chr. XXIV. 1, 2. — It is not

as Moses had said. 6. And Moses said to Aaron and to Eleazar and to Ithamar, his sons, Do not let your heads be dishevelled, nor rend your clothes, lest you

impossible that the words "Nadab and Abihu ... took either of them *his censer*", justify the inference that both were in the habit of burning incense; if this is the case they did so in opposition to the laws of the Pentateuch which allowed the High-priest alone to burn incense in a *censer* (comp. Lev. XVI. 12, 13; Num. XVII. 11), though common priests might burn it on the golden altar in the Holy (Exod. XXX. 7, 8), or on the brazen altar as a part of the "memorial" (זִכְרוֹן) of bloodless oblations (Lev. II. 2, 3, 16, etc.; comp. pp. 118, 119); the fumigation of Korah and his associates in censers was exceptional and directed by Moses for an unusual purpose (Num. XVI. 6, 7, 17, 18, 35). — The "fire" offered by Nadab and Abihu is called זָרָה *strange*, a term frequently employed in connection with sacred things. Derived from זָל to recede, to stand aloof, or to be distant, the sense of זָל is qualified according to the object with which it is brought into relation. Thus the families of priests and the Levites are זָרָה in reference to the priests or Aaronites (Exod. XXIX. 33; XXX. 32; Lev. XXII. 10, 12, 13; Num. III. 10, 38; XVII. 5; XVIII. 7); Israelites in comparison to priests and Levites (Num. I. 51; XVIII. 4); non-Israelites in relation to Israelites (Joel IV. 17; Isai. I. 7; Jer. LI. 51; Ezek. XI. 9); and the same epithet is applied to incense not prepared in the prescribed manner, and therefore not holy (Exod. XXX. 9), and in our passage to the burning of incense not performed in accordance with the Law (so also Num. III. 4; XXVI. 61). Analogous to זָל is the use of ἀλλότριον in connection with religious matters, f. i. *Jamblich*. De Myster. V. 25, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν αἱεὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχειν, μὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἀνά-

ξίον τι δῶρον προσάγαγον ἢ ἀλλότριον. — זָל must here be taken in the sense of זָרָה "an offering made by fire"; זָל זָל cannot be "profane fire" (Dathe, Rosenm. ignis non ex altari sumtus, a. o.; comp. Lev. XVI. 12; Revel. VIII. 5), as in this case we should expect in the first part of the verse זָל זָל בֵּן בֵּן. Josephus (Ant. III. viii. 7) understands unlawful incense (κατασκευαστὸς ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν οὐχ ὡς προσέειπεν Μωϋσῆς θυμάτων, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔχοντες πρότερον), which no doubt was a part of the offence. — On the force of זָל זָל meaning, by way of *litotes*, "which he had rigidly interdicted to them", see Gramm. § 75. 14. — In Rome, the law commanding the use of "sacred fire" was extended to the chief priest of Jupiter (*Gell. Noct. Att. X. 15*, ignem e flaminia, id est, flaminis Dialis domo, nisi sacrum effertur jus non est). — The view that the fire which destroyed the two brothers came from the altar has been adopted and defended by Ewald (*Alterth. p. 344*, "als ob das verschmähte sanfte Feuer des innern Heiligthumes dann plötzlich gewaltig auflodernd sich von selbst zur Vernichtung des falschen Feuers und Opferpriesters nach aussen ergösse"; see also *Gesch. II. 172, 176 note 2*); but there is no trace of such a conception in the Old Testament. — The two eldest sons of Aaron offered the incense and died זָל זָל (ver. 2) or זָל זָל זָל (comp. ver. 4), that is, in the Court, not in the Holy, where it was alone to be burnt at appointed times, and where the Levites Mishael and Elzaphan would not have been permitted to enter (ver. 4). — The two dead men were taken from the Court "in their tunics", and probably buried in them, since

die, and lest He be wrath upon all the congregation; but let your brethren, the whole house of Israel, bewail the burning which the Lord has caused. 7. And you

the garments worn at a time of so awful a Divine judgment, could not well be used by others, even if they had not become "unclean" by their contact with the corpses. — We confess that the word **לִכְנֹחַ** (ver. 2) is not without difficulty; for the natural sense of **לִכְנֹחַ** is *to consume*, not *to slay*, and it is incompatible with a perfect preservation of the bodies including even the garments of the persons of whom it is said that "fire consumed them"; we are, therefore, justified in supposing that the compiler of this episode combined two different traditions, but gave greater weight to that form of the legend which narrated that the two men were killed, but not consumed. — **וְיִקְרַב** with **אֵל** is *to be glorified through somebody or something* by showing might and greatness with respect to that person or object (Ezek. XX. 41), but more especially by his or its destruction, involving a manifestation of power (comp. Exod. XIV. 4, 17, 18; Num. XX. 13; Ezek. XXXVIII. 16; the meaning in Exod. XXIX. 43 is different); it is not *in the midst* of persons (in which sense **אֵלֶיךָ** is used. XXII. 32); nor "I desire to be held holy by those who are near Me" (Vater, Brentano, a. o.), which feeble truism accords little with the emphasis of the passage (yet similarly *Clericus* and *Rosenm.*, quaecunque ad cultum meum pertinent, ea sacerdotes mei sacra habeant oportet); and the future **וְיִקְרַב** has here not the force of the imperative. It seems likely that the phrase **וְיִקְרַב** was, in the author's time, current, if not proverbial (**וְיִקְרַב יְהוָה**); it may have been used to express that God is severest towards those whom He loves most (comp. Prov. III. 12; Am. III. 2, "You only I have loved of

all the families of the earth, therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities"; 1 Pet. IV. 17, "Judgment begins at the house of God"; see also *Ewald*, *Gesch.* II. 127; *Alterth.* pp. 279, 280); and the author, slightly modifying its sense, employed it here so as to mean, "I will force the people to acknowledge My greatness and justice by chastising My own servants." In any case, it is futile to seek allusions to this phrase in preceding portions (as Exod. XIX. 22 or XXIX. 43), or to adduce it as a proof that "God spoke and commanded many things to Moses and the Israelites which were not written down but transmitted orally" (Cornel. a Lapide a. o.). But the reader will not be surprised at the following view of Ghillany (*Menschenopfer*, pp. 694—699): Nadab and Abihu were in reality *sacrificed* to God on the altar, either for a ratification of Aaron's election and appointment, or to conciliate God's favour for the impending expeditions; this sacrifice was by the revisers of Leviticus changed into supernatural death in consequence of some fictitious offence; and the very phrase **וְיִקְרַב אֵלֶיךָ** originally referred to *sacrifices of priests* which God demanded as a proof of perfect submission! So completely may the judgment be warped by one fatal prejudice. — **וְיִקְרַב** (ver. 4) is *your kinsmen*; for Michael and Elzaphan were the great-cousins of Nadab and Abihu, as their father Uzziel was Aaron's uncle. — Aaron and his two surviving sons are commanded **וְלֹא תִשְׂכַּח** (ver. 6), which words can, according to the context in which they appear, only mean, "do not let your heads be dishevelled," so that **וְלֹא תִשְׂכַּח**, equivalent to **וְלֹא תִשְׂכַּח** (Ezek. XLIV. 20; comp. Num. VI. 5, **וְלֹא תִשְׂכַּח**; Lev.

shall not go out from the door of the Tent of Meeting, lest you die: for the anointing oil of the Lord is upon you. And they did according to the word of Moses.

8. And the Lord spoke to Aaron, saying, 9. Do not drink wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with

XIII. 45), is used in the sense of *loosening* or *letting grow wild* (comp. פָּרַע *dissolute*, Exod. XXXII. 25; and figuratively אִפְרַע *I shall absolve* or *remit*, Ezek. XXIV. 14); for the mourner naturally neglects his hair and allows it to remain disorderly (comp. *Kirchmann*, *De funeribus Romanor.* II. 12, pp. 200sq; *Geier*, *De Ebraeor. luctu*, VIII. 2, 3; see also *Knobel* on XXI. 10). It is especially on account of the parallel passage in Ezekiel ("they—the priests—shall not shave their heads, nor shall they allow it to grow wild, they shall only poll their heads"), that we prefer this rendering to the translation "you shall not uncover your head" (comp. Num. V. 18, see p. 285 note 13), that is, divest it of your mitre or turban which was supposed to be a mark of mourning (*Augustin*, *Quaest.* 32 in Levit.; comp. Ezek. XXIV. 17; Sept. ἀποκαθαρίσσει, Vulg. nudare; *Talm.* Moed Katon 15a; *Kimchi* s. v.; Luth. blö-sen, so also *Clericus*, *Michaelis*, *Rosenm. a. o.*); or "you shall not bare it by shaving off the hair" (comp. Lev. XXI. 10; so *Gesen.*, *De Wette*, *Maurer*, *Herxheim. a. o.*), though that was frequently done in mourning (Deut. XXI. 12, 13; Isai. XV. 2; Jer. XVI. 6; XLI. 5; Am. VIII. 10; Ezra IX. 3; Job I. 20; *Herod.* II. 35), a custom which still prevails to some extent among the Arabs (see also *Saalschütz*, *Mos. R.* pp. 127, 128). That פָּרַע is simply *to let grow* (comp. Targ. Onk. and Jonath. לֹא תִרְבֵּן פִּירָע, Rashi אל תגדלו שער, Ebn Ezra, Selden, Keil, a. o.; comp. *Herod.* II. 36), can neither be proved from the Hebrew nor the Arabic use of the root. — פָּרַע

*to tear* occurs, besides, in XIII. 45; XXI. 10 (Sept. διαφύκει, Vulg. scindere); it was certainly distinguished in sense from קָרַע (as is evident from *Mishn. Sot.* I. 5, "the priest takes hold of her garments אִם נִקְרַעוּ אִם נִפְרָצוּ נִפְרָצוּ"), although it is uncertain in what manner (the פָּרַע is supposed to involve many קָרַעוֹת, or the former is rending sideways, the latter lengthways, so *Bartenura* in loc.; or the one is a rent in the seam, the other in the material, so *Kimchi* s. v.). — לֹא is from the preceding words וְעַל כָּל וְלֹא תִמּוֹתָ to be supplied with כָּל "and lest He be wrath"; see *Gramm.* § 104. 9.a. — On the custom of tearing the garments in grief, see *Kirchmann*, l. c. II. 17, pp. 241, 242; *Geier*, l. c. XXII. 9sq. Philo (*De Vict.* c. 13) observes correctly "the piety of the priests overcomes the natural goodwill and affection towards their relatives and dearest friends, and it is both honourable and right that piety should at all times prevail."

8—11. "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is boisterous, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise" (Prov. XX. 1): this view of the effects of wine taken in excess, though, in moderation, it "gladdens the heart of man" (Ps. CIV. 15), recurs in various forms (Hos. IV. 11; VII. 5; Isai. V. 11, 12; XIX. 14; etc.). It gave rise to the law that neither High-priest nor priest was to partake of wine or strong drink (יִיכָר) when they entered the Tabernacle for the performance of their sacred functions; death was to be the penalty of contravention; and the ordinance was to remain in force for all future times. Com-

thee, when you go into the Tent of Meeting, lest you die: *it shall be* a statute for ever throughout your gene-

posure and perfect concentration of thoughts, the utmost nicety in the prescribed observances, and a dignified appearance — these requirements so essential during the ministrations, were deemed incompatible with the enjoyment of wine, which was forbidden entirely because even a little may mislead to intemperance, and because experience had shown the frequent licentiousness of the priests and its fatal consequences; “they also have erred through wine” exclaimed Isaiah (XXVIII. 7), “and go astray through strong drink, the priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink; they are consumed by the wine, they go astray through strong drink; they err in vision, they stumble in judgment”. Philo insists upon the prohibition with great ardour and decision; wine, he observes, was most wisely interdicted to the priest during his sacred functions, on account of four results which it produces — “hesitation, forgetfulness, sleep, and folly”; nay it effects “destruction of reason”; and he adds a strong denunciation of wine in general, “we must look upon the use of it as a most unprofitable thing for all the purposes of life, in as much as it weighs down the soul, dims the outward senses, and enervates the body” (*De Monarch.* ll. 7; *De Victim.* c. 13; comp. *De Ebriet.* cc. 32—34; see p. 573 note 15). A similar law existed in reference to the Egyptian priests (*Plut.* ls. 6; *Porph.* Abst. IV. 6), and those about to be initiated into the mysteries of Isis during the time of preparation (*Apul. Metam.* XI. l. c.); also among the Persian Magi (*Clem. Alex. Strom.* III. p. 446) and the Pythagoreans (*Jamblich. Vit. Pyth.* cc. 16, 24). The effects of wine are described by Porphyry nearly in the same manner as by Philo, “it causes injury to the nerves,

brings on fulness of the head, and excites amatory desires” (Abst. IV. 6). The worshippers at Heliopolis on no account brought wine into the temple, not even for libations; they avoided it during their purifications; for it was regarded as the blood of those who had fought against the gods, had fallen, and mingled with the earth, whence the vine took its origin (*Plut.* ls. 6). Athenaeus (XV. 48) remarks on the authority of Pylarchus, “Among the Greeks, those who sacrifice to the sun make their libations of honey, as they never bring wine to the altars of the gods, saying that it is proper that the god who keeps the whole universe in order, and regulates everything, and is always going round and superintending the whole, should in no respect be connected with drunkenness” (comp. *supra* pp. 139, 231 note 24, on *ἡμέρας*). Among several Greek tribes the custom obtained that whoever intended to consult an oracle or to perform any other sacred act, was to abstain from all food on that day, but from wine for three days previously. Plato advised that no man, when in camp, should taste wine, but exist upon water alone, so also no slave, whether male or female, no magistrate during his year of office, neither pilots, nor judges while engaged in their duties, nor members of the council when about to deliberate upon matters of moment (*Plato, Legg.* II. 14, p. 674 A, B; comp. *Cornel. & Lapid. Comm.* in loc.; *Outram, de Sacrif.* pp. 70, 71). This, however, was the only dietary restriction imposed upon the Hebrew priests as such, nor was even wine forbidden to them ordinarily. The same precepts with respect to food applied to both priests and people, for they reflected as clearly as any other branch of the legislation, the holiness

rations: 10. And that you may distinguish between holy and unholy, and between unclean and clean; 11. And

of the people as "a kingdom of priests" (see ch. XI). Not so among other nations, where priests and people were, in this respect also, separated by a wide chasm. Thus, for instance, the Egyptian priests had a distinct code regulating their food; they were not allowed to eat fish (*Porph. Abst. IV. 7*); they hardly looked upon beans, which they considered an unclean pulse (*Herod. II. 37*; comp. *Diod. Sic. I. 89*); they abstained from the flesh of sheep and pigs, which they supposed to produce superfluous humours; they shunned, in fact, the flesh of all quadrupeds not horned, and those with uncloven or many-cleft hoofs; some of them avoided all animal food in general, and even eggs, and in times of lustration also salt and bread (comp. *Porph. Abstin. IV. 6*).

To the injunction regarding the abstinence from wine, a few other remarks are added to characterise the duties of the Hebrew priests: these were the authorities to be appealed to in all matters of religion and purification; and it was their duty to instruct the people in all Divine ordinances supposed to have been communicated through Moses (comp. p. 569).

Nobody can seriously contend that a real connection exists either between these verses (8—11) and the preceding episode concerning the death of Nadab and Abihu, or between these verses themselves. It is scarcely necessary to refute the playful view too frequently advanced both by ancient and recent writers that "possibly Nadab and Abihu drank wine with the thank-offering, and in their excitement or drunkenness presented the unlawful fumigation"; and a simple perusal of the passage under discussion suffices to show that a special injunction (regarding the wine) is loosely coupled with comprehensive princi-

ples summarising some of the most characteristic duties of the priests. We cannot, therefore, but conclude that these verses, introduced as they are by a separate heading (ver. 8), form a little fragment by themselves, put into this place without any perceptible reason or right, and properly requiring a very different position, if the Book were judiciously arranged (see the Introduction); in fact, if they are preserved in their integrity they must be pronounced as unskillfully and even illogically written, and recall the lax and negligent style of a late period, which the restriction to the Aaronites of the mission of teaching, instead of being extended to all the Levites, bespeaks no less intelligibly (comp. Deut. XXXIII. 10. see p. 600).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — It cannot even be admitted that the connection between the deed of Aaron's sons and the command of our verses consists in "the levity which loses calmness and reflection for lawful actions" (Baumgarten, Keil)—a connection so remote and artificial that few will discover or appreciate it; nor is it easy to understand the careless remark, "it is clear how the threat in ver. 7 introduces the ordinance in vers. 8—11" (*Stähelin, Krit. Untersuch. p. 6*); and justly observes Clericus (in loc.), "ex solo ordine narrationis, qui passim negligitur, vix duci potest certa conjectura." — A few commands respecting the duties and rights of the priests, are represented as having been directly communicated by God to Aaron (ver. 8; Num. XVIII. 1, 8, 20; see p. 686); because after his consecration as the head of the theocracy, he was supposed to be no less fitted for immediate Divine communion than Moses; it is trifling to conjecture that the honour was accorded to Aaron in order to console him



that you may teach the children of Israel all the statutes, which the Lord has spoken to them through Moses.

12. And Moses spoke to Aaron and to Eleazar and to Ithamar, his sons that were left, Take the bloodless offering that is left of the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and eat it unleavened before the altar; for it is most holy. 13. And you shall eat it in the holy place, because it is thy due and thy sons' due of the sacrifices of the Lord made by fire; for so I am commanded. 14. And the wave-breast and the heave-shoulder shall you eat in a clean place; thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee; for as thy due, and thy sons' due they have

for the loss of his sons, and it is more objectionable still to understand the verse to mean, "And the Lord spoke to Aaron through Moses" (Ebn Ezr. a. o.), as the accentuators also seem to have taken it, writing יְדַבֵּר יְהוָה instead of יְדַבֵּר יְהוָה : "And the Lord spoke (to Moses) to tell to Aaron" (comp. Isai VII. 10). — It is difficult to find the grammatical construction of the next verses; the infinitives וְלִדְבֹרִי and וְלִדְבֹרִי (vers. 10, 11) are introduced abruptly; they cannot be brought into connection with the preceding verse, since the "distinguishing" and the "teaching" did not devolve upon the priests, when "they came into the Tent of Meeting", but in the course of their general duties. Clericus adds, without authority, "is abstinete" before וְלִדְבֹרִי, "connectendae orationis causa cujus nexus alioqui durissimus est." Ebn Ezra observes playfully, "the wine destroys the consciousness of the toper, so that the things become confused in his mind, and hence the text urges that the priest is to *distinguish* (לִדְבֹרִי) between things holy and profane" (comp. also *Talm. Zevach. 17b*).

12—15. The burnt-offerings of the priests and of the people, and probably also the thank-offerings of the latter, that had been presented on the eighth day, were accompanied by bloodless

oblations, though these are not expressly mentioned except in the first case (IX. 4). But of the flour a handful (II. 2), and of the unleavened cakes one of each kind only was burnt on the altar as a memorial (comp. VIII. 26, 31); the remainder of the flour was to be baked into unleavened bread, and eaten, together with the other cakes, "beside the altar", that is, in the Court of the Tabernacle (VI. 9, 19), because those remains belonged to the class of "most holy" things (קֹדֶשׁ קָדֹשׁ, see p. 76), and were for ever assigned to the male descendants of Aaron as a part of their fixed dues (comp. VI. 10, 11). In a similar manner, Aaron and his sons were to consume the breasts and right shoulders of the two thank-offerings (IX. 21), since these portions were granted to them as a perpetual revenue from the thank-offerings of the Hebrews. Now, both the breasts and the right shoulders had, at that peculiar sacrifice of the eighth day, been "waved" (IX. 21); the writer, therefore, enjoined as a general command, that the same parts should be waved in all thank-offerings together with the fat (ver. 15). The universal and permanent applicability of the ordinance cannot be questioned both on account of the context and the wording. But a previous law demanded the waving of the breast only, while



been given out of the sacrifices of thank-offerings of the children of Israel. 15. The heave-shoulder and the wave-breast shall they bring with the offerings made by fire of the fat *and the fat* parts, to wave *them for* a wave-offering before the Lord; and it shall be thine and thy sons' with thee, by a statute for ever, as the Lord has commanded.

16. And Moses searched after the goat of the sin-offering, and, behold, it was burnt. And he was angry

the shoulder was either simply to be "taken off" as a gift for the priest, or consecrated by another rite, that of "heaving" (see pp. 202, 203). Which of the two statutes was in force? or which possesses greater authority and probability? It may be assumed as a natural principle, that the older sacrificial practice was characterised by greater simplicity, while nice distinctions and more complicated regulations were adopted in the course of time, as the Levitical system was developed and accepted. Now, it is not easy to explain, why just the breast alone should be "waved", while the shoulder, the other and no less important priestly appurtenance, was not included in the rite. Antiquarians have in vain attempted to discover a satisfactory reason; and so obscure is the subject that uncertainty prevails even with regard to the exact manipulation to which the shoulder was subjected (see l. c.). It is, therefore, probable that, at first, both the breast and right shoulder were waved; but that, later, a distinction in the treatment of both was deemed desirable, whatever the reason which suggested the modification. Hence we have a right to consider the injunction of our passage, based as it is upon a supposed ceremonial observed in the time of Moses himself, as embodying the older practice, whereas the refining alteration was introduced at a subsequent period.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The *וְהָיָה* (ver. 12) are the *cereal* offerings burnt by fire; and that which remained after the appointed portions had been consumed by the flames, fell to the share of the priests. On *פֶּה* (ver. 15) see note on VI. 11, p. 536.

16—20. While the narrative appears to continue the record of incidents connected with the celebrations of the eighth day, it involves itself into a contradiction which we have above pointed out, and which well characterises the nature of the compilation (see notes on IX. 5—21). The priests abstained from eating of the sin-offering of the people, because they had been commanded to burn it entirely. But another writer believed it to be an invariable rule that the priests were bound to eat the flesh of those expiatory sacrifices of which the blood had not been brought into the Holy (VI. 22, 23): for the meal was, in such cases, an essential and an official part of the expiatory rites; it bore no social character; it was not even shared by the families of the priests (see pp. 210, 211); the sin-offering was incomplete without it; for it implied the declaration that the sacrifice had indeed achieved its appointed end of atonement; since, as Philo observes, God would not have invited His servants and ministers to partake of the repast, unless perfect forgiveness had been granted (De Victim. 12). Therefore Moses asked Aaron's

with Eleazar and with Ithamar, the sons of Aaron *who were* left, saying, 17. Wherefore have you not eaten the sin-offering in the holy place? for it is most holy, and God has given it you to remove the iniquity of the

sons reproachfully, "Wherefore have you not eaten the sin-offering in the holy place? for it is most holy, and God has given it you to remove the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord" (ver. 17). For as the victim, by its death, symbolically took upon itself the deserved punishment, but not the guilt, of the offerer (p. 292), it could be eaten, as a clean and pure animal, by the priests who had been instrumental in transferring that retribution from the worshipper to the animal, that is, in effecting the expiation. — If the blood came into the Sanctuary, it was of itself deemed sufficiently effectual to work that end, while it hallowed the entire animal to such a degree that not even the priests could partake of it. — Moses addressed his remonstrances to Nadab and Ithamar alone (ver. 16); but though he did not mention Aaron, evidently out of respect for the supreme dignity with which he had just been invested, he naturally included him in the expression of his displeasure. Aaron feeling this, and perhaps aware that his responsibility was even greater than that of his sons, undertook the reply on their behalf and his own. His sons, he observed, could hardly be deemed fit to eat of the people's sin-offering on a day when they had shown by a holocaust and a sin-offering, how much they stood in need of atonement themselves, and how far they were removed from that holiness which that solemn meal required; and he, Aaron himself, plunged into grief by the sudden and awful death of his two eldest sons, was not in a condition of mind, and as a mourner scarcely qualified, to partake of a sacrificial meal, were it even

one of so solemn a character as that connected with a sin-offering (comp. Deut. XXVI. 14). To some extent, the reason assigned on behalf of Aaron applied to his sons also — for they had lost their brothers; and the reason assigned on behalf of his sons applied to Aaron likewise — for the holocaust and the sin-offering had been presented for him as well: but in Nadab and Abihu the moral insufficiency, in Aaron the bereavement was felt more strongly; and the excuse was framed accordingly. "And", concludes the text, "when Moses heard that, he was content" (ver. 20). But this remark excites surprise in more than one respect. Granted even that the apologies, though opposed to the precepts of the sacrificial code, were prompted by a spirit of piety and humility, and granted moreover, that the plea brought forward for exonerating the brothers is acceptable, since the eighth day may be considered as completing the initiation; it must be asked, how Moses could acquiesce in the justification ventured by Aaron for himself? Had Aaron not, immediately before, been most emphatically warned not to give way to his natural feelings and instincts, but absolutely to sacrifice them to his spiritual office? (vers. 6—8). How then could Moses approve of Aaron's declaration that he was unable to eat of a sin-offering, afflicted as he was by a domestic calamity, especially as he was in a state of perfect purity, since he had never left the holy precincts? And had not Aaron been distinctly invited to eat of the thank-offerings and of the bloodless oblation, without offering any objection? (vers. 12—14). Again, what position does Moses oc-

seized with wrath, and gives vent to it in vehement and bitter terms arraigning the priests for desertion of their most important duty; but when he hears Aaron's exculpatory arguments, he at once retracts his opinion and declares himself satisfied. It must strike every attentive reader that the spirit of this passage is utterly foreign to that which pervades the rest of the narrative. While everywhere else Moses acts clearly as the mouthpiece and agent of God, and is, therefore, infallible in his views and arrangements, he evidently acts here on his own account, appears irritable, and is liable to mistaken opinions which he is compelled to renounce, and his brother is enabled to correct — an instance of passionate and rash condemnation on his part, on account of misconstruction of the motives, similar to that related later, when the Reubenites and Gadites desired abodes in the east of the Jordan (Num. XXXII. 6 *sqq.*). This difference in the tenour of the composition is highly interesting; for it leads to the conclusion that the account of this dispute must have originated at an earlier time, when the

... been forced to notice it as exhibiting "a singular physiognomy without analogy in the Bible;" but so far from appearing like a later "talmudical controversy" (Wogue), our passage bears a more primitive character; and it may have here indeed a fragment from some old work on the priesthood, the source of which contained the narrative of Moses's meeting with the priest Ahimelech at Nob, so obscure in many particulars (1 Sam. XXI.; *Rappoport*, in the introductory Essay to *Stern's* edition of *Parchon's Lexicon*, p. XIII), some of which is thrown upon the date of our section. For nobody will assert that works of the Hebrew priesthood were written before the time of Moses. See also the discussion on the subject in *Zevach*. 101. Baumgarten (Comment. 153) remarks, "Moses, the lawgiver, abandons the severity of the letter and listens to Aaron's reason ... much, therefore, as the priestly Aaron is above the Law, it is a direct opposition of the Spirit, but retains, in its anointment, the future development of the Spirit, of which it even partially partakes: from

the holy *place*, as I commanded. -19. And Aaron said to Moses, Behold, this day have they offered their sin-offering and their burnt-offering before the Lord; and

whatever "above the Law," by which it is entirely circumscribed in the minutest detail; and the concession of Moses points instructively to a time of fluctuation and transition when "the Law" had not yet obtained supreme force and unalterable shape; for when this object had been secured, a "development of the Spirit" was impossible — as far as the Law had power to prevent it. Another unavailing attempt at overcoming the difficulty of our narrative is that of Gerlach (in loc.), "It was sufficient for Moses to infer that Aaron recognised the rule all the more strongly, the more decidedly he represented his proceeding with regard to the meal as an exception": the authority of the law is respected by its observance, not by its arbitrary, were it even exceptional neglect. — The second Book of Maccabees (II. 11) seems vaguely to allude to the incident here related in the words, "And Moses said, Because the sin-offering was not to be eaten, it was consumed" (*καὶ εἶπε Μωϋσῆς, Διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβρωῖσθαι τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἀνηλώθη*). — "The goat of the sin-offering" here referred to is that sacrificed on the eighth day in the name of the people (IX. 15), certainly not that of the chief of the tribe of Manasseh presented, together with other sacrifices and gifts, on the eighth day after the dedication of the altar recorded in Numbers (VIII. 58, so Michael., Rosenm., a. o.), with which portion ours stands in no such connection (comp. notes on IX. 1, 2). — After *וְעָל* we must supply *לֵאכֹל* from the preceding *וְעָלָה*, whatever has been asserted to prove the contrary (for inst. by Kurtz, *Opfere*, p. 204; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, II. 1, p. 184; comp. Keil, *Archäol.* I. 235). — The term

*וְעָל* (ver. 17) means here evidently *to remove* or *to expiate sin*, a signification which it frequently has both in prose and poetry (Gen. L. 17; Ex. XXVIII. 38; XXXII. 31; Ps. XXV. 18; XXXII. 1, 5; LXXXV. 3; etc.), and is, therefore, equivalent to *וְעָלָה*, which follows as an explanation to prevent every possibility of mistake; hence the Sept. renders correctly, *ἵνα ἀφίληται τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῆς συναγωγῆς*. Less appropriate is the sense, that the priests were to eat of the sin-offering to *bear* the sin of the congregation; so Vulg. "ut portetis iniquitatem multitudinis"; Luth. "dass ihr die Missethat der Gemeinde tragen sollt"; and similarly De Wette, Knobel, Keil, a. o.; or more distinctly Cornelius a Lapide (in loc.) "ut scilicet cum hostiis populi pro peccato simul etiam populi peccata in vos quasi recipiatis, ut illa expietis", Deyling (*Observ. Sacr.* I. c. 45, §2) "hoc pacto cum ederent, incorporabant quasi peccatum populi que reatum in se recipiebant", and Witsius (*Miscell. Sacr.* II. 761); comp. also Bähr, *Symb.* II. 206; Keil, *Archäol.* I. pp. 234, 235, Comment. Lev. p. 71. It is too vague to declare that our verses are "a Jehovistic addition" (Knobel): it appears, from internal evidence, that they are of an earlier, not of a later date than the main portion of the chapter; the arguments based upon the style are inconclusive. It has been curiously contended that Moses suspected Aaron and his sons of the perverse view that the flesh of the sin-offering ought not to be touched, because it was impure and reminded them of a Typhonic sacrifice (so Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, II. 1, p. 281; Kurtz, *Opfereultus*, p. 204); we can find no trace of such suspicion; the words "for it is most holy" are

its disposal was not left to option and arbitrary decision, but was irrevocably prescribed and enforced. Dathe justly remarks, "Aaron igitur non quidem habitu externo, animo tamen lugens, noluit interesse sacrificiis." — On **וְהָיָה אֲנִי** (ver. 18) see Gramm. § 76. 2. If the reading **וְהָיָה** (ver. 18) is correct, it would lend additional support to our estimate of the character of this passage, as Moses himself had issued the commands (see, however, on VIII. 31). — On the feminine of the plural (**וְהָיָה**... **כִּי אֵלֶּה**) to express the neuter, see Gramm. § 84. c.

ed with sh'va; as is also the case in **וְהָיָה** (Eccl. Gramm. § XX. 4. b); the gives to the question a phasis by increasing the principal word, an emphasis appropriate in our passage. sition that **וְהָיָה** was written to distinguish it from **וְהָיָה** **וְהָיָה** is believed to have ed (*Luzzatto*, Prolegomena) is untenable, as **וְהָיָה** and **וְהָיָה** have been distinguished by nunciation.

/



ספר

ו' ק' ר' א' :

---

THE BOOK

OF

LEVITICUS.

והזיתם לי קדשים כי קדוש אני יהוה  
ואבדל אתכם מן העמים להיות לי:

xx. 26.

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND Co.

1867.





# LEVITICUS.

## CHAPTER I.

1 וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים מֹשֶׁה וַיֹּדֶבֶר יְהוָה אֵלָיו מֵאֵתֶל מוֹעֵד  
לֵאמֹר: 2 דַּבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם אֲדָם כִּי־  
יִקְרִיב מִכֶּם קָרְבָן לַיהוָה מִן־הַבְּקָר וּמִן־הַצֹּאֵן  
תִּקְרִיבוּ אֶת־קָרְבַּנְכֶם: 3 אִם־עֹלָה קָרְבָנוּ מִן־הַבְּקָר זָכָר  
תָּמִים יִקְרִיבֶנּוּ אֶל־פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד יִקְרִיב אֹתוֹ לְרֹצֵנוּ  
לִפְנֵי יְהוָה 4 וְסָמָךְ יָדוֹ עַל רֹאשׁ הָעֹלָה וְנִרְצָה לוֹ לְכֹסֶף  
עֲלָיו: 5 וְשִׁחֵט אֶת־כֶּן הַבְּקָר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְהִקְרִיבוּ בְנֵי  
אֲהֵרֹן הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־הַיָּדָם וְנָרְקוּ אֶת־הַדָּמָם עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סָבִיב  
אֲשֶׁר־פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד: 6 וְהַפְּשִׁיט אֶת־הָעֹלָה וְנָתַח אֹתָהּ  
לְנִתְחֶיהָ: 7 וְנָתַנוּ בְנֵי אֲהֵרֹן הַכֹּהֵן אֵשׁ עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְעָרְכוּ  
עֲצִים עַל־הָאֵשׁ: 8 וְעָרְכוּ בְנֵי אֲהֵרֹן הַכֹּהֲנִים אֵת דִּבְתָּחִים  
אֶת־הָרֹאשׁ וְאֶת־הַפָּדָר עַל־הָעֲצִים אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָאֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר  
עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 9 וְקָרְבוּ וְרָעִיו יִרְחֹץ בַּמַּיִם וְהִקְטִיר חֲבֹנִן  
אֶת־הַבֵּל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֲלָה אִשָּׁה רִיחַ־נִיחֹחַ לַיהוָה: 10  
וְאִם־מִן־הַצֹּאֵן קָרְבָנוּ מִן־הַבְּשָׂבִים אוֹ מִן־הָעִזִּים לְעֹלָה  
זָכָר תָּמִים יִקְרִיבֶנּוּ: 11 וְשִׁחֵט אֹתוֹ עַל יָדֶךָ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ  
צִפְנָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְנָרְקוּ בְנֵי אֲהֵרֹן הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־דָּמָם עַל־  
הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סָבִיב: 12 וְנָתַח אֹתוֹ לְנִתְחָיו וְאֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ וְאֶת־  
פָּדָרוֹ וְעֵקְרוֹ הִבָּחֵן אֹתָם עַל־הָעֲצִים אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָאֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר

וְיָבִיחַ קִרְמָה אֶל-מְקוֹם  
לֹא יִבְדִּיל וְהִקְטִיר אֹתוֹ  
וְעַל-הָאֵשׁ עָלָה הוּא

CE

לִיהוֹחַ סֵלֶת יִהְיֶה קִרְבֵּנוֹ  
נָה: 2 וְהִבִּיֵּאתָ אֶל-בְּנֵי  
קִמְצוֹ מִסֵּלֶתָהּ וּמִשְׁחָנָהּ  
אֲזַכְּרָתָהּ תִּמְזַכֵּחַהּ אֵשׁ  
וְהַמִּנְחָה לְאַהֲרֹן וּלְבָנָיו  
וְכִי תִקְרַב קִרְבֵּן מִנְחָה  
אֶל פְּשָׁמֶן וְרִקְקֵי מִצֹּחַ  
עַל-הַמִּשְׁחָכָה קִרְבָּנָהּ סֵלֶת  
חֲזַח מִלֵּל הַלֵּל מִלֵּל

אִשָּׁה רֵיחַ נִיחָח לַיהוָה: 10 וְהִנֹּחֲתָה מִן־הַמִּנְחָה לְאַהֲרֹן  
 וּלְבָנָיו קֹדֶשׁ קֳדָשִׁים מֵאִשֵּׁי יְהוָה: 11 כָּל־הַמִּנְחָה אֲשֶׁר  
 תִּקְרִיבוּ לַיהוָה לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה חֶמֶץ כִּי כָל־שֶׂאֵל וְכָל־דָּבָשׁ  
 לֹא־תִקְטְרוּ מִמֶּנּוּ אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה: 12 קָרֶבֶן רֵאשִׁית תִּקְרִיבוּ  
 אֹתָם לַיהוָה וְאֶל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לֹא־יָעֲלוּ לְרֵיחַ נִיחָח: 13 וְכָל־  
 קָרֶבֶן מִנְחָתְךָ בַּמֶּלֶח הַמֶּלֶח וְלֹא תִשְׂבִּית מֶלֶח בְּרִית  
 אֱלֹהֶיךָ מֵעַל מִנְחָתְךָ עַל כָּל־קָרְבָּנְךָ תִּקְרִיב מֶלֶח: ס  
 14 וְאִם־תִּקְרִיב מִנְחָת בִּכּוּרִים לַיהוָה אָבִיב קֶלֶי בֹאֵשׁ  
 נָרֶשׁ כִּרְמֶל תִּקְרִיב אֹת מִנְחָת בִּכּוּרֶיךָ: 15 וְנָתַתָּ עָלֶיהָ  
 שֶׁמֶן וְשִׁמְתָּ עָלֶיהָ לְבִנְיָה מִנְחָה הִוא: 16 וְהִקְטִיר  
 הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־אִפְסָרָתָה מִגִּרְשָׁהּ וּמִשְׁמְנָהּ עַל כָּל־לִבְנֵיהָ  
 אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה: פ

### CHAPTER III.

1 וְאִם־זָבַח שְׁלָמִים קָרְבָּנוֹ אִם מִן־הַזָּקֵל הִוא מִקְרִיב  
 אִם־זָכָר אִם־נְקֵבָה תָּמִים יִקְרִיבֶנּוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: 2 וְסָמָךְ  
 יָדוֹ עַל־רֹאשׁ קָרְבָּנוֹ וְשִׁחֲטֹו פָּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וְנָרָץ פָּנָיו  
 אֲדָמָה הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־הַדָּם עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סָבִיב: 3 וְהִקְרִיב  
 מִזְבַּח הַשְּׁלָמִים אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה אֶת־הַיָּחֹלֶל הַמְכַסֶּה אֶת־  
 הַקֶּרֶב וְאֵת כָּל־הַיָּחֹלֶב אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַקֶּרֶב: 4 וְאֵת שְׁתֵּי הַכִּלְיֹת  
 וְאֶת־הַיָּחֹלֶל אֲשֶׁר עָלֵהֶן אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַכִּסְלִים וְאֶת־חִיתָרָהּ  
 עַל־הַכֶּבֶד עַל־הַכִּלְיֹת יְסִירָתָה: 5 וְהִקְטִירוּ אֹתוֹ בָּנֵי־  
 אֲהֲרֹן הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עַל־הָעֹלָה אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַעֲצִים אֲשֶׁר עַל־  
 הָאֵשׁ אִשָּׁה רֵיחַ נִיחָח לַיהוָה: פ 6 וְאִם־מִן־הַצֹּאן  
 קָרְבָּנוֹ לְזָבַח שְׁלָמִים לַיהוָה זָכָר אוֹ נְקֵבָה תָּמִים יִקְרִיבֶנּוּ:

וְאִשָּׁר עַל־הַקָּרֶב: 10 וְאֵת שְׁתֵּי  
 עֲלֵהוּן אִשָּׁר עַל־הַבְּסָלִים וְאֵת־  
 יֵת יִסְרָנָה: 11 וְהַקְטִירוּ הַכֹּהֵן  
 הַ: פ 12 וְאִם־עוֹ קָרְבָּנוֹ  
 סִמֵּךְ אֶת־זֵרוֹ עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וְשִׁחֵט  
 בְּנֵי אֶהֱרֹן אֶת־דָּמֹו עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ  
 וְרִבְנוֹ אִשָּׁה לְיִהוֹנָה אֶת־הַחֶלֶב  
 זֵהָלֵב אִשָּׁר עַל־הַקָּרֶב: 15 וְאֵת  
 אִשָּׁר עֲלֵהוּן אִשָּׁר עַל־הַבְּסָלִים  
 וְכִלִּית יִסְרָנָה: 16 וְהַקְטִירֵם  
 בְּרִיחַ נִיחֹחַ כָּל־חֶלֶב לְיִהוֹנָה:  
 מִן־שִׁבְתֵּיכֶם כָּל־חֶלֶב וְכָל־דָּם

CHAP

מוֹעֵד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְסִמֶּךְ אֶת־יָדוֹ עַל־רֹאשׁ הַפָּר וְשָׁחַם אֶת־  
הַפָּר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: 5 וְלָקַח הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ מִדָּם הַפָּר וַהֲבִיֵּא  
אֹתוֹ אֶל־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד: 6 וְטָבַל הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־אֶצְבָּעוֹ בַּדָּם וַהֲזֹה  
מִן־הַדָּם שִׁבְעַת פְּעָמִים לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֶת־פָּנָיו פָּרַכַּת הַקֹּדֶשׁ:  
7 וְנָתַן הַכֹּהֵן מִן־הַדָּם עַל־קַרְנוֹת מִזְבֵּחַ קִטְרֶת הַסִּמִּים לִפְנֵי  
יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר בְּאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וְאֶת־כָּל־דָּם הַפָּר יִשְׁפֹךְ אֶל־יִסּוֹד  
מִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלָה אֲשֶׁר־פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד: 8 וְאֶת־כָּל־הַלֵּב פֶּרֶר  
הַחֲטָאֹת יָרִים מִמֶּנּוּ אֶת־הַחֵלֶל הַמִּכְסֶּה עַל־הַקֶּרֶב וְאֵת  
כָּל־הַחֵלֶב אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַקֶּרֶב: 9 וְאֵת שְׁתֵּי הַבָּלִיֹּת וְאֶת־הַחֵלֶל  
אֲשֶׁר עֲלֵיהֶן אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַכֹּסְלִים וְאֶת־הַיִּתְּלֹת עַל־הַכֹּבֵד  
עַל־הַבָּלִיֹּת יְסִירָנָה: 10 כָּאֲשֶׁר יוֹרֵם מִשּׁוֹר וְכַח הַשְּׁלָמִים  
וְהַקְטִירִם הַכֹּהֵן עַל מִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלָה: 11 וְאֶת־עֹזר הַפָּר  
וְאֶת־כָּל־בָּשָׂרוֹ עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וְעַל־כַּדָּעִיו וְקָרְפוֹ וּפְרָשׁוֹ:  
12 וְהוֹצִיא אֶת־כָּל־הַפָּר אֶל־מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה אֶל־מָקוֹם  
מְהוּזָל אֶל־שֹׁפֵךְ הַדָּשָׁן וְשָׁרַף אֹתוֹ עַל־עֵצִים בָּאֵשׁ עַל־  
שֹׁפֵךְ הַדָּשָׁן וְשָׁרַף: פ 13 וְאִם כָּל־עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁגּוּ  
וְנִעְלָם דָּבָר מֵעֵינַי הַקֹּהֵל וְעָשׂוּ אֶחָת מִכָּל־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה  
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תַעֲשִׂינָהּ וְאָשָׁמוּ: 14 וְנֹדַעַה הַחֲפָאֹת אֲשֶׁר  
חָטְאוּ עָלֶיהָ וְהַקְרִיבוּ הַקֹּהֵל פֶּר בֶּן־בָּקָר לַחֲפָאֹת וַהֲבִיֵּאוּ  
אֹתוֹ לִפְנֵי אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד: 15 וְסִמְכוּ וְקָנִי הַעֲקָה אֶת־יְדֵיהֶם  
עַל־רֹאשׁ הַפָּר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְשָׁחַם אֶת־דָּבָר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה:  
16 וַהֲבִיֵּא הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ מִדָּם הַפָּר אֶל־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד:  
17 וְטָבַל הַכֹּהֵן אֶצְבָּעוֹ מִן־הַדָּם וַהֲזֹה שִׁבְעַת פְּעָמִים לִפְנֵי  
יְהוָה אֶת־פָּנָיו הִפְרָכַת: 18 וּמִן־הַדָּם יִתֵּן עַל־קַרְנוֹת  
הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר בְּאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וְאֵת כָּל־

וְנָשִׂיא יִחַטָּא וְעָשָׂה אֶת  
לֹא־תַעֲשִׂינָהּ בְּשָׁנָה וְאָשָׁם:  
וְאִשָּׁר חָטָא בָּהּ וְהָבִיא אֶת־  
ז: 24 וְסִמָּךְ יָדוֹ עַל־רֹאשׁ  
אִשְׁר־יִשְׁחָט אֶת־הָעֵלָה לִפְנֵי  
וּכְהֵן מִדָּם הַחֲטָאתָ בְּאֶצְבָּעוֹ  
וְאֶת־דָּמּוֹ יִשְׁפֹךְ אֶל־יְסוֹד  
לְבוֹ יִקְטִיר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כְּחֹלֶב  
הֵן מִחֲטָאתוֹ וְנִסְלַח לוֹ: פ  
שָׁנָה מֵעַם הָאָרֶץ בְּעִשְׂתָּהּ  
תַּעֲשִׂינָהּ וְאָשָׁם: 28 אִו  
הָבִיא קָרְבָּנוֹ שְׁעִירַת עֲזִים  
חָטָא: 29 וְסִמָּךְ אֶת־יָדוֹ  
הַחֲטָאתָ בְּמָקוֹם הָעֵלָה:

הַחֲטָאת וְשַׁחַט אֹתָהּ לַחֲטָאת בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁחָט אֶת־  
הָעֹלָה: 34 וְלָקַח הַכֹּהֵן מִדָּם הַחֲטָאת בְּאֶצְבָּעוֹ וַנָּתַן עַל־  
קַרְנֹת מִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלָה וְאֶת־כָּל־דָּמָהּ יִשְׁפֹךְ אֶל־יֶסֶד הַמִּזְבֵּחַ:  
35 וְאֶת־כָּל־חֵלְבָהּ יִסִּיר כַּאֲשֶׁר יִסֵּר חֵלֶב הַכֶּשֶׂב מִזִּבְחַ  
הַשְּׁלָמִים וְהַקֹּטֵר הַכֹּהֵן אֹתָם הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עַל אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה  
וְכִפֹּר עָלָיו הַכֹּהֵן עַל־חֲטָאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר־חָטָא וְנִסְלַח לוֹ: פ

## CHAPTER V.

1 וְנֶפֶשׁ כִּי־תִחַמָּא וְשָׁמְעָה קוֹל אֱלֹהִים וְהָיָה עֹר אוֹ דָאָה  
אוֹ יָדָע אִם־לֹא יָגִיד וְנָשָׂא עוֹנוֹ: 2 אוֹ נֶפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר תִּגַּע  
בְּכָל־דְּבַר טָמֵא אוֹ בְּנִבְלָת חַיָּה טְמֵאָה אוֹ בְּנִבְלַת בְּהֵמָה  
טְמֵאָה אוֹ בְּנִבְלַת שֶׁרֶץ טָמֵא וְנִעְלָם מִמֶּנּוּ וְהָיָה טָמֵא  
וְאָשָׁם: 3 אוֹ כִּי יִגַּע בְּטָמֵאִת אָדָם לְכָל טְמֵאָתוֹ אֲשֶׁר  
יִטְמָא בָּהּ וְנִעְלָם מִמֶּנּוּ וְהָיָה יָדָע וְאָשָׁם: 4 אוֹ נֶפֶשׁ כִּי  
תִשָּׁבַע לְבִטָּא בְּשִׁפְחִים לְהַרְעוֹ אוֹ לְהִיטִיב לְכָל אֲשֶׁר  
יִבְטָא הָאָדָם בְּשִׁבְעָה וְנִעְלָם מִמֶּנּוּ וְהָיָה יָדָע וְאָשָׁם לְאַחַת  
מֵאלֹהֵי: 5 וְהָיָה כִּי־יֵאָשָׁם לְאַחַת מֵאלֹהִים וְהִתְוַדָּה אֲשֶׁר־  
חָטָא עָלֶיהָ: 6 וְהֵבִיא אֶת־אֲשָׁמוֹ לַיהוָה עַל חֲטָאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר־  
חָטָא נִקְבָּה מִן־הַצֹּאֵן בְּשִׁבְעָה אוֹ־שְׁעִירַת עִזִּים לַחֲטָאת  
וְכִפֹּר עָלָיו הַכֹּהֵן מִחֲטָאתוֹ: 7 וְאִם־לֹא תִגַּע יָדוֹ הִי  
שֶׁהָ וְהֵבִיא אֶת־אֲשָׁמוֹ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא שְׁתֵּי תָרִים אֶל־שְׁנֵי  
בְּנֵי־זֹנֶה לַיהוָה אֶחָד לַחֲטָאת וְאֶחָד לָעֹלָה: 8 וְהֵבִיא  
אֹתָם אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן וְהִקְרִיב אֶת־אֲשֶׁר לַחֲטָאת רֹאשִׁיטָה וּמָלַק  
אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ מִמָּוֶל עֶרְפוֹ וְלֹא יִבְדִּיל: 9 וְהָיָה מִדָּם תַּחֲטָאתָהּ  
עַל־קִיר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְהַנֶּשֶׂאֶר בָּדָם יִמָּצֶה אֶל־יֶסֶד הַמִּזְבֵּחַ



יִהְיֶה | מִמֶּנָּה מְלֹא קִמְצוֹ  
 עַל אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה חֲפָאֵת  
 וּפְאֵתוֹ אֲשֶׁר-חָטָא מֵאֲחֵת  
 זְנוּתָהּ:      ס      14 וַיִּדְבֹּר  
 בְּיַחְמַעֵל מַעַל וְחִטָּאֵהּ  
 אֲשֶׁמוֹ לַיהוָה אֵיל הַמִּים  
 בַּשֶּׁקֶל-הַקָּדֵשׁ לְאַשָׁם:  
 וְלֹא וְאֶת-חֲמִישְׁתּוֹ יוֹסֶף  
 אֶרְעֶלְיוֹ בְּאֵיל הָאֲשָׁם  
 יִתְחַטָּא וְעֲשֶׂתָה אֶחָת  
 שָׁנָה וְלֹא-יָרֵעַ וְאַשָׁם  
 אֵין-הֵצֵאן בְּעֶרְכָּהּ לְאַשָׁם  
 שְׁנֵתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר-שָׁגַג וְהוּא  
 אֲשָׁם אֲשָׁם לַיהוָה:      פ

הַפֶּקֶדוֹן אֲשֶׁר הַפֶּקֶד אֹתוֹ אִם אֶת־הַאֲבֹהָ אֲשֶׁר מֵצָא:  
 24 אִם מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר־יִשָּׁבַע עָלָיו לַשִּׁקָּר וְשָׁלַם אֹתוֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ  
 וַחֲמִשְׁתֵּיו יִסַּף עָלָיו לְאִשֶּׁר הוּא לוֹ יִתְּנֶנּוּ בְיוֹם אֲשֶׁמֶתוֹ:  
 25 וְאֶת־אֲשָׁמוֹ יָבִיא לַיהוָה אֵיל תְּמִים מִן־הַצֹּאן בְּעֶרְכָּהּ  
 לְאִשָּׁם אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 26 וּכְפָר עָלָיו הַכֹּהֵן לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְנִסְלַח  
 לוֹ עַל־אֲחָת מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה לְאִשְׁמָה בָּהּ:

פ פ פ

# CHAPTER VI.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 2 צוּ אֶת־אֶהֱרֹן וְאֶת־  
 בָּנָיו לֵאמֹר וְאֵת תּוֹרַת הָעֹלָה הִוא הָעֹלָה עַל מִזְבֵּחַ עַל־  
 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כָּל־הַלֵּילָה עַד־הַבֹּקֶר וְאֵשׁ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ תִּזְקֹךְ בּוֹ:  
 3 וְלֶבֶשׁ הַכֹּהֵן מִדָּו בָּר וּמַגִּנָּסִי בָר וְלֶבֶשׁ עַל־בָּשָׂרוֹ וְהָרִים  
 אֶת־הַדֹּשֵׁן אֲשֶׁר הָאֵכֹל הָאֵשׁ אֶת־הָעֹלָה עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְשָׂמוֹ  
 אֶצֶל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 4 וְשָׂטֵל אֶת־בִּגְדָיו וְלָבַשׁ בְּגָדִים אֲחֵרִים  
 וְהוֹצִיא אֶת־הַדֹּשֵׁן אֶל־מִחֹץ לְמַחֲנֶה אֶל־מָקוֹם טָהוֹר:  
 5 וְהָאֵשׁ עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ תִּזְקֹךְ כֹּל לֹא־תִכָּבֶה וְכִיעֹר עָלֶיהָ תִּטָּקֵן  
 עֵצִים בַּבֹּקֶר בַּבֹּקֶר וְעַד עֲלִיָּה הָעֹלָה וְהַקֵּטִיר עָלֶיהָ  
 חֲלָבֵי הַשִּׁלָּמִים: 6 אֵשׁ תָּמִיד תִּזְקֹךְ עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לֹא־  
 תִכָּבֶה: 7 וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הַמִּנְחָה הַקֹּלֵב אֹתָהּ בֶּגֶד  
 אֶהֱרֹן לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֶל־פְּנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 8 וְהָרִים מִסֵּנֹו בְּקִמְצוֹ  
 מִסֵּלַת הַמִּנְחָה וּמִשְׁמֶנָּה וְאֵת כָּל־הַלֵּבָנָה אֲשֶׁר עַל־  
 הַמִּנְחָה וְהַקֵּטִיר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ קִיחַ נִיחֹחַ אִזְכָּרְתָּה לַיהוָה:  
 9 וְהַנּוֹתֵרֶת מִסֵּנָה יֹאכְלוּ אֶהֱרֹן וּבָנָיו מִצֹּת הָאֵכֹל בְּמָקוֹם  
 קֹדֶשׁ בַּחֲצֵר אֹהֶל־מוֹעֵד יֹאכְלוּהָ: 10 לֹא תֹאכְלָהּ חֵמֶץ

וְהוּא בְּלִיָּהּ אֶתְּנָהּ

יְהוָה חֲפָצָהּ

שְׂרָחֲטָהּ מֵאֲחַת

ס 14 וַיִּדְבֹּר

לְמַעַל וְחֲפָצָהּ

יְהוָה אֵיל הַמִּים

הַקָּדֵשׁ לְאֵשׁ:

דְּחִישְׁתוּ יוֹסֵף

בְּאֵיל הָאֵשׁ

וְעֲשֵׂתָהּ אֶחָת

לֹא-יָדַע וְאֵשׁ

בְּעֶרְכָּהּ לְאֵשׁ

אֲשֶׁר-שָׁנָה וְהוּא

שָׁם לְיְהוָה: פ

נֶפֶשׁ כִּי תִחְפָּא

זֶן אִו-בְּתִשּׁוּכָה

הַפֶּקֶדוֹן אֲשֶׁר הִפְקִיד אֹתוֹ אִם אֶת־הַאֲבֹדָה אֲשֶׁר מִצֵּי  
 24 אִם מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁכַּע עָלָיו לִשְׁקֹר וְשִׁלֵּם אֹתוֹ בְּרֹאשׁ  
 וַחֲמִשְׁתָּיו יִסַּף עָלָיו לְאִשֶּׁר הוּא לוֹ יִתְּנֶנּוּ בַּיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר  
 25 וְאֶת־אֲשָׁמוֹ יָבִיא לַיהוָה אֵיל הָמִים מִן־הַצֹּאן בְּעֶרְ  
 לָאֵשׁם אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 26 וּבִפְּרֹעַ עָלָיו הַכֹּהֵן לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְנָס  
 לוֹ עַל־אֹתָהּ מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה לְאִשְׁמָה בָּהּ:

פ פ פ

CHAPTER VI

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 2 צֹא אֶת־אֹהֲרֶן וְאֶת־  
 בָּנָיו לְאֹמֶר וְאֵת תּוֹרַת הָעֹלָה הִוא הָעֹלָה עַל מִזְבֵּחַ  
 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כָּל־הַלֵּילָה עַד־הַבֹּקֶר וְאֵשׁ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ תִּזְקֹךְ  
 3 וְלִבֶּשׁ הַכֹּהֵן מִדּוֹ בֹד וּמַגִּנָּסִי בֹד וְלִבֶּשׁ עַל־בְּשָׁרוֹ וְהָיָה  
 אֶת־הַדֹּשֵׁן אֲשֶׁר הֵאָכַל הָאֵשׁ אֶת־הָעֹלָה עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְשֵׁן  
 אֶצֶל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 4 וַשֵּׁשׁ אֶת־בְּגָדָיו וְלִבֶּשׁ בְּגָדִים אֲחֵרִים  
 וְהוֹצִיא אֶת־הַדֹּשֵׁן אֶל־מִחוּץ לַמִּחָנֶה אֶל־מָקוֹם טָהוֹר  
 5 וְהָיָה עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ תִּזְקֹךְ כֹּל לֹא־תִכָּבֵד וּבִעֹר עָלֶיהָ תִּזְקֹךְ  
 עֵצִים כַּכֶּקֶד כַּכֶּקֶד וְעֵבֶד עָלֶיהָ הָעֹלָה וְהַקֵּטִיר עַל־  
 חֵלְבֵי הַשִּׁלָּמִים: 6 אֵשׁ תִּזְקֹךְ תִּזְקֹךְ עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ  
 תִּכָּבֵד: 7 וְנֹאֵת תּוֹרַת הַמִּנְחָה הַקֶּרֶב אֹתָהּ  
 אֹהֲרֶן לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֶל־פְּנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 8 וְהָיָה מִסְּנֵי בָקָר  
 מִסֵּלֶת הַמִּנְחָה וּמִשְׁמֶנֶה וְאֵת כָּל־הַלֵּבָנָה אֲשֶׁר  
 הַמִּנְחָה וְהַקֵּטִיר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ קִיחַ נִיחֹחַ אִזְכָּרְתָּה לַיהוָה  
 9 וְהִנֹּחֲתָה מִסְּנֵה יֹאכֵלוּ אֹהֲרֶן וּבָנָיו מִצֹּחַ הָאֵכֶל בְּמִסְכֵּה  
 קֹדֶשׁ כַּחֲצֵר אֹהֶל־מוֹעֵד יֹאכְלוּהָ: 10 לֹא תֹאכְלֶנָּה

חֲצִיטָהּ בְּעֶרְבִי:  
הַתְּפִלָּה מִנְחָת  
הַמָּשִׁיחַ תְּחִלָּתוֹ  
קָטָר: 16 וְכָל־  
1' וַיִּדְבֹּר יְהוָה  
נָגִיו לֵאמֹר, וְאֵת  
הָעֵלָה תִּשְׁחָט  
הַכֹּהֵן הַמִּחְטָא  
אֶהְיֶה מוֹעֵד:  
יְהוָה מִדְּמָה עַל־  
21 וְכָל־תִּרְשׁ  
בְּשָׁלָה וּמִרְק  
יְהוָה קָדֵשׁ קָדָשִׁים  
וְלֹא־אֶהְיֶה מוֹעֵד  
פ

אֶת הָאֵלֶּיָּה וְאֶת־הַחֶלֶב הַמִּכֶּסֶה אֶת־הַקָּרֶב: 4 וְאֵת שְׁתֵּי  
 הַכֵּלִיֹּת וְאֶת־הַחֶלֶב אֲשֶׁר עָלֵיהֶן אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַכֶּסֶלִים וְאֶת־  
 הַיִּתְּרֹת עַל־הַכֶּבֶד עַל־הַכֵּלִיֹּת יְסִירָנָה: 5 וְהַקֵּטִיר אֹתָם  
 הִכִּהֵן הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁה לַיהוָה אֵשׁם הוּא: 6 כָּל־זָכָר בְּסֻגִּים  
 יֵאָכְלוּ בַּמָּקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ יֵאָכֵל קֹדֶשׁ קֳדָשִׁים הוּא: 7 כַּחֲטָאת  
 כָּאֵשׁם הַזֶּה אֶחָת לָהֶם הִכִּהֵן אֲשֶׁר יִכְסֹּרְכּוּ לוֹ יִהְיֶה:  
 8 וְהִכִּהֵן הַמִּקְרִיב אֶת־עֹלֹת אִישׁ עֹזֵר הָעֹלָה אֲשֶׁר הַקָּרִיב  
 לִכְהֵן לוֹ יִהְיֶה: 9 וְכָל־מִנְחָה אֲשֶׁר תֹּאמַר בַּחֲנוּךְ וְכָל־  
 נִעְשָׂה בַּמִּרְחֶשֶׁת וְעַל־מִחְבַּת לִכְהֵן הַמִּקְרִיב אֹתָהּ לוֹ  
 תִּהְיֶה: 10 וְכָל־מִנְחָה בְּלוֹלָה בַּשֶּׁמֶן וְחִרְבָּה לְכָל־בְּנֵי אֲדֹנָי  
 הַקֹּדֶשׁ אִישׁ בְּאָחִיו: פ 11 וְזֹאת הַזֶּה וְזֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים  
 אֲשֶׁר יִקְרִיב לַיהוָה: 12 אִם עַל־הַזֶּה יִקְרִיבֶנּוּ וְהַקָּרִיב  
 עַל־זֶבַח הַזֶּה חֲלֹזֹת מִצּוֹת בְּלוֹלֹת בַּשֶּׁמֶן וְדִקְקֵי מִצּוֹת  
 מִשְׁחִים בַּשֶּׁמֶן וְסֵלֹת מִרְבֵּכַת חֲלֹת בְּלוֹלֹת בַּשֶּׁמֶן: 13 עַל־  
 חֲלֹת לֶחֶם חֲמֵץ יִקְרִיב קָרְבָּנוֹ עַל־זֶבַח הַזֶּה שְׁלָמִים:  
 14 וְהַקָּרִיב מִמֶּנּוּ אֶחָד מִכָּל־קָרְבָּן תְּרוּמָה לַיהוָה לִכְהֵן  
 הַזֶּה אֶת־דָּם הַשְּׁלָמִים לוֹ יִהְיֶה: 15 וּבֶשֶׂר זֶבַח הַזֶּה  
 שְׁלָמִים בְּיוֹם קָרְבָּנוֹ יֵאָכֵל לֹא־יֵנִיחַ מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר:  
 16 וְאִם־נִדְרָוּ אוֹ נִדְּבָה זֶבַח קָרְבָּנוֹ בְּיוֹם הַקָּרִיב אוֹתוֹ וְהוֹבִיחַ  
 יֵאָכֵל וּמִמְחֹרֶת וְהַנּוֹתָר מִמֶּנּוּ יֵאָכֵל: 17 וְהַנּוֹתָר מִבֶּשֶׂר  
 הַזֶּבַח בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי בָּאֵשׁ יִשְׂרָף: 18 וְאִם הָאֵכֹל יֵאָכֵל  
 מִבֶּשֶׂר־זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לֹא יִדְּעָה הַמִּקְרִיב  
 אֹתוֹ לֹא יִחַשֵׁב לוֹ פָּגוּל יִהְיֶה וְהִנֵּפֶשׁ הָאֵכֹל מִמֶּנּוּ עֹנָה  
 הַשָּׂא: 19 וְהַבֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר יֵנַע בְּכָל־טֵמֵא לֹא יֵאָכֵל בָּאֵשׁ  
 יִשְׂרָף וְהַבֶּשֶׂר כָּל־טָהוֹר יֵאָכֵל בָּשָׂר: 20 וְהִנֵּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר

צוה יהוה את־משה: 14 ויגש את פֶּרֶךְ הַחֹטֶאֶת ויסמוך  
אֶהָרֶן וּבָנָיו אֶת־יָדֵיהֶם עַל־רֹאשׁ פֶּרֶךְ הַחֹטֶאֶת: 15 וישחט  
וַיִּקַּח מִשָּׁה אֶת־הַדָּם וַיִּתֵּן עַל־קַרְנוֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כְּבִיב  
בְּאַצְבָּעָיו וַיַּחֲטֵא אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְאֶת־הַדָּם יָצַק אֶל־יְסוֹד  
הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַיִּקְדְּשׁוּהוּ לַכֹּהֵן עָלָיו: 16 וַיִּקַּח אֶת־כָּל־חֵלֶב  
אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַקֶּרֶב וְאֵת יִתְרֹת הַכֹּהֵן וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּי הַכִּלִּיֹּת  
וְאֶת־חֶלְבֶהֶן וַיִּקְטֹר מִשָּׁה הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 17 וְאֶת־הַפֶּר וְאֶת־  
עֹר וְאֶת־בָּשָׂרוֹ וְאֶת־פָּרְשׁוֹ שָׂרָף בָּאֵשׁ מִחוּץ לַמִּחֲנֶה  
כַּאֲשֶׁר צוה יהוה את־משה: 18 וַיִּקְרָב אֶת אֵיל הָעֹלָה  
וַיִּסְמְכוּ אֶהָרֶן וּבָנָיו אֶת־יָדֵיהֶם עַל־רֹאשׁ הָאֵיל: 19 וישחט  
וַיִּזְלַק מִשָּׁה אֶת־הַדָּם עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כְּבִיב: 20 וְאֶת־דָּאֵיל  
נָתַח לַבְּתָחָיו וַיִּקְטֹר מִשָּׁה אֶת־הָרֹאשׁ וְאֶת־הַנְּתָחִים  
וְאֶת־הַפֶּסֶד: 21 וְאֶת־תִּקְרֹב וְאֶת־הַפְּרָעִים רָחַץ בַּמַּיִם  
וַיִּקְטֹר מִשָּׁה אֶת־כָּל־דָּאֵיל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עָלָה הוּא לַרִּיחַ־  
נִיחַיִּח אֲשֶׁה הוּא לַיהוָה כַּאֲשֶׁר צוה יהוה את־משה:  
22 וַיִּקְרָב אֶת־דָּאֵיל הַשְּׁנִי אֵיל הַמִּלֻּאִים וַיִּסְמְכוּ אֶהָרֶן  
וּבָנָיו אֶת־יָדֵיהֶם עַל־רֹאשׁ הָאֵיל: 23 וישחט וַיִּקַּח מִשָּׁה  
מִדָּמוֹ וַיִּתֵּן עַל־תֵּנוֹק אֹזֶן־אֶהָרֶן הַיְּמָנִית וְעַל־בֶּהֶן יָדוֹ  
הַיְּמָנִית וְעַל־בֶּהֶן רֵגְלוֹ הַיְּמָנִית: 24 וַיִּקְרָב אֶת־בְּנֵי אֶהָרֶן  
וַיִּתֵּן מִשָּׁה מִן־הַדָּם עַל־תֵּנוֹק אֹזְנָם הַיְּמָנִית וְעַל־בֶּהֶן  
יָדָם הַיְּמָנִית וְעַל־בֶּהֶן רֵגְלָם הַיְּמָנִית וַיִּזְלַק מִשָּׁה אֶת־  
הַדָּם עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כְּבִיב: 25 וַיִּקַּח אֶת־חֵלֶב וְאֶת־דָּאֵלִיָּה  
וְאֶת־כָּל־חֵלֶב אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַקֶּרֶב וְאֵת יִתְרֹת הַכֹּהֵן וְאֶת־  
שְׁתֵּי הַכִּלִּיֹּת וְאֶת־חֶלְבֶהֶן וְאֵת שׂוֹק הַיְּמִינִי: 26 וּמִסַּל  
מִשָּׁח אֲשֶׁר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לָקַח חֲלֹת מִצָּה אֶחָד וְחֲלֹת



LEVITICUS VIII. IX.

לֶחֶם שֶׁמֶן אֶחָת וְרִקִּיק אֶחָד וַיִּשֶׂם עַל־הַחֲלָבִים  
שֹׁק הַיָּמִין: 27 וַיָּתֵן אֶת־הַכֹּל עַל כַּפֵּי אֹהֶל־וָעֵל  
בָּנָיו וַיִּנָּף אֹתָם תְּנוּפָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: 28 וַיִּקַּח מִן־  
אֹתָם מֵעַל כַּפֵּיהֶם וַיִּקְטֹר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עַל־הָעֹלָה מִלֶּחֶם  
הֵם לָרִיחַ נִיחֹחַ אִשָּׁה הוּא לַיהוָה: 29 וַיִּקַּח מִשְׁחַת  
הַחֹהֶה וַיִּנִּיפֶהוּ תְנוּפָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה מֵאֵיל הַסִּלָּאִים לְמִנְחָה  
הַיּוֹם לְמִנְחָה כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה: 30 וַיִּקַּח מִן־  
מִשְׁחֵן הַמִּשְׁחָה וּמִן־הַדָּם אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַיַּז עַל־אָזְנוֹ  
עַל־כְּנָדָיו וְעַל־כְּנָיו וְעַל־כְּנָרֵי בָנָיו אֹתָם וַיִּקְבֹּשׁ  
אֹהֶל־וָעֵל אֶת־כְּנָדָיו וְאֶת־כְּנָיו וְאֶת־כְּנָרֵי בָנָיו אֹתָם: 31 וַיֵּאֱמַר  
מֹשֶׁה אֶל־אֹהֶל־וָעֵל וְאֶל־כְּנָיו בְּשֵׁלֹו אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר פֶּתַח  
מוֹעֵד וְשֶׁם הָאֵכָלֹו אֹתָם וְאֶת־הַלֶּחֶם אֲשֶׁר בְּסֵל הַסִּלָּאִים  
כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי לֵאמֹר אֹהֶל־וָעֵל וְכָנָיו וְאֶת־הָאֵלֶּה: 32 וְהָיָה  
בַּבָּשָׂר וּבַלֶּחֶם בָּאֵשׁ תִּשְׂרֹפוּ: 33 וּמִפֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד  
תֵּצְאוּ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים עַד יוֹם מָלֵאת יָמִי מִקְּאִיְכֶם  
שִׁבְעַת יָמִים יִמָּלֵא אֶת־יְדֵיכֶם: 34 כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ בְּיָדֶיךָ  
צִוָּה יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיכֶם: 35 וּפֶתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד  
תִּשְׁבּוּ יוֹמָם וְלַיְלָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־מִשְׁחַת  
יְהוָה וְלֹא תִמְוֹתוּ בִּידֵיכֶם צִוִּיתִי: 36 וַיַּעַשׂ אֹהֶל־וָעֵל וְכָנָיו  
כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה בְּיַד־מֹשֶׁה:

ד . ד . ד

CHAPTER IX.

1 וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי קָרָא מֹשֶׁה לְאֹהֶל־וָעֵל וּלְכָנָיו וּלְ  
יִשְׂרָאֵל: 2 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־אֹהֶל־וָעֵל קַח־לָךְ עֵגֶל בָּרֶבְקָר לְחֹטֵאתֶיךָ

וְאֵל לַעֲלֹה הַמִּימָם וְהִקְרֵב לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: 3 וְאֶל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 הַדִּבֶּר לֵאמֹר קָחוּ שְׁעִיר-עִזִּים לְחַטָּאת וְעֵגֶל וְכֶבֶשׂ בְּנֵי-  
 שָׁנָה הַמִּימָם לַעֲלֹה: 4 וְשׁוֹר וְאֵל לְשִׁלְמִים לְזִבְחֹ לִפְנֵי  
 יְהוָה וּמִנְחָה בְלֹלָה בַשֶּׁמֶן כִּי הַיּוֹם יְהוָה נִרְאָה אֲלֵיכֶם:  
 5 וַיִּקְחוּ אֹת אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה אֶל-פְּנֵי אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וַיִּקְרְבוּ  
 כָּל-הָעֵדָה וַיַּעֲמֵדוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה זֶה הַדִּבֶּר  
 אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה תַּעֲשׂוּ וַיֵּרָא אֲלֵיכֶם כְּבוֹד יְהוָה: 7 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 מֹשֶׁה אֶל-אַהֲרֹן קִרְב אֶל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַעֲשֵׂה אֶת-חַטָּאתְךָ  
 וְאֶת-עֹלֹתְךָ וְכֹסֶף בַּעֲדָה וְכַעַר הָעָם וַעֲשֵׂה אֶת-קֶרְבֵּן הָעָם  
 וְכֹסֶף בַּעֲדָם כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה: 8 וַיִּקְרַב אַהֲרֹן אֶל-  
 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַיִּשְׁחֹט אֶת-עֵגֶל הַחַטָּאת אֲשֶׁר-לָו: 9 וַיִּקְרְבוּ  
 בְּנֵי אֶהֱרֹן אֶת-הַדָּם אֵלָיו וַיִּטְבֹּל אֶצְבָּעוֹ בַּדָּם וַיִּתֵּן עַל-  
 קַרְנוֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְאֶת-הַדָּם יָצַק אֶל-יְסוֹד הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 10 וְאֶת-  
 הַחֵלֶב וְאֶת-הַבִּלְיִת וְאֶת-הַיֹּתֶרֶת מִן-הַזֶּבֶד מִן-תַּחֲתֵי-אֵת  
 הַקֶּטֶר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת-מֹשֶׁה: 11 וְאֶת-  
 הַבֶּשֶׂר וְאֶת-הָעוֹר שָׂרָף בָּאֵשׁ מִחוּץ לַמִּחֲנֶה: 12 וַיִּשְׁחֹט  
 אֶת-הָעֵלָה וַיִּמָּצְאוּ בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן אֵלָיו אֶת-הַדָּם וַיִּזְרְקוּ  
 עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סָבִיב: 13 וְאֶת-הָעֵלָה הִמָּצִיאוּ אֵלָיו לְנִתְחִיהָ  
 וְאֶת-הָרֹאשׁ וַיִּקְטֹרַע עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 14 וַיִּרְחֹץ אֶת-דַּקָּרָב וְאֶת-  
 הַפָּרָעִים וַיִּקְטֹרַע עַל-הָעֵלָה הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 15 וַיִּקְרֹב אֵת קֶרְבֵּן  
 הָעָם וַיִּקַּח אֶת-שְׁעִיר הַחַטָּאת אֲשֶׁר לָעָם וַיִּשְׁחָטֵהוּ  
 וַיִּתְּאֶהוּ כְּרָאשׁוֹן: 16 וַיִּקְרַב אֶת-הָעֵלָה וַיַּעֲשֶׂה כַּמִּשְׁכָּט:  
 17 וַיִּקְרַב אֶת-הַמִּנְחָה וַיַּמְלֵא כַּפּוֹ מִמֶּנָּה וַיִּקְטֹרַע עַל-  
 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ מִלֵּד עֹלֹת דְּבָקָר: 18 וַיִּשְׁחֹט אֶת-הַשׁוֹר וְאֶת-  
 הָאֵל וּבֹחַ הַשִּׁלְמִים אֲשֶׁר-לָעָם וַיִּמָּצְאוּ בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן אֶת-

LEVITICUS IX. X.

הָרֹם אֵלָיו וַיִּזְרְקוּהוּ עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סָבִיב: 19 וְאֶת-הַחֹלֶל  
מִן-הַשּׁוֹר וּמִן-הָאֵיל הָאֵלֶּה וְהַמִּכְסֶּה וְהַכִּלִּית וַיִּזְרְקוּ  
הַזָּבָד: 20 וַיִּשְׁימוּ אֶת-הַחֲלָלִים עַל-הַחֲזוֹת וַיִּקְטֹר הַחֹלֶל  
הַמִּזְבֵּחַ: 21 וְאֵת הַחֲזוֹת וְאֵת שׂוֹק הַיָּמִין הַגֵּיף אֶת-  
הַנּוֹפֶה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה: 22 וַיֵּשֶׂא אֶת-  
אֶתְיָדוֹ אֶל-הָעַם וַיְבָרֶכֶם וַיֵּרֶד מִעֲשֵׂת הַחֲטָאֹת וְהָיָה  
וְהַשְּׁלָמִים: 23 וַיָּבֹא מֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן אֶל-אֱלֹהִים מוֹעֵד וַיִּבְרְכוּ  
אֶת-הָעַם וַיֵּרָא כְבוֹד-יְהוָה אֶל-כָּל-הָעַם: 24 וַיֹּאמֶר  
אֱלֹהִים מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה וְהָאֵכֹל עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֶת-הָעֹלָה וְהַחֲלָלִים  
וַיֵּרָא כָּל-הָעַם וַיִּזְנוּ וַיִּפְּלוּ עַל-פְּנֵיהֶם:

CHAPTER X.

1 וַיִּקְחוּ בְנֵי-אֶהֱרֹן נָדָב וַאֲבִיהוּא אִישׁ מִהֶחָלָו וַיִּזְרְקוּ  
אֵשׁ וַיִּשְׁימוּ עָלֶיהָ קֶטֶרֶת וַיִּקְרְבוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וַיָּהֲרֹק  
וְהָיָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא צִוָּה אֹתָם: 2 וַתֵּצֵא אֵשׁ מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה וַתֹּחַל וַתִּהְיֶה  
אֹתָם וַיָּמָתוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל-אַהֲרֹן  
אֲשֶׁר-דִּבֶּר יְהוָה לֵאמֹר בְּקִרְבִּי אֶקְדָּשׁ וְעַל-פְּנֵי כָל-  
אֲבֹכָד וַיִּדָּם אֶהְרֹן: 4 וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה אֶל-מִישָׁאֵל וְאֶל אֶתְנָן  
בְּנֵי עֲזִיזָאֵל בְּדֹד אֶהֱרֹן וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם קְרְבוּ שָׂאֵל  
אֲחֵיכֶם מֵאֵת פְּגִי-הַקֹּדֶשׁ אֶל-מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה: 5 וַיִּשְׁאֲלוּ  
וַיִּשְׁאֲלוּ בְּכַחֲנֻתָם אֶל-מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר מֹשֶׁה  
6 וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל-אַהֲרֹן וְלֹא-עֹזֵר וְלֹא-תִתֵּן וְלֹא-תִתֵּן  
רֹאשִׁיכֶם אֶל-הַפָּרֶעַ וְהַבְּנֵיכֶם לֹא-תִפְּלוּ וְלֹא-תִפְּלוּ  
וְעַל כָּל-הָעֵדָה יִקְצֹף וְאֲחֵיכֶם כָּל-בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהָיָה  
אֶת-הַשְּׂרֵפָה אֲשֶׁר שָׂרַף יְהוָה: 7 וּמִשְׁחָהוּ אֱלֹהִים מוֹעֵד

תִּצְאוּ פֶּן־תָּמָתוּ בִּירֶשֶׁט מִשְׁחַת יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם וַיַּעֲשׂוּ כַּדְּבַר  
 מֹשֶׁה: פ 8 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־אַהֲרֹן לֵאמֹר: 9 יֵין וְשִׁכָּר  
 אֶל־תִּשְׁתּוּ אִתָּהּ וּבִגְדֶיךָ אֲתָךְ בְּבֹאֲכֶם אֶל־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וְלֹא  
 תָמָתוּ חֻקַּת עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם: 10 וְלֹהֲבִיל בֵּין הַקֹּדֶשׁ וּבֵין  
 הַחֹל וּבֵין הַטָּמֵא וּבֵין הַטָּהוֹר: 11 וְלִהְיוֹת אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 אֶת־כָּל־דִּחְוָקִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֲלֵיהֶם בְּיַד־מֹשֶׁה: פ  
 12 וַיְדַבֵּר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־אַהֲרֹן וְאֶל־אַלְעָזָר וְאֶל־אִיתָמָר בְּנֵי  
 הַנֹּזְחִים קָתוּ אֶת־הַמִּנְחָה הַנּוֹתֶרֶת מֵאִשֵּׁי יְהוָה וְאִכְלוּהָ  
 מִצֵּהָ אֶצֶל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כִּי קֹדֶשׁ קֹדָשִׁים הוּא: 13 וְאִכְלָתֶם  
 אֹתָהּ בְּמָקוֹם קֹדֶשׁ כִּי חֻקֶּךָ וְחֻק־בְּנִיךָ הוּא מֵאִשֵּׁי יְהוָה  
 כִּי־כֵן צִוִּיתִי: 14 וְאֵת חֲלוֹה הַתְּנוּפָה וְאֵת שֹׁזֵק הַתְּרוּמָה  
 תֹאכְלוּ בְּמָקוֹם טָהוֹר אִתָּהּ וּבִגְדֶיךָ וּבִנְטִיךָ אֲתָךְ כִּי־חֻקֶּךָ  
 וְחֻק־בְּנִיךָ נִצְנֹו מִזִּבְחֵי שְׁלָמֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: 15 שֹׁזֵק  
 בַּתְּרוּמָה וְחֻקֶּה הַתְּנוּפָה עַל אִשֵּׁי הַחֲלָבִים יָבִיאוּ לְהַקְטִיף  
 תְּנוּפָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְהָיָה לָהּ וּלְבִגְדֶיךָ אֲתָךְ לְחֻק־עוֹלָם  
 כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי יְהוָה: 16 וְאֵת שְׁעִיר הַחֲטָאֹת דָּרֹשׁ דָּרֹשׁ  
 מִשֶּׁה וְהֵנִחַ שֹׁרֶף וַיִּקְצֹף עַל־אַלְעָזָר וְעַל־אִיתָמָר בְּנֵי  
 אֲבִיָּהן הַנּוֹזְחִים לֵאמֹר: 17 מִדּוּעַ לֹא־אִכְלָתֶם אֶת־הַחֲטָאֹת  
 בְּמָקוֹם הַקֹּדֶשׁ כִּי קֹדֶשׁ קֹדָשִׁים הוּא וְאִתָּהּ נָתַן לָכֶם  
 לִשְׂאֹל אֶחָדֶעוֹן הַעֲדָה לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיהֶם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: 18 הֵן  
 לֹא־דוּבָא אֶת־דָּמָהּ אֶל־הַקֹּדֶשׁ פְּגִימָה אָכֹל תֹּאכְלוּ אֹתָהּ  
 פִּגְמָשׁ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי: 19 וַיְדַבֵּר אֲבִיָּהן אֶל־מֹשֶׁה הֵן הַיּוֹם  
 תִּקְלָכוּ אֶת־חֲטָאֵתֶם וְאֶת־עֲלָתְכֶם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְהִקְרַאנָה  
 אֹתִי בְּאֵלֶּה וְאִכְלָתִי חֲטָאֹת הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה:  
 20 וַיִּשְׁמַע מֹשֶׁה וַיִּטֵּב בְּעֵינָיו: פ

LEVITICUS XL

CHAPTER XL

1 וידבר יהוה אל-משה ואל-אהרן לאמר אל-  
 2 דברו אל-בני ישראל לאמר זאת החיה אשר היא  
 מכל-הבהמה אשר על-הארץ: 3 כל מפרסת פה  
 ושסעת שלסע פרסת מעלה גרה בפתחת אמה היא  
 4 אך את-זה לא תאכלו מפעלי הגרה ומפרסי הפה  
 את-הגמל כי-מעלה גרה הוא ופרסה איגנו מפריס  
 הוא לכם: 5 ואת-השפן כי-מעלה גרה הוא ופרסה  
 יפריס טמא הוא לכם: 6 ואת-הארנבת כי-מעלה  
 הוא ופרסה לא הפריסה טמאה הוא לכם: 7  
 והחזיר כי-מפריס פרסה הוא ושסע שלסע פרסה  
 גרה לא-יגר טמא הוא לכם: 8 מבשרם לא תא  
 ובגבלתם לא תגעו טמאים הם לכם: 9 אחד-זה  
 מכל אשר בפנים כל אשר-לו סנפיר וקשקשת  
 בימים ובטחלים אתם תאכלו: 10 וכל אשר  
 סנפיר וקשקשת בימים ובטחלים מכל שרץ  
 ומכל נפש החיה אשר בפנים שקץ הם לכם: 11  
 יהיו לכם מבשרם לא תאכלו ואת-גבלתם תש  
 12 כל אשר אין-לו סנפיר וקשקשת בפנים שקץ  
 לכם: 13 ואת-אלה תשקצו מן-העוף לא יאכלו  
 הם את-הנשר ואת-הפרס ואת-העוניה: 14 ואת-ה  
 ואת-האיה למינה: 15 את כל-ערב למינו: 16 ואר  
 היענה ואת-התחמם ואת-השחף ואת-הנץ למי  
 17 ואת-הבזם ואת-השלק ואת-הינשוף: 18 ואת-התנול  
 ואת-הקאת ואת-הרחם: 19 ואת החסידה והאנפה לנ

וְאֶת־הַדּוֹכִיפֹת וְאֶת־הַעֲטֹלָף: 20 כָּל־שֹׁרֶץ הָעוֹף הַחֵלֶקֶת  
 עַל־אַרְבַּע שֶׁקֶץ הוּא לָכֶם: 21 אֲךָ אֶת־זֶה תֹאכְלוּ מִכָּל־  
 שֹׁרֶץ הָעוֹף הַחֵלֶקֶת עַל־אַרְבַּע אֲשֶׁר־לֹא כָרְעִים מִמַּעַל  
 לַתְּגָלִיו לַנֶּגֶד בָּהֶן עַל־הָאָרֶץ: 22 אֶת־אַלֶּה מֵהֶם תֹאכְלוּ  
 אֶת־הָאֲרָבָה לְמִינֹה וְאֶת־הַסִּלְעָם לְמִינֵהוּ וְאֶת־הַחֲרָגָל  
 לְמִינֵהוּ וְאֶת־הַחֲנֹב לְמִינֵהוּ: 23 וְכָל־שֹׁרֶץ הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ  
 אַרְבַּע רַגְלִים שֶׁקֶץ הוּא לָכֶם: 24 וְלֹא־לָהּ תִּטְמְאוּ כִּי־  
 תִּזְנַע בְּנִבְלָתָם יִטְמָא עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 25 וְכִלְהַנְשָׂא מִנִּבְלָתָם  
 יִכָּבֶם בְּנִדּוּר וְטָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 26 לְכָל־הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר־  
 הוּא מִשְׁרָסֹת פִּרְסָה וְשִׁשְׁעַי אֵינְנָה שֹׁמֵעַת וְגֵרָה אֵינְנָה  
 מַעֲלָה טְמֵאִים הֵם לָכֶם כָּל־הַזֵּנֵעַ בָּהֶם יִטְמָא 27 וְכָל־  
 הַחֵלֶקֶת עַל־כַּפְּיוֹ בְּכָל־הַיָּהּ הַהֹלֶכֶת עַל־אַרְבַּע טְמֵאִים  
 הֵם לָכֶם כָּל־הַזֵּנֵעַ בְּנִבְלָתָם יִטְמָא עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 28 וְהַנְּשִׂא  
 אֶת־נִבְלָתָם יִכָּבֶם בְּנִדּוּר וְטָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב טְמֵאִים הֵמָּה  
 לָכֶם: 29 זֶה לָכֶם הַטָּמֵא בַּשָּׂר הַשֹּׁרֶץ עַל־הָאָרֶץ  
 הַחֵלֶקֶת וְהָעֶכְבֵּר וְהַצֹּב לְמִינֵהוּ: 30 וְהַנִּקְהָ וְהַבֹּחַ  
 וְהַלְטָאָה וְהַחֲמֹט וְהַתְּנַשְׁמֹת: 31 אֵלֶּה הַטְּמֵאִים לָכֶם  
 בְּכָל־הַשָּׂרֹץ כָּל־הַזֵּנֵעַ בָּהֶם בְּמָוֶה יִטְמָא עַד־הָעֶרֶב:  
 32 וְכָל־אִשׁ־יֶסֶל עָלָיו מָוֶה בְּמָוֶה יִטְמָא מִכָּל־כְּלִי־  
 עֵץ אֲדָם אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה שֶׁקֶץ כָּל־כְּלִי אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה מִלֵּאכָה  
 בָּהֶם בְּסִיִּים יֵבֵא וְטָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב וְטָהֵר: 33 וְכָל־כְּלִי־  
 חָדָשׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִפֹּל מֵהֶם אֶל־תּוֹכּוֹ כֹּל אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹכּוֹ יִטְמָא  
 וְאֵת־חֲשִׁכָּהוּ: 34 מִכָּל־הָאֵבֶל אֲשֶׁר יֵאָבֵל אֲשֶׁר יָבֹא  
 עָלָיו טִיִּם יִטְמָא וְכִלְ־מִשְׁקָהוּ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתֶּה בְּכָל־כְּלִי יִטְמָא:  
 35 וְכָל־אִשׁ־יֶסֶל מִנִּבְלָתָם עָלָיו יִטְמָא הַנָּגֵד וְכִירִים

יִחַץ טִמְאִים הֵם וְטִמְאִים יִהְיוּ לָכֶם: 36 אֶךְ מֵעַן זָכֹר  
 מִקְוֵה־מַיִם יִהְיֶה טְהוֹר וְנָגַע בְּנִבְלָתָם יִטְמָא: 37 וְכִי  
 יִפֹּל מִנְבִלָתָם עַל־כָּל־זֶרַע זֶרַע אֲשֶׁר יִזְרַע טְהוֹר הוּא:  
 38 וְכִי יִתֵּן־מַיִם עַל־זֶרַע וְנָפַל מִנְבִלָתָם עָלָיו טִמְאָה הִוא  
 לָכֶם: 39 וְכִי יָמוּת מִן־הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר־הִיא לָכֶם  
 לֶאֱכֹלָה הִנָּגַע בְּנִבְלָתָהּ יִטְמָא עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 40 וְהָאֵכֶל  
 מִנְבִלָתָהּ יִכָּבֵם בְּגָדָיו וְטִמְאָה עַד־הָעֶרֶב וְהַנֶּשֶׁל אֶחָד־נִבְלָתָהּ  
 יִכָּבֵם בְּגָדָיו וְטִמְאָה עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 41 וְכָל־הַשָּׂרֵץ הַשֹּׁרֵץ  
 עַל־הָאָרֶץ שֶׁקֶץ הוּא לֹא יֵאָכֵל: 42 כֹּל הַזֶּלֶק עַל־גֹּחַן  
 וְכֹל הַזֶּלֶק עַל־אֲרָבֶעַ עַד כָּל־מְרִבָּה רִגְלִים לְכָל־הַשָּׂרֵץ  
 הַשֹּׁרֵץ עַל־הָאָרֶץ לֹא תֹאכְלוּם כִּי־שֶׁקֶץ הֵם: 43 אֲלֹ־  
 תִשְׁקְצוּ אֶת־נַפְשֵׁיכֶם בְּכָל־הַשָּׂרֵץ הַשֹּׁרֵץ וְלֹא תִטְמְאוּ  
 בָהֶם וְנִטְמְטֶם בָּם: 44 כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְהִתְקַדַּשְׁתֶּם  
 וְהִיִּיתֶם קְדוֹשִׁים כִּי קָדוֹשׁ אֲנִי וְלֹא תִטְמְאוּ אֶת־נַפְשֵׁיכֶם  
 בְּכָל־הַשָּׂרֵץ הָרָמָשׁ עַל־הָאָרֶץ: 45 כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה הַמַּעֲלֶה  
 אֶתְכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֵהֵיט לָכֶם לְאֱלֹהִים וְהִיִּיתֶם  
 קְדוֹשִׁים כִּי קָדוֹשׁ אֲנִי: 46 וְאֵת הַזֶּרֶחַ הַבֹּהֶמָה וְהָעוֹף וְכָל  
 נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה הָרֹמֶשֶׁת בַּמַּיִם וְכָל־נֶפֶשׁ הַשָּׂרֵץ עַל־הָאָרֶץ:  
 47 לְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הַטָּמֵא וּבֵין הַטָּהוֹר וּבֵין הַחַיָּה הַנִּבְלָה  
 וּבֵין הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר לֹא תֹאכָל:

פ פ פ

## CHAPTER XII.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 2 דִּבֶּר אֶל־בְּנֵי  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר אִשָּׁה כִּי תוֹלִיד וְיָלְדָה זָכָר וְטִמְאָה שְׁבַע



ימים כימי נדת דוּתָהּ הַטָּמֵא: 3 וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי יִסּוֹל  
בָּשָׂר עָרְלָתוֹ: 4 וּשְׁלֹשִׁים יוֹם וּשְׁלֹשָׁת יָמִים תֵּשֵׁב בְּדָמִי  
טְהוֹרָה בְּכָל-קֹדֶשׁ לֹא-תִגַּע וְאֶל-הַמִּקְדָּשׁ לֹא תָבֹא עַד-  
מָלֵאת יָמֵי טְהוֹרָה: 5 וְאִם-נִקְבְּהָ תֵּלֵד וְטָמְאָה שִׁבְעִים  
בְּנִדְתָּהּ וּשְׁלֹשִׁים יוֹם וּשְׁלֹשָׁת יָמִים תֵּשֵׁב עַל-דָּמֵי מַהֲרָה:  
6 וּבְמָלֵאת יָמֵי טְהוֹרָה לְבִן אִם לְבַת תָּבִיא בְּבֶשׂ בֶּן-  
שָׁנָה לְעֹלָה וּבְנִיּוֹתָ אֲחֵרָה לְחַטָּאת אֶל-זֶתַח אֹהֶל-  
מִיֶּשֶׁעַ אֶל-הַסֵּקֶן: 7 וְהִקְרִיבוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וּכְפַר עָלֶיהָ  
וְטְהַרְתָּ מִמֶּנּוּ דָּמֶיהָ וְאֵת הַזֹּרֹת הַיֹּלֶדֶת לִזְכָּר אִם  
לְנִקְבָּהּ: 8 וְאִם-לֹא תִמָּצֵא יָדָהּ בִּי שָׁהּ וְלִקְחָהּ שְׁתֵּי-  
חֲרִים אִם שְׁנֵי בָנֵי יוֹנָה אַחֵר לְעֹלָה וְאַחֵר לְחַטָּאת  
וְדָפַר עָלֶיהָ הַכֹּהֵן וְטְהַרְתָּ: פ

# CHAPTER XIII.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה וְאֶל-אַהֲרֹן לֵאמֹר: 2 אֲדָם  
כִּי-יִהְיֶה בְּעוֹר-בָּשָׂרוֹ שָׂאתָ אִם-סִפְחָת אִם בִּרְתָּ וְהָיָה  
בְּעוֹר-בָּשָׂרוֹ לִנְגַע צָרַעַת וְהוּבֹא אֶל-אַהֲרֹן הַכֹּהֵן אִם  
אֶל-אַחֵר מִבְּנֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים: 3 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת-הַנִּגַּע  
בְּעוֹר-הַבָּשָׂר וְשָׁעַר בַּנִּגַּע הִפָּךְ לָבֵן וּמִרְאָה הַנִּגַּע עֲמַק  
זָעוּר בָּשָׂרוֹ נִגַּע צָרַעַת הוּא וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן וְטָמְא אֹתוֹ:  
וְאִם-פִּתְיָהּ לְבָנָהּ הוּא בְּעוֹר בָּשָׂרוֹ וְעֲמַק אֵין-מִרְאָה  
הָעוֹר וְשָׁעַרָה לֹא-הִפָּךְ לָבֵן וְהִסְגִּיר הַכֹּהֵן אֶת-הַנִּגַּע  
זָעַת יָמִים: 4 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וְהָיָה  
וְעַ עָמַד בְּעֵינָיו לֹא-פָשָׂה הַנִּגַּע בְּעוֹר וְהִסְגִּירוֹ הַכֹּהֵן  
זָעַת יָמִים שְׁנִית: 5 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אֹתוֹ בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי

LEVITICUS XIII.

שְׁנִיָּהּ וְהָיָה בִּכְהָה הַנִּגַּע וְלֹא־פָשָׁה הַנִּגַּע בָּעוֹר וְטָרַף  
 רֹבֵהוֹן מִסִּפְחַת הוּא וְכַכֵּם בְּגָדָיו וְטָהָר: 7 וְאִם־פָּשָׁה  
 תִּפְשָׁה הַמִּסִּפְחַת בָּעוֹר אַחֲרֵי הִרְאָתוֹ אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן לְטָהָר  
 וְנִרְאָה שְׁנִיָּה אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 8 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן וְהָיָה פָשַׁע  
 הַמִּסִּפְחַת בָּעוֹר וְטָמֵא הַכֹּהֵן צָרְעַת הוּא: פ 9  
 צָרְעַת כִּי תִהְיֶה בָאָדָם וְהוּבֵא אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 10 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן  
 וְהָיָה שְׂאֵת־לִבְנָה בָּעוֹר וְהָיָה הַפֶּסֶחַ שֹׁעַר לָבֵן וְכִי  
 בָשָׂר חַי בַּשְּׂאֵת: 11 צָרְעַת נֹשֶׁנֶת הוּא בָּעוֹר כִּי  
 וְטָמֵא הַכֹּהֵן לֹא יִסְתַּחֲבֵנוּ כִּי טָמֵא הוּא: 12 וְאִם־פָּשָׁה  
 תִּפְרַח הַצָּרְעַת בָּעוֹר וְכִסְתָּהּ הַצָּרְעַת אֶת כָּל־עוֹר וְכִי  
 מִרְאֲשׁוֹ וְעַד־רִגְלָיו לְכָל־מִרְאָה עֵינֵי הַכֹּהֵן: 13 וְכִי  
 הַכֹּהֵן וְהָיָה כִּסְתָּהּ הַצָּרְעַת אֶת־כָּל־בָּשָׂרוֹ וְטָהָר  
 הַנִּגַּע כִּלּוֹ הַפֶּסֶחַ לָבֵן טָהוֹר הוּא: 14 וְכִי־וָרָאוּ  
 בָשָׂר חַי וְטָמֵא: 15 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר הַחַי וְטָהָר  
 הַבָּשָׂר הַחַי טָמֵא הוּא צָרְעַת הוּא: 16 אֵל כִּי־יָשׁוּב הַכֹּהֵן  
 הַחַי וְנִהַפֶּסֶחַ לָלָבֵן וְכִי אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 17 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן וְכִי  
 נִהַפֶּסֶחַ הַנִּגַּע לָלָבֵן וְטָהָר הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַנִּגַּע טָהוֹר וְכִי  
 פ 18 וּבָשָׂר כִּי־יִהְיֶה בְּדָבָרוֹ שְׁחִין וְנִרְפָּא: 19 וְכִי  
 בַּמָּקוֹם הַשְּׁחִין שְׂאֵת לִבְנָה אֵל בִּרְחַת לִבְנֵה אֲדָמָה  
 וְנִרְאָה אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 20 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן וְהָיָה מִרְאָה  
 מִן־הָעוֹר וְשַׁעֲרָה הַפֶּסֶחַ לָבֵן וְטָמֵא הַכֹּהֵן יִגַּע־צָרְעַת  
 בַּשְּׁחִין פָּרָחַת: 21 וְאִם־וִירָאָה הַכֹּהֵן וְהָיָה אֵין־פֶּסֶחַ  
 לָבֵן וְשַׁפְלָה אֵינָה מִן־הָעוֹר וְהָיָה כִּהָּה וְהִסְגִּירוֹ וְכִי  
 שִׁבְעַת יָמִים: 22 וְאִם־פָּשָׁה תִּפְשָׁה בָּעוֹר וְטָמֵא  
 אִתּוֹ גַּע הוּא: 23 וְאִם־תִּתְחַיֶּה תִּתְחַיֶּה הַפֶּסֶחַ

פִּשְׁתָּהּ צָרְבֶת הַשְּׁחִין הוּא וְטָהֲרוּ הַכֹּהֵן: ס 24 אִם  
בָּשָׂר כִּי־יִהְיֶה בָעוֹר מִכּוֹת־אֵשׁ וְהִיָּתָה מַחֲיֵת הַמִּכּוֹה  
בִּבְרִית לְבָנָה אֲדִמָּה אִם לְבָנָה: 25 וְרָאָה אֹתָהּ הַכֹּהֵן  
וְהָיָה נֹהֵפֹךְ שֵׁעַר לִבָּן בַּבִּרְתָּה וּמִרְאֶה עֹמֵק מִן־הָעוֹר  
צָרַעַת הוּא בַּמִּכּוֹת פָּרָחָה וְטָמֵא אֹתוֹ הַכֹּהֵן גָּנַע צָרַעַת  
הִיא: 26 וְאִם יִרְאָהּ הַכֹּהֵן וְהָיָה אֵין־בַּבִּרְתָּה שֵׁעַר  
לִבָּן וְשִׁפְלָה אֵינָהּ מִן־הָעוֹר וְהִיא כִּהְיָה וְהִסְגִּירוּ הַכֹּהֵן  
שִׁבְעַת יָמִים: 27 וְרָאָהּ הַכֹּהֵן בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי אִם־כָּשָׂה  
תִּפְסָה בָעוֹר וְטָמֵא הַכֹּהֵן אֹתוֹ גָּנַע צָרַעַת הוּא: 28 וְאִם־  
תִּחַתֶּיהָ תֵּצֵא הַבִּרְתָּה לֹא־פִשְׁתָּהּ בָּעוֹר וְהִיא כִּהְיָה שְׁלֵמָה  
הַמִּכּוֹה הִיא וְטָהֲרוּ הַכֹּהֵן כִּי־צָרְבֶת הַמִּכּוֹה הוּא: פ  
29 וְאִישׁ אִם אִשָּׁה כִּי־יִהְיֶה בּוֹ גִּנָּע כְּרָאשׁ אִם בֹּקֶן: 30 וְרָאָה  
הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַגִּנָּע וְהָיָה מִרְאֵהוּ עֹמֵק מִן־הָעוֹר וְכִּי שֵׁעַר  
צָדָב בָּקָה וְטָמֵא אֹתוֹ הַכֹּהֵן גָּנַח הוּא צָרַעַת הִרְאֵשׁ אִם  
הִקָּן הוּא: 31 וְכִי־רָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־גִּנָּע הַנֶּחֱקָה וְהָיָה אֵין־  
מִרְאֵהוּ עֹמֵק מִן־הָעוֹר וְשֵׁעַר שְׂחָר אֵין בּוֹ וְהִסְגִּיר  
הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־גִּנָּע הַנֶּחֱקָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים: 32 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־  
הַגִּנָּע בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וְהָיָה לֹא־פִשְׁתָּהּ הַנֶּחֱקָה וְלֹא־הָיָה בּוֹ  
שֵׁעַר צָדָב וְכִרְאָה הַנֶּחֱקָה אֵין עֹמֵק מִן־הָעוֹר: 33 וְלִתְגַלָּה  
וְאִתְּחַתָּהּ לֹא יִגָּל וְהִסְגִּיר הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַנֶּחֱקָה שִׁבְעַת  
יָמִים שְׁנִיָּתָה: 34 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַנֶּחֱקָה בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי  
וְהָיָה לֹא־פִשְׁתָּהּ הַנֶּחֱקָה בָּעוֹר וּמִרְאֵהוּ אֵינָנו עֹמֵק מִן־  
הָעוֹר וְטָהֲרוּ אֹתוֹ הַכֹּהֵן וְכִכֶּם כְּגִידוֹ וְטָהֲרוּ: 35 וְאִם־פִּשְׁתָּהּ  
יִפְסָה הַנֶּחֱקָה בָּעוֹר אֶתְרִי טָהֲרוּ: 36 וְרָאָהּ הַכֹּהֵן וְהָיָה  
פִּשְׁתָּהּ הַנֶּחֱקָה בָּעוֹר לֹא־בִקָּר הַכֹּהֵן לִשְׁעַר הַצָּדָב טָמֵא

שְׁנִיָּהּ וְהִנֵּה כִּהְיָה הַנֶּגַע וְלֹא־פָשָׁה הַנֶּגַע בָּעוֹר וְסִי-  
הַכֹּהֵן מִסְפַּחַת הוּא וְכַכֶּם בְּגָדָיו וְטָהֵר: 7 וְאִם־  
תִּפְשָׁה הַמִּסְפַּחַת בָּעוֹר אַחֲרֵי הִרְאָתוֹ אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן לְטָהֵר  
וְנִרְאָה שְׁנִיָּת אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 8 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן וְהִנֵּה פֶשֶׁת  
הַמִּסְפַּחַת בָּעוֹר וְטִמְאֹה הַכֹּהֵן צִרְעַת הוּא: פ 9  
צִרְעַת כִּי תִהְיֶה בָאָדָם וְהוּכָא אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 10 וְרָאָה  
וְהִנֵּה שְׂאֵת־לִבְנָה בָּעוֹר וְהִיא הַפִּקָּה שֵׁעַר לֶבֶן וְסִי  
בְּשָׂר הִי בִשְׂאֵת: 11 צִרְעַת נֹשֶׁנֶת הוּא בָּעוֹר פֶּשֶׁת  
וְטִמְאֹה הַכֹּהֵן לֹא יִסְגְּלוּ כִּי טָמֵא הוּא: 12 וְאִם־  
תִּפְרַח הַצִּרְעַת בָּעוֹר וְכִסְתָּהּ הַצִּרְעַת אֵת כָּל־עוֹר  
מִרְאֲשׁוֹ וְעַד־רִגְלָיו לְכָל־מִרְאָה עֵינֵי הַכֹּהֵן: 13 וְ  
הַכֹּהֵן וְהִנֵּה כִסְתָּהּ הַצִּרְעַת אֶת־כָּל־בְּשָׁלוֹ וְטָהֵר  
הַנֶּגַע בָּלֹז הַפֶּקֶד לָבֶן טָהוֹר הוּא: 14 וְכִי־זָם הִרְאָתוֹ  
בְּשָׂר הִי וְטָמֵא: 15 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַבְּשָׂר הַחַי וְסִי  
הַבְּשָׂר הַחַי טָמֵא הוּא צִרְעַת הוּא: 16 אֵל כִּי־יָשׁוּב הִנֵּה  
הַחַי וְנִהְפָּק לְלֶבֶן וְכָא אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 17 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן  
נִהְפָּק הַנֶּגַע לְלֶבֶן וְטָהֵר הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַנֶּגַע טָהוֹר  
פ 18 וּבְשָׂר כִּי־יִהְיֶה בִדְבַעְרוֹ שְׁחִין וְנִרְפָּא: 19  
בְּמָקוֹם הַשְּׁחִין שְׂאֵת לִבְנָה אֵל בִּהְרֹת לִבְנֵת אָדָם  
וְנִרְאָה אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 20 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן וְהִנֵּה מִרְאָה  
מִן־הָעוֹר וְשַׁעֲרֵה הַפֶּקֶד לָבֶן וְטִמְאֹה הַכֹּהֵן נֶגַע־צִרְעַת  
בְּשְׁחִין פָּרַחַת: 21 וְאִם־וִירָאָה הַכֹּהֵן וְהִנֵּה אֵין־פֶּסֶל  
לָבֶן וְשַׁפְלָה אֵינָנָה מִן־הָעוֹר וְהִיא כִּהְיָה וְהִסְגִּירוֹ  
שִׁבְעַת יָמִים: 22 וְאִם־פָּשָׁה תִּפְשָׁה בָּעוֹר וְטָמֵא  
אִתּוֹ נֶגַע הוּא: 23 וְאִם־תִּחַלְתִּיהָ תִּעְמָד תִּפְרַחַת

וְהַסְגִּירוּ רַבְּהֵן  
דִּיעֵי אִם-כְּשֶׁה  
וְאֵלֶּיךָ : 28 וְאִם-  
יֵא כִּהְיֶה שְׁמֵךְ  
הוּא : פ  
וְכֵן : 30 וְרֵא  
נֹר וְכֹ שֶׁעַר  
ח הַרְאֵשׁ אֵל  
זָק וְהֵנָּה אֵל  
כֹּן וְהַסְגִּיר  
ה רַבְּהֵן אֶת-  
וְלֹא-הָיָה כֹן  
83 וְלִתְגַּלְחָה  
נֶחֱק שְׁכַעַת  
יֵם הַשְּׁבִיעִי

37 הוא: ואם-נִעְיָנוּ עַל-הַנֶּחֱק זֶשְׁעַר שְׁחָר צִנֹּה  
 נִפְא הַנֶּחֱק טָהוֹר הוּא וְטָהַר הַבֵּהֶן: 38  
 אִם-אִשָּׁה כִּי-יִהְיֶה בְּעוֹר-בְּשָׂרָהּ בְּהִלָּת בְּהִלָּת  
 39 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן וְהָיָה בְּעוֹד-בְּשָׂרָהּ בְּהִלָּת בְּהִלָּת  
 כֹּהֵן הוּא פָּרַח בְּעוֹר טָהוֹר הוּא: 40 וְאִם  
 יִמָּרֵט רֹאשׁוֹ קֶרֶחַ הוּא טָהוֹר הוּא: 41 וְאִם מִפְּאֵת  
 יִמָּרֵט רֹאשׁוֹ גִּבַּח הוּא טָהוֹר הוּא: 42 וְכִי-יִהְיֶה בְּ  
 אִם בְּגִפְתָּח נָגַע לֶבֶן אֲדָמָה צִרְעַת פְּרִיחַת הוּא בְּ  
 אִם בְּגִפְתָּחוֹ: 43 וְרָאָה אֹתוֹ הַכֹּהֵן וְהָיָה שְׂאֵת  
 לְבָנָה אֲדָמָה בְּקִרְחָתוֹ אִם בְּגִפְתָּחוֹ כִּמְרָאָה  
 עוֹר בְּשָׂרָהּ: 44 אִם-צִרְעַת הוּא טָמֵא הוּא טָמֵא יִסָּ  
 הַכֹּהֵן בְּרֹאשׁוֹ נִגְעוֹ: 45 וְהִצִּירֵעַ אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ הַנֶּגַע  
 יִהְיוּ פְּרִמִּים וְרֹאשׁוֹ יִהְיֶה פָּרוֹעַ וְעַל-שִׁפְסִיפָה יִעָּטָה וְ  
 טָמֵא יִקְרָא: 46 כָּל-יָמֵי אֲשֶׁר הַנֶּגַע בּוֹ יִטָּמֵא טָמֵא  
 בָּדָד יֵשֵׁב מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה מוֹשָׁבוֹ: 47 וְהִפְגִּיר כִּי  
 בּוֹ נִגַּע צִרְעַת בְּבָגֶד צִמָּר אִם בְּבָגֶד פְּשִׁטִּים: 48  
 בְּשִׂתִּי אִם בְּעֶרְבַּ לְפִשְׁטִים וְלִצְמָר אִם בְּעוֹר אִם  
 מִלֶּאכֶת עוֹר: 49 וְהָיָה הַנֶּגַע יִרְקָק אִם אֲדָמָה  
 אִם בְּעוֹר אִם-בְּשִׂתִּי אִם-בְּעֶרְבַּ אִם בְּכָל-כְּלִיעוֹת  
 צִרְעַת הוּא וְהִרְאָה אֶת-הַכֹּהֵן: 50 וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת  
 וְהִסְגִּיר אֶת-הַנֶּגַע לְשִׁבְעַת יָמִים: 51 וְרָאָה אֶת-הַנֶּגַע  
 הַשְּׂבִיעִי כִּי-פָשָׁה הַנֶּגַע בְּבָגֶד אִם-בְּשִׂתִּי אִם-בְּעֶרְבַּ  
 בְּעוֹר לְכָל אֲשֶׁר-יַעֲשֶׂה הָעוֹר לְמִלֶּאכֶה צִרְעַת מִ  
 הַנֶּגַע טָמֵא הוּא: 52 וְשָׂרַף אֶת-הַבָּגֶד אִם אֶת-הַשִּׂתִּי  
 אִם-הָעֶרְבַּ בַּצִּמָּר אִם בַּפִּשְׁטִים אִם אֶת-כָּל-כְּלִיעוֹת

החולעת ואֶת־הָאֵזָב וְטָבַל אוֹתָם וְאֵת ׀ הַצֹּפֶר הַחֲזִיר  
בְּדָם הַצֹּפֶר הַשְּׁחִיטָה עַל הַמִּים הַחַיִּים: 7 וְהָיָה עַל־  
הַמִּטְהָר מִן־הַצֹּרֶעַת שִׁבְעַת פַּעֲמִים וְטָהַר וְשָׁלַח אֶת־  
הַצֹּפֶר הַחַיִּיהָ עַל־פְּנֵי הַשָּׁרָה: 8 וְכַבֵּם הַמִּטְהָר אֶת־בְּגָדוֹ  
וְגִלְחָה אֶת־כָּל־שְׁעָרוֹ וְרִחַץ בַּמִּים וְטָהַר וְאַחֵר יָבוֹא אֶל־  
הַמִּחֲנֶה וַיֵּשֶׁב מִחוּץ לָאֹהֶל שִׁבְעַת יָמִים: 9 וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם  
הַשְּׂבִיעִי יִגְלַח אֶת־כָּל־שְׁעָרוֹ אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ וְאֶת־זִקְנוֹ וְאֶת־  
זַבְתֵּי עֵינָיו וְאֶת־כָּל־שְׁעָרוֹ יִגְלַח וְכַבֵּם אֶת־בְּגָדוֹ וְרִחַץ  
אֶת־בְּשָׂרוֹ בַּמִּים וְטָהַר: 10 וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׂמִינִי יִקַּח שְׁנֵי  
כִבְשִׁים תְּמִימִם וְכִבְשָׁה אֶחָת בֵּת־שָׁנָה תְּמִימָה וְשִׁלְשׁוֹ  
עֶשְׂרִינִים סֵלֹת מִנְהָל בְּלוּלָה בַשֶּׁמֶן וְלֹא אַחֵר שֶׁמֶן  
11 וַיַּעֲמִיד הַכֹּהֵן הַמִּטְהָר אֶת הָאִישׁ הַמִּטְהָר וְאָמַר  
לְפָנַי יְהוָה פָּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד: 12 וְלָקַח הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־  
הַכִּבֶּשׂ הָאֶחָד וַיִּדְקְרֵיב אוֹתוֹ לְאַשֶׁם וְאֶת־לֶג הַשֶּׁמֶן וַיִּהְיֶה  
אֹתָם תְּנוּפָה לְפָנַי יְהוָה: 13 וְשָׁחַט אֶת־הַכִּבֶּשׂ בַּמִּקְוֶה  
אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁחָט אֹתוֹ הַחֲטָאת וְאֶת־הָעֹלָה בַּמִּקְוֶה הַגָּדֹל  
כִּי כִּחְטָאת הָאִשֶׁם הוּא לַכֹּהֵן קָדֵשׁ קָדָשִׁים הוּא  
14 וְלָקַח הַכֹּהֵן מִדָּם הָאִשֶׁם וְנָתַן הַכֹּהֵן עַל־הַנֹּדָד אֵין  
הַמִּטְהָר הַיִּמָּנִית וְעַל־זִבְהֵן יְדוֹ הַיִּמָּנִית וְעַל־זִבְהֵן רִגְלֵי  
הַיִּמָּנִית: 15 וְלָקַח הַכֹּהֵן מִלֶּג הַשֶּׁמֶן וַיִּצַק עַל־כָּף הַכֹּהֵן  
הַשְּׂמָאלִית: 16 וְטָבַל הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־אֶצְבָּעוֹ הַיִּמָּנִית מִן־  
הַשֶּׁמֶן אֲשֶׁר עַל־כָּפוֹ הַשְּׂמָאלִית וְהָיָה מִן־הַשֶּׁמֶן בְּאֶצְבָּעוֹ  
שִׁבְעַת פַּעֲמִים לְפָנַי יְהוָה: 17 וּמִיֹּתֵר הַשֶּׁמֶן אֲשֶׁר עַל־כָּפוֹ  
יִהְיֶה הַכֹּהֵן עַל־הַנֹּדָד אֵין הַמִּטְהָר הַיִּמָּנִית וְעַל־זִבְהֵן יְדוֹ  
רִי־יָמִנִית וְעַל־זִבְהֵן רִגְלֵי הַיִּמָּנִית עַל דָּם הָאִשֶׁם: 18 וְהִנֹּחַ



וְיִשְׁמַחַתְּ בְּיָמֶיךָ עֲלֵינוּ  
מִנְחָה וְלֹא שָׁמֶן :  
וְרַתְּשִׁיג יָדוֹ וְהָיָה  
אַתָּה בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׂמִינִי  
מוֹעֵד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה :  
זֶלֶל הַשָּׁמֶן וְהַנִּיף  
עַל אֶחָד-כָּבֶשׂ הָאֲשֵׁם  
תִּנְחַד אֶן-הַמִּפְהָר  
זֶן בְּגִלּוֹ הַיִּמָּנִית :  
הַכֹּהֵן הַשְּׂמֵאלִית :  
הַשָּׁמֶן אֲשֶׁר עַל-  
ז' : 28 וְנָחַן הַכֹּהֵן  
הַמִּפְהָר הַיִּמָּנִית  
זִמָּנִית עַל-מְקוֹם  
ז' עַל-כֵּף הַכֹּהֵן  
יְהוָה : 30 וְעָשָׂה

LEVITICUS XV.

אֲשֶׁר יִרְכַּב עָלָיו הֶזֶב וְטָמֵא: 10 וְכָל־הַנִּגְעַ כָּל־אִישׁ  
 יִהְיֶה תַחְמוֹז וְטָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב וְהַנּוֹשָׂא אוֹתָם יִכָּסּוּ בְּ  
 וְרִחֵץ בַּמַּיִם וְטָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 11 וְכָל־אִישׁ יִגְעֲבוּ  
 וְיִדְּיוֹ לֹא־שִׁטֵּף בַּמַּיִם וְכָסּוּ בְּגָדָיו וְרִחֵץ בַּמַּיִם וְטָמֵא  
 עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 12 וְכָל־יִתְּרֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִגְעֲבוּ הֶזֶב יִשְׁכַּב  
 כָּל־יָעַץ וְשִׁטֵּף בַּמַּיִם: 13 וְכִי־יִטְהַר הֶזֶב מִזֹּבֹו וְ  
 לֹא שִׁבְעַת יָמִים לְטַהֲרָתוֹ וְכָסּוּ בְּגָדָיו וְרִחֵץ בַּשֶּׁרֶץ בַּ  
 חַיִּים וְטָהַר: 14 וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי יִקַּח־לּוֹ שְׁתֵּי תֹרִים  
 שְׁנֵי בָנֵי יוֹנָה וּבָא לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֶל־פֶּחֶחַ אֶהֱלֵךְ  
 וְנִתְּנָם אֶל־הַזֶּהֶן: 15 וַעֲשֵׂה אֹתָם רַבְּהֵן אַחֲרֵי  
 וְהֵאָחֵז עָלֶיהָ וְכִפֹּר עָלָיו הַזֶּהֶן לִפְנֵי יְהוָה מִזֹּבֹו: 16  
 וְאִישׁ כִּי־תִצָּא מִסֹּמְנוֹ שִׁכַּבְתָּ־זָרַע וְרִחֵץ בַּמַּיִם אֶת  
 בְּשָׂרוֹ וְטָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 17 וְכָל־בֶּגֶד וְכָל־עוֹר אֲשֶׁר  
 יִהְיֶה עָלָיו שִׁכַּבְתָּ־זָרַע וְכָסּוּ בַּמַּיִם וְטָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב  
 18 וְאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אִישׁ אֹתָהּ שִׁכַּבְתָּ־זָרַע וְרִחֲצוּ בַּ  
 וְטָמְאוּ עַד־הָעֶרֶב: פ 19 וְאִשָּׁה כִּי־תִהְיֶה זֹכָה בָּהֶם  
 זֹכָה בַּבְּשָׂרָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תִּהְיֶה בְּגִדְתָּהּ וְכָל־הַנִּגְעַ  
 יִטָּמָא עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 20 וְכָל־אִישׁ הַשֹּׁכֵב עָלָיו בְּגָדָיו  
 יִטָּמָא וְכָל־אִשֶּׁר־תִּשָּׁב עָלָיו יִטָּמָא: 21 וְכָל־אִישׁ  
 בְּמִשְׁכָּבָהּ יִכָּסּוּ בְּגָדָיו וְרִחֵץ בַּמַּיִם וְטָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב  
 22 וְכָל־הַנִּגְעַ כָּל־כָּל־אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־תִּשָּׁב עָלָיו יִכָּסּוּ בַּ  
 וְרִחֵץ בַּמַּיִם וְטָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 23 וְאִם עַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּב  
 אִזְּ עַל־הַכִּלִּי אֲשֶׁר־הוּא יִשְׁכַּבְתָּ־עָלָיו בְּנִגְעוֹ־בּוֹ יִטָּמָא  
 עַד־הָעֶרֶב: 24 וְאִם שָׁכַב יִשְׁכַּב אִישׁ אֹתָהּ וְהָיָה  
 עָלָיו וְטָמֵא שִׁבְעַת יָמִים וְכָל־הַמִּשְׁכָּב אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁכַּב

יִטְמָא: ד 25 וְאִשָּׁה כִּי־יִזְוֹב וְזֹב דָּמָהּ יָמִים רַבִּים  
 בְּלֹא עֲת־נִדְתָּהּ אִזְ כִּי־תִזְוֹב עַל־נִדְתָּהּ כָּל־יָמֶי נֹזֵב טַמְאָתָהּ  
 כִּי־מִי נִדְתָּהּ תִּדְוָה טַמְאָה הִוא: 26 כָּל־הַמְּשָׁכֵב אֲשֶׁר  
 הִשְׁכָּב עָלָיו כָּל־יָמֵי זִוְבָהּ כְּמִשְׁכָּב נִדְתָּהּ יִהְיֶה־לָּהּ וְכָל־  
 הַכָּלִי אֲשֶׁר־הִשְׁכָּב עָלָיו טַמְא יִהְיֶה כְּטַמְאָת נִדְתָּהּ: 27 וְכָל־  
 הַצֹּנֵעַ בָּם יִטְמָא וְכֻכָּם בְּגָדָיו וְרִחָץ בַּמַּיִם וְטַמְא עֵר־  
 הָעָרִב: 28 וְאִם־טִי־דָהּ מִזִּוְבָהּ וְסִפְרָה לָּהּ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים  
 וְאַחֲרֵי הַטִּהָר: 29 וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׂמִינִי תִקַּח־לָּהּ שְׁתֵּי תָרִים  
 אֵי שְׁנֵי בָנִי יִזְנֶה וְהִבִּיֵּאה אוֹתָם אֶל־דִּבְהֶן אֶל־פֶּתַח אֹהֶל  
 מוֹעֵד: 30 וַעֲשֵׂה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הָאֶחָד חֹטֵאת וְאֶת־הָאֶחָד  
 עָלָה וְכִפֹּר עָלֶיהָ הַכֹּהֵן לִפְנֵי יְהוָה מִזִּוֹב טַמְאָתָהּ:  
 31 וְהִזְרִיתֶם אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִטַּמְאָתָם וְלֹא יָמִתּוּ בְּטַמְאָתָם  
 בְּטַמְאָם אֶת־מִשְׁכְּנִי אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹכָם: 32 וְאֵת הַזֹּרֵחַ הַזֶּה  
 וְאֲשֶׁר הִצָּא מִמֶּנּוּ שִׁכְבַּת־זֶרַע לְטַמְאָה־בָּהּ: 33 וְהִדְוָה  
 בְּנִדְתָּהּ וְהִזְוֹב אֶת־זִוְבָּהּ לְזָכָר וְלִנְקָבָה וְלְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכָּב  
 עִם־טַמְאָה:

פ

פ

פ

## CHAPTER XVI.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה אַחֲרֵי מוֹת שְׁנֵי בְנֵי אֲהֲרֹן  
 בְּקִרְבָּתָם לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה וַיָּמָתוּ: 2 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה  
 דַּבֵּר אֶל־אַהֲרֹן אָחִיךָ וְאֵל־יָבֵא בְכָל־עֵת אֶל־הַקֹּדֶשׁ מִבֵּית  
 לְפָרֶכֶת אֶל־פְּנֵי הַכַּפֹּרֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָאֹזֶן וְלֹא יָמוּת כִּי  
 בָּעֵזֶן אֵרָאָה עַל־הַכַּפֹּרֶת: 3 בְּיוֹאת יָבֵא אֲהֲרֹן אֶל־הַקֹּדֶשׁ  
 בִּפָּר כֹּהֵן־גָּדֹל לְחֹטֵאת וְאֵל לְעֹלָה: 4 בְּתַנְדִּיבֹד קָדַשׁ

וּלְבַשׁ וּמִכְנָסֵי בָרָה יִהְיוּ עַל־בְּשָׂרוֹ וּבְאֵבָנֹת בֵּרֶךְ יִהְיֶה  
 וּבְמִצְנֶפֶת בֵּרֶךְ יִצְנָף בְּגָדֵי קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיוּ וְרִחָן בְּסִיִּם אֶת־  
 בְּשָׂרוֹ וּלְבָשָׁם: 5 וַיֵּאָה עֹרֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִקַּח שְׁנֵי־  
 שְׂעִירֵי עִזִּים לְחַטָּאת וְאֵיל אֶחָד לְעֹלָה: 6 וְהִקְרִיב אֹהֶלֶן  
 אֶת־פֶּרֶךְ הַחַטָּאת אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ וּבִסֹּפֶר בָּעֵרֹן וּבְעֵרֹן בֵּיתוֹ: 7 וְלָקַח  
 אֶת־שְׁנֵי הַשְּׂעִירִים וַחֲעָמִיד אֹתָם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה פָּתַח אֹהֶל  
 מוֹעֵד: 8 וְנָתַן אֹהֶלֶן עַל־שְׁנֵי הַשְּׂעִירִים וְגִלְזָה גִזְרֵל  
 אֶחָד לַיהוָה וְגִזְרֵל אֶחָד לַעֲזָאוֹל: 9 וְהִקְרִיב אֹהֶלֶן אֶת־  
 הַשְּׂעִיר אֲשֶׁר עָלָה עָלָיו הַגִּזְרֵל לַיהוָה וַעֲשֶׂהוּ חַטָּאת:  
 10 וְהַשְּׂעִיר אֲשֶׁר עָלָה עָלָיו הַגִּזְרֵל לַעֲזָאוֹל יַעֲמִד־חַי לִפְנֵי  
 יְהוָה לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו לְשַׁלַּח אֹתוֹ לַעֲזָאוֹל הַמִּדְבָּרָה: 11 וְהִקְרִיב  
 אֹהֶלֶן אֶת־פֶּרֶךְ הַחַטָּאת אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ וּבִסֹּפֶר בָּעֵרֹן וּבְעֵרֹן בֵּיתוֹ  
 וְשָׁחַט אֶת־פֶּרֶךְ הַחַטָּאת אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ: 12 וְלָקַח מִלֶּאֱ-  
 הַמִּחְתָּה גִּחְלֵי־אֵשׁ מֵעַל הַסּוּבִיחַ מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה וּמִלֶּאֱ-  
 חֲפָזָיו קִטְרֹת סִמִּים בָּקָה וַהֲבִיֵּא מִבֵּית לִפְרָכֶת: 13 וְנָתַן  
 אֶת־הַקִּטְרֹת עַל־הָאֵשׁ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וּכִסְתָּהוּ עֵנָן תִּקְטֹרֶת  
 אֶת־הַכֹּפֶרֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָעֲרוֹת וְלֹא יָמוּת: 14 וְלָקַח מִגֶּם  
 הַפָּר וְהִזָּה בְּאֶצְבָּעוֹ עַל־פְּנֵי הַכֹּפֶרֶת קִדְמָה וּלִפְנֵי הַכֹּפֶרֶת  
 יִזָּה שִׁבְעַת־פַּעֲמִים מִן־הַדָּם בְּאֶצְבָּעוֹ: 15 וְשָׁחַט אֶת־שְׂעִיר־  
 הַחַטָּאת אֲשֶׁר־לָעָם וַהֲבִיֵּא אֶת־דָּמֹו אֶל־מִבֵּית לִפְרָכֶת  
 וַעֲשֶׂה אֶת־דָּמֹו כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לָדָם הַפָּר וְהָאֵם אֹתוֹ עַל־  
 הַכֹּפֶרֶת וּלִפְנֵי הַכֹּפֶרֶת: 16 וּבִסֹּפֶר עַל־הַקֹּדֶשׁ מִשְׁמֵאת  
 בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִשְׁשִׁיעֵיהֶם לְכַל־חַטָּאתָם וּבֶדֶךְ יַעֲשֶׂהוּ לְאֹהֶל־  
 מוֹעֵד הַשֹּׁכֵן אֹתָם פְּתוּךְ טְמֵאתָם: 17 וְכָל־אֲדָמָה לֹא־יִהְיֶה  
 בְּאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד בְּבֹאֵל לְכַפֵּר בַּקֹּדֶשׁ עֲרֵצָתוֹ וּבָזָב בָּעֵרֹן

וְשֵׁנִי בְּנֵי אֶרֶץ  
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
לֵאמֹר לֵבִי  
לֹא יִמְתָּן בְּטִמְאֹתָם  
וְאֵת הַזֶּכֶר הַזֶּה  
וְהַזֶּכֶר 33 וְהַזֶּכֶר  
לְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכֵּב

וְשֵׁנִי בְּנֵי אֶרֶץ  
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

# LEVITICUS XVI XVII

שִׁבְתֶּזֶן הִיא לָכֶם וְעִנִּיתֶם אֶת־נַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם חֻקָּה עֹ  
 82 וְכִפֹּר הַזֶּהוּן אֲשֶׁר־יִמְשַׁח אֹתוֹ וְאֲשֶׁר יִמְלֵא אֹתוֹ  
 לִכְהֵן תַּחַת אָבִיו וְלִבְשׁ אֶת־בְּגָדֵי הַכֹּהֵן בְּגָדֵי חֹן  
 83 וְכִפֹּר אֶת־מִקְדָּשׁ הַקֹּדֶשׁ וְאֶת־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וְאֶת־הַזֶּהוּן  
 יִכְפֹּר וְעַל הַכֹּהֲנִים וְעַל־כָּל־עַם הַקֹּהֵל יִכְפֹּר׃ 84 וְהָיָה  
 זֶה לָכֶם לְחֻקָּה עוֹלָם לְכִפֹּר עַל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּ  
 חַטֹּאתֵם אֲחַת בַּשָּׁנָה וַיַּעַשׂ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה

## CHAPTER XVII

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר׃ 2 דִּבֶּר אֶל־אַהֲרֹן  
 בְּנִיו וְאֵל כָּל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם יְהוָה  
 אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה לֵאמֹר׃ 3 אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׁ  
 אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁחַט שׁוֹר אֹדֶכֶשֶׁב אֹדֶשׁ בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ אוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִזְ  
 מַחוּץ לַמִּזְבֵּחַ׃ 4 וְאֵל־פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד לֹא יֵשֶׁב  
 לְהִקְרִיב קָרְבָן לַיהוָה לִפְנֵי מִשְׁכַּן יְהוָה כִּי  
 לְאִישׁ הָרֹעַ הֵם שָׁפָךְ וְנִכְבַּחַת הָאִישׁ הַהוּא מִקְרָב  
 5 לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יָבִיאוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־זִבְחֹתָם אֲשֶׁר  
 וְזִבְחֵם עַל־פְּנֵי הַשֹּׁדֶה וְהִבִּיאוּם לַיהוָה אֶל־פֶּתַח  
 מוֹעֵד אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן וְזָבְחוּ וְזָבְחוּ שְׁלָמִים לַיהוָה אֹתָם׃ 6  
 הַזֶּהוּן אֶת־הַזֶּהוּן עַל־מוֹכַח יְהוָה פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וְהָיָה  
 תַּחֲלֵב לָרִיחַ נִיחָם לַיהוָה׃ 7 וְלֹא־תִקְבְּחוּ עוֹד  
 וְזִבְחֵם לַשְּׁעִירִים אֲשֶׁר הֵם וְגַם אֲחֵרֵיהֶם חֻקָּה  
 תִּהְיֶה־זֶה לָהֶם לְחֻקָּה׃ 8 וְאֵלֵיהֶם תֹּאמַר אִישׁ  
 מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִדֶּבֶר אֲשֶׁר־יָגוּר בְּחֻבֹכֶם אֲשֶׁר־  
 עָלָה אוֹ־זָבַח׃ 9 וְאֵל־פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד לֹא יִזְ

לַעֲשׂוֹת אֹתוֹ לְדֹחַ וּנְבִרַת הָאִישׁ הַהוּא מִעֲמִיו: 10. וְאִישׁ  
 אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִן־הַגֵּר בְּחוֹכֶם אִשְׁרֵי יֹאכֵל  
 כָּל־דָּם וְנִתְּנֵי פָנָי בַּנֶּפֶשׁ הָאֹכֶלֶת אֶת־הַדָּם וְהִכְרַתִּי אֹתָהּ  
 מִקִּרְבִּי עִמָּה: 11. כִּי־נֶפֶשׁ הַבָּשָׂר בָּדָם הוּא וְאֲנִי נִתְּהִיו  
 לָכֶם עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לְכַפֵּר עַל־נַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם כִּי־הַדָּם הוּא בַּנֶּפֶשׁ  
 יִכָּפֵר: 12. עַל־כֵּן אֶמְרֵהוּ לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל־נֶפֶשׁ מִכֶּם  
 לֹא־תֹאכַל דָּם וְהַגֵּר הַגֵּר פְּתוּכֶם לֹא־יֹאכַל דָּם: 13. וְאִישׁ  
 אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִן־הַגֵּר בְּחוֹכֶם אִשְׁרֵי יִצְוֹר צִיד  
 חַיָּה אֹרְעוֹף אִשְׁרֵי יֹאכֵל וְשִׁפָּךְ אֶת־דָּמֹו וְכִסְהוּ בַּעֲפָר:  
 14. כִּי־נֶפֶשׁ כָּל־בָּשָׂר דָּמֹו בְּנֶשְׁשׁוֹ הוּא וְאֶמְרֵה לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 דָּם כָּל־בָּשָׂר לֹא תֹאכְלוּ כִּי נֶפֶשׁ כָּל־בָּשָׂר דָּמֹו הוּא  
 כָּל־אֹכְלוֹ יִכָּרֵת: 15. וְכָל־נֶפֶשׁ אִשְׁרֵי תֹאכֵל גְּבִלָה  
 וְטִרְפָּה בְּאוֹרֶחַ וּבֶגֶר וְכִבֵּם בְּגִדָיו וְרִחֵץ בַּמַּיִם וְטָמֵא  
 עֲדָהֶעָרַב וְטָהַר: 16. וְאִם לֹא יִכָּבֵם וּבָשָׂרוֹ לֹא יִרְחֹץ  
 וְנִשָּׂא עֲוֹנוֹ: פ

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵּאמֹר: 2 דִּבֶּר אֶל־בְּנֵי  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 3 בְּמַעֲשֵׂה  
 אֶרֶץ־מִצְרַיִם אִשְׁרֵי יִשְׁכַּחְתֶּם־כִּי לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ וּבְמַעֲשֵׂה אֶרֶץ־  
 כְּנָעַן אִשְׁרֵי אֲנִי מְבִיא אֲתֶכֶם שָׁמָּה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ וּבְהַקְתִּיהֶם  
 לֹא תִלְכוּ: 4 אֶת־מִשְׁפָּטֵי תַעֲשׂוּ וְאֶת־הַקִּטִּי תִשְׁמְרוּ  
 לֵלֶכֶת בָּתָם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 5 וְשִׁמְרַתֶּם אֶת־הַקִּטִּי  
 וְאֶת־מִשְׁפָּטֵי אִשְׁרֵי יַעֲשֶׂה אֲתָם הָאָדָם וְחֵי בָתָם אֲנִי  
 יְהוָה: 6 אִישׁ אִישׁ אֶל־כָּל־שָׂאֵר בָּשָׂרוֹ לֹא



תִּקְרְבוּ לַגִּלּוֹת עֲרוּוָה אֲנִי יְהוָה: ד 7 עֲרוּוָה אֲבִיךָ  
 וְעֲרוּוָה אִמֶּךָ לֹא תִגְלֶה אִמֶּךָ הִוא לֹא תִגְלֶה עֲרוּוָתָהּ: ד  
 8 עֲרוּוָה אִשְׁת־אֲבִיךָ לֹא תִגְלֶה עֲרוּוָה אֲבִיךָ הִוא: ד  
 9 עֲרוּוָה אֲחוֹתְךָ בַּת־אֲבִיךָ אִם בַּת־אִמֶּךָ מִלְּדַת זִבְוִית  
 אִם מִלְּדַת חַיִּץ לֹא תִגְלֶה עֲרוּוָתָהּ: ד 10 עֲרוּוָה פֶּתֶךָ  
 בִּנְיָ אִם בַּת־בֶּתְךָ לֹא תִגְלֶה עֲרוּוָתָהּ כִּי עֲרוּוָתָהּ הִוא: ד  
 11 עֲרוּוָה כַּת־אִשְׁת־אֲבִיךָ מִלְּדַת אֲבִיךָ אֲחוֹתְךָ הִוא  
 לֹא תִגְלֶה עֲרוּוָתָהּ: ד 12 עֲרוּוָה אֲחוֹת־אֲבִיךָ לֹא  
 תִגְלֶה שְׂאֵר אֲבִיךָ הִוא: ד 13 עֲרוּוָה אֲחוֹת־אִמֶּךָ לֹא  
 תִגְלֶה כִּי־שְׂאֵר אִמֶּךָ הִוא: ד 14 עֲרוּוָה אֲחִי־אֲבִיךָ  
 לֹא תִגְלֶה אֶל־אִשְׁתּוֹ לֹא תִקְרַב דְּרָתָהּ הִוא: ד  
 15 עֲרוּוָה כַּלְתְּךָ לֹא תִגְלֶה אִשְׁת־בִּנְיָ הִוא לֹא תִגְלֶה  
 עֲרוּוָתָהּ: ד 16 עֲרוּוָה אִשְׁז־אֲחִיךָ לֹא תִגְלֶה עֲרוּוָה  
 אֲחִיךָ הִוא: ד 17 עֲרוּוָה אִשָּׁה וּבָתָּה לֹא תִגְלֶה אֶת־  
 בַּת־בָּתָּהּ וְאֶת־בַּת־בָּתָּהּ לֹא תִקַּח לַגִּלּוֹת עֲרוּוָתָהּ שְׂאֵרָהּ  
 הָיָה וְסָה הִוא: ד 18 וְאִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחִתָּהּ לֹא תִקַּח לְצֹרֵר  
 לַגִּלּוֹת עֲרוּוָתָהּ עָלֶיהָ בַּחֲיָיָה: ד 19 וְאֶל־אִשָּׁה בְּנִדָּת טַמְאָתָהּ  
 לֹא תִקְרַב לַגִּלּוֹת עֲרוּוָתָהּ: ד 20 וְאֶל־אִשָּׁה עַמִּיתְךָ לֹא  
 תִתֵּן שְׁכִבְתָּהּ לְזֹרֵעַ לְטַמְאָה־בָּהּ: ד 21 וּמִזְרַעְךָ לֹא־תִתֵּן  
 לְהַעֲבִיר לְמִלֶּךָ וְלֹא תִחַלֵּל אֶת־שֵׁם אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה:  
 22 וְאֶת־זָכָר לֹא תִשְׁכַּב מִשְׁכָּבִי אִשָּׁה תִזְעָבָה הִוא:  
 23 וּבְכָל־טְהוֹמָה לֹא־תִתֵּן שְׁכִבְתָּהּ לְטַמְאָה־בָּהּ וְאִשָּׁה  
 לֹא־תִזְנֶה לְפָנַי בְּהִמָּה לְרִבְעָה תָּבֵל הִוא: ד 24 אֶל־הַטַּמְאָה  
 בְּכָל־אֶלֶּה כִּי בְכָל־אֶלֶּה נִטְמָא הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי מְשַׁלַּח  
 מִפְּנֵיכֶם: ד 25 וְהַטַּמְאָה הָאָרֶץ וְאֶדְקָר עֹנֶה עָלֶיהָ וְהָיָה

הָאָרֶץ אֶחָד־שָׁבִיָּה: 26 וְשִׁמְרֹתָם אַתָּם אֶחָד־קִנְיִי. וְאֶת־  
 מִשְׁפָּטִי וְלֹא תַעֲשׂוּ מִכָּל הַתּוֹעֵבוֹת הָאֵלֶּה הָאֲזִיחַ וְהַגֵּר  
 הַגֵּר בְּתוֹכְכֶם: 27 כִּי אֶת־כָּל־הַתּוֹעֵבוֹת הָאֵלֶּה עָשׂוּ אֲנִישׁ־  
 הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר לִפְנֵיכֶם וַתִּטְמֵא הָאָרֶץ: 28 וְלֹא־תֵבִיא  
 הָאָרֶץ אֶתְכֶם בְּטִמְאֹתֶיךָ אֲתָהּ כַּאֲשֶׁר קָאָה אֶת־הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר  
 לִפְנֵיכֶם: 29 כִּי כָל־אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה מִכָּל הַתּוֹעֵבוֹת הָאֵלֶּה  
 וַנִּבְרָתוּ הַנִּפְשׁוֹת הָעֹשֹׂת מִקֶּרֶב עִמָּם: 30 וְשִׁמְרֹתָם אֶת־  
 מִשְׁמְרֹתַי לְבִלְתִּי עֲשׂוֹת מִחֻקֹּת הַתּוֹעֵבוֹת אֲשֶׁר נָעַשְׂוּ  
 לִפְנֵיכֶם וְלֹא תִטְמְאוּ בָהֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:

פ פ פ

# CHAPTER XIX.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 2 דַּבֵּר אֶל־כָּל־עַדְת  
 בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם קְרָשִׁים תִּהְיוּ כִּי קְרוֹשׁ אֲנִי  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 3 אִישׁ אִמּוֹ וְאָבִיו תִּירָאוּ וְאֶת־שִׁבְתֹּהֶי  
 תִּשְׁמְרוּ אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 4 אֶל־תִּפְּנוּ אֶל־הָאֱלֹלִים  
 וְאֱלֹהֵי מִסִּכָּה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ לָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 5 וְכִי  
 תִּבְרָתוּ וְכַח שְׁלֹמִים לִיהוָה לְרַצְנֶכֶם תִּזְבָּחֶהוּ: 6 בָּיִזִם  
 וּבְחֹכֶם יֵאָכֵל וּמִמַּחֲרַת וְדִבּוֹתַי עַד־בָּיִזִם הַשְׁלִישִׁי בְּאֵשׁ  
 יִשָּׂרָף: 7 וְאִם הָאָכַל יֵאָכֵל בָּיִזִם הַשְׁלִישִׁי פָּגוּל הוּא  
 לֹא יִרְצָה: 8 וְאֵכָלִי עֹנֵו יִשָּׂא כִּי אֶת־קֹדֶשׁ יְהוָה חָלַל  
 וַנִּבְרָתָה הַנִּפְשׁ הַהִוא מֵעַמִּי: 9 וּבְקִצְרֵכֶם אֶת־קִצִּיר  
 אֲרָצְכֶם לֹא תִבְלֶה פֶּתַח שַׂדֶּה לְקִצֹּר וְלִקְטֹת קִצִּירָהּ לֹא  
 תִלְקֹט: 10 וְכִרְמֶךָ לֹא תַעֲזֹל וְכִרְמֶךָ לֹא תִלְקֹט  
 לְעֵצִי וְלִצֵּר תַּעֲזֹב אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 11 לֹא תִגְנְבוּ

וְלֹא־תִכְחַשׁוּ וְלֹא־תִשְׁקְרוּ אִישׁ בְּעֵמִיתוֹ: 12 וְלֹא־תִשְׁבְּעוּ  
 בִּשְׁמִי לִשְׁקֹר וְחָלַלְתָּ אֶת־שֵׁם אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה: 13 לֹא־  
 תַעֲשֶׂשׁ אֶת־רֵעֶךָ וְלֹא תִגּוֹל לְאֶחָיוֹן פְּעֻלַּת שְׂכִיר אֹהֶלֶךָ  
 עַד־בֹּקֶר: 14 לֹא־תִקַּל חֵרֶשׁ וְלִפְנֵי עִוֹר לֹא תִהְיֶה מִכְשָׁל  
 וַיֵּרֶאֶת מֵאֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה: 15 לֹא־תַעֲשֶׂה עֹל בְּמִשְׁפַּחַת  
 לֹא־תִשָּׂא פְּגִידָה וְלֹא תִהְיֶה פָנִי נֶגֶז בְּצַדִּיק הַשֹּׁפֵט  
 עִמִּיתְךָ: 16 לֹא־תִלְךָ רֵכִיל בְּעַמִּיךָ לֹא תַעֲמֹד עַל־רֵגְלֵי  
 רֵעֶךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה: 17 לֹא־תִשָּׂא אֶת־אֹהֶלֶךָ בְּלִבְּךָ הַיּוֹסֵם  
 הַזֹּכֵיחַ אֶת־עִמִּיתְךָ וְלֹא־תִשָּׂא עָלָיו חֲטָא: 18 לֹא־תִקֹּם  
 וְלֹא־תִטּוֹל אֶת־בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ וְאֶהְיֶה לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמוֹךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה:  
 19 אֶת־חֻקֵּי הַשְּׁמִירוֹ בְּהִמָּהֶךָ לֹא־תִרְבִּיעַ בְּלֵאִים שָׂדֶךָ  
 לֹא־תִזְרַע בְּלֵאִים וּבְגֵד בְּלֵאִים שִׁעֲטִינוּ לֹא יַעֲלֶה עָלֶיךָ:  
 20 וְאִישׁ כִּי־יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־אִשְׁהוֹ שְׂכִיבַת־זֶרַע וְהָיָה שֹׂפְחַת  
 נִחְרָפָה לְאִישׁ וְהַפְּדִיָּה לֹא נִפְדָּחָה אוֹ חֲפֻשָּׁה לֹא נִתְּנָה  
 בְּקָרָת תְּהִיָּה לֹא וּמָתָה כִּי־לֹא חֲפֻשָּׁה: 21 וְהָבִיָּא אֶת־  
 אֲשָׁמוֹ לַיהוָה אֶל־פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד אֵיל אֲשָׁם: 22 וְכִפֹּר  
 עָלָיו הַכֹּהֵן בְּאֵיל הָאֲשָׁם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה עַל־חַטָּאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר  
 חָטָא וְנִסְלַח לוֹ מִחַטָּאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא: 23 וְכִי־תִבְאֹ  
 אֶל־דָּאָרֶץ וְנִטְעַתֶּם כָּל־עֵץ מֵאֲכָל וְעַרְלָתֶם עֶרְלָתוֹ אֶת־  
 פְּרִי שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים יִהְיֶה לָכֶם עֲרֵלִים לֹא יֵאָכֵל: 24 וּבִשְׁנָה  
 הַרְבִּיעִית יִהְיֶה כָל־פְּרִי קָדֵשׁ הַלֹּלִים לַיהוָה: 25 וּבִשְׁנָה  
 הַחֲמִשִּׁית הָאֲכָלוּ אֶת־פְּרִי לְהוֹסִיף לָכֶם תִּבְוָאתוֹ אֲנִי  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 26 לֹא תֹאֲזָלוּ עַל־הַבָּמֹת לֹא תִנְחָשׁוּ וְלֹא  
 תַעֲזֹנְגוּ: 27 לֹא תִקְפוּ פִּאת רֵאשֵׁיכֶם וְלֹא תִשְׁחִית אֶת־  
 פִּאת זִקְנֶךָ: 28 וְשָׂרֵט לְנֶפֶשׁ לֹא תִהְיֶה בְּבִשְׂרֵיכֶם וְהִלַּכְתָּ

כַּעֲבֹד לֹא תִתְּנוּ בְּכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה: 29 אֶל-תַּחֲלֹל אֶת-בְּתוּלָה  
 לְחֻנּוּתָהּ וְלֹא-תוֹנֶה הָאָרֶץ וּמִלֹּאֶה הָאָרֶץ וּמָה: 30 אֶת-  
 שַׁבְּתוֹתַי תִּשְׁמְרוּ וּמִקֹּדְשֵׁי הִירָאוּ אֲנִי יְהוָה: 31 אֶל-תִּפְּנוּ  
 אֶל-הָאֵכָל וְאֶל-הַיַּדְעָנִים אֶל-תִּבְקְשׁוּ לְטִמְאָה בָּהֶם אֲנִי  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 32 מִפָּנַי שִׁיבָה תָקוּם וְהִדְרֹף פָּנַי וְקוֹן  
 וְיִרְאֵת מֵאֲלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה: 33 וְכִי-יָגוּר אִתְּךָ גֵּר  
 בְּאַרְצְכֶם לֹא תוֹנוּ אֹתוֹ: 34 בְּאַוְרַח מִכֶּם יִהְיֶה לָכֶם  
 הַגֵּר וְהָגֵר אֲחֵכֶם וְאַהֲבַתְּ לוֹ כְּמוֹךְ כִּי-גֵרִים הֵייתֶם  
 בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם: 35 אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 36 לֹא-תַעֲשׂוּ עֵוֶל  
 בְּמִשְׁפַּח בְּמִדָּת בְּמִשְׁקָל וּבְמִשׁוֹרָה: 37 מֵאוֹנֵי צֶדֶק אֲבִי-  
 צֶדֶק אִיפֹת צֶדֶק וְהֵן צֶדֶק יִהְיֶה לָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה  
 אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 38 אֲשֶׁר-הוֹצֵאתִי אֲחֵכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:  
 37 נִשְׁמְרֵתֶם אֶת-כָּל-חֻקֹּתַי וְאֶת-כָּל-מִשְׁפָּטַי וַעֲשִׂיתֶם  
 אֹתָם: 38 אֲנִי יְהוָה: פ

## CHAPTER XX.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 2 וְאֶל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 תֹּאמַר אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִן-הַגֵּר וְהַגֵּר כִּי-זָרָאֵל  
 אִשׁ יִתֵּן מִדָּעוֹ לְמִלְךָ מוֹת יוֹמֶת עִם הָאָרֶץ יִרְגְּמוּהוּ  
 בָּאֵבֶן: 3 וְאִנִּי אֶתֵּן אֶת-פָּנַי בְּאִישׁ הַהוּא וְהִכֵּיתִי אֹתוֹ  
 מִקֶּרֶב עַמּוֹ כִּי מִדָּעוֹ נָתַן לְמִלְךָ לְמַעַן טַמֵּא אֶת-מִקְדְּשִׁי  
 וְלַחֲלֹל אֶת-שֵׁם קֹדֶשִׁי: 4 וְאִם הָעָלֶם יַעֲלִימוּ עִם הָאָרֶץ  
 אֶת-עֲוֹנוֹתָם מִן-הָאִשׁ הַהִוא בְּתֵתוֹ מִדָּעוֹ לְמִלְךָ לְבִלְתִּי  
 הָקִיחַ אֹתוֹ: 5 וְשָׂמִיתִי אֶת-פָּנַי בְּאִישׁ הַהוּא  
 וּבְמִשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ וְהִכֵּיתִי אֹתוֹ וְאֵת כָּל-הַזָּנִים אֲחֵרָיו לְוָנוֹת

אַחֲרֵי הַמִּלְךְ מִקְרֹב עִמָּם: 6 וְהַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר הִפְסֶה אֶל־  
 הָאֵבֶת וְאֶל־הַיָּדְעָנִים לֹנֶת אַחֲרֵיהֶם וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־פָּנַי בַּנֶּפֶשׁ  
 הַזֹּאת וְהִכַּרְתִּי אֹתָהּ מִקְרֹב עִמָּם: 7 וְהִתְקַדְּשְׁתֶּם וְהִיִּיתֶם  
 קְדָשִׁים כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 8 וְשִׁמְרֶתֶם אֶת־דִּקְלֹתֵי  
 וְעִשְׂתֶּם אֹתָם אֲנִי יְהוָה מִקְדָּשְׁכֶם: 9 כִּי־אִישׁ אִישׁ  
 אֲשֶׁר יִקְלָל אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ מוֹת יוּמָת אָבִיו וְאִמּוֹ  
 קָלָל דָּמִין בּוֹ: 10 וְאִשׁ אֲשֶׁר יִנְאֹף אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ אִישׁ  
 אֲשֶׁר יִנְאֹף אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ רֵעֵהוּ כְּזֹת־יוֹמֶת הַנֶּאֱפָה וְהִנְאָפָה:  
 11 וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ אָבִיו עֲרוּתָהּ גִּלָּה  
 מוֹת־יוֹמָתוֹ שְׁנֵיהֶם דְּמִיָּהֶם בָּם: 12 וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב  
 אֶת־כִּלְתּוֹ מוֹת יוּמָתוֹ שְׁנֵיהֶם חָבֵל עָשׂוֹ דְּמִיָּהֶם בָּם:  
 13 וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־זָכָר מִשְׁכָּבִי אִשָּׁה חֹזְעֶבָה עָשׂוֹ  
 שְׁנֵיהֶם מוֹת יוּמָתוֹ דְּמִיָּהֶם בָּם: 14 וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִקַּח אֶת־  
 אִשָּׁה וְאֶת־אִמָּהּ זָמָה הִיא בָּאִשׁ יִשְׁרָפוּ אֹתוֹ וְאֶתְהִין  
 וְלֹא־תִהְיֶה זָמָה בְּתוֹכָם: 15 וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִתֵּן שְׂכָבְתּוֹ  
 בַּבֵּהמָה מוֹת יוּמָת וְאֶת־הַבֵּהמָה תִּהְרָגוּ: 16 וְאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר  
 תִּקְרַב אֶל־כָּל־זָהָמָה לְרִבְעָה אֹתָהּ וְהִרְגָה אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה  
 וְאֶת־דְּבַהמָהּ מוֹת יוּמָתוֹ דְּמִיָּהֶם בָּם: 17 וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִקַּח  
 אֶת־אִרְתּוֹ בִּתְאָבִיו אֹרְבַת־אִמּוֹ וְרָאָה אֶת־עֲרוּתָהּ וְהָיָה  
 תְּרָאָה אֶת־עֲרוּתוֹ חֲסֵד הוּא וְנִכְרְתוּ לְעֵינַי בְּנֵי עַמָּם  
 עֲרוּת אֹתוֹ גִּלָּה עֹנֵן יִשָּׂא: 18 וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־  
 אִשָּׁה דָּוָה וְגִלָּה אֶת־עֲרוּתָהּ אֶת־מִקְרָהּ הָעֵרָה וְהָיָה גִלְתָּהּ  
 אֶת־מִקְוֹר דְּמִיָּהּ וְנִכְרְתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם מִקְרֹב עִמָּם: 19 וְעֲרוּת  
 אֲחֻזַּת אִמָּהּ וְאֲחֻזַּת אָבִיקָה לֹא תִגָּלָה כִּי אֶת־שְׂאִירָהּ הָעֵרָה  
 עֹנָם יִשָּׂא: 20 וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־דֹּדָתוֹ עֲרוּתָהּ וְהָיָה

קַעֲקַע לֹא תִתְּנוּ בָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה: 29 אֶל-תַּחֲלֵל אֶת-בְּתֻלָּה  
 לְחֻנּוּתָהּ: וְלֹא-תוֹנֶה רֵאֶרֶץ וּמִלֵּאָה הָאָרֶץ וּמָה: 30 אֶת-  
 שַׁבְּתֹתַי תִּשְׁמְרוּ וּמִקֹּדֶשׁי תִירָאוּ אֲנִי יְהוָה: 31 אֶל-תִּפְּנוּ  
 אֶל-תֹּאכֹל וְאֶל-הִידְעָנִים אֶל-תִּבְקְשׁוּ לְטִמְאָה בָהֶם אֲנִי  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 32 מִפָּנַי שִׁיבָה תָקוּם וְהִדְרֹתָ פָנַי וְקָן  
 וְרֹאשׁ מִאֲלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה: 33 וְכִי-יָגֹד אִתְּךָ גֵּר  
 בְּאַרְצְכֶם לֹא תוֹנוּ אֹתוֹ: 34 בְּאֹרֶחַ מַכֶּם יִהְיֶה לָכֶם  
 הָגֵר: הֵגֵר אֲתֹכֶם וְאֶהְבֶּתָ לּוֹ כְּמוֹת כִּי-גֵרִים הֵייתֶם  
 בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם: אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 35 לֹא-תַעֲשׂוּ עוֹל  
 בְּמִשְׁפַּח בְּמִדָּה בְּמִשְׁקָל וּבְמִשׁוֹרָה: 36 מֵאוֹנִי צֶדֶק אֲבִנִי-  
 צֶדֶק אִיפֹת צֶדֶק וְהִין צֶדֶק יִהְיֶה לָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה  
 אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: אֲשֶׁר-הוֹצֵאתִי אֲתֹכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:  
 37 וּשְׁמִרְתֶּם אֶת-כָּל-חֻקֹּתַי וְאֶת-כָּל-מִשְׁפָּטַי וַעֲשִׂיתֶם  
 אֹתָם: אֲנִי יְהוָה: פ

## CHAPTER XX.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵּאמֹר: 2 וְאֶל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 תֹּאמַר אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִן-הָגֵר הַגֵּר כִּי עֲרֵאֵל  
 אִשְׁרֵי יָתָן מוֹרְעוֹ לַמֶּלֶךְ מוֹת יוֹמָת עִם הָאָרֶץ יִרְגְּמוּהוּ  
 בָּאֶבֶן: 3 וְאֲנִי אֶתֵּן אֶת-פָּנַי בְּאִישׁ הַהוּא וְהִכֵּיתִי אֹתוֹ  
 מִקֶּרֶב עַמּוֹ כִּי מוֹרְעוֹ נָתַן לַמֶּלֶךְ לְמַעַן טַמֵּא אֶת-מִקְדָּשִׁי  
 וְלַחֲלֹל אֶת-שֵׁם קֹדֶשִׁי: 4 וְאִם הָעָלַם יַעֲלִימוֹ עִם הָאָרֶץ  
 אֶת-עֲוֹנוֹתָם מִן-הָאִשׁ הַהוּא בְּתֵתוֹ מוֹרְעוֹ לַמֶּלֶךְ לְבִלְתִּי  
 הָמִית אֹתוֹ: 5 וְשִׁמְתִּי אֶת-פָּנַי בְּאִישׁ הַהוּא  
 וּבְשִׁשְׁחָתוֹ וְהִכֵּיתִי אֹתוֹ וְאֵת כָּל-הַזָּנִים אֲחֵרָיו לְזִנוּת

אַחֲרֵי הַמִּלֵּךְ מִקְרֹב עִמָּם: 6 וְהִנָּפֵשׁ אִישׁ הַפְּנֵה אֶל־  
 הָאֵבֶת וְאֶל־הַיָּדְעָנִים לִזְנוֹת אַחֲרֵיהֶם וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־פָּנַי בַּנֶּפֶשׁ  
 הַזֹּאת וְהִכְרַתִּי אֹתָהּ מִקְרֹב עִמָּן: 7 וְלֹחֲקֵיהֶם וְהַיִּתָּם  
 קְדָשִׁים כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 8 וְשִׁמְרָתֶם אֶת־הַקִּי  
 וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם אֲנִי יְהוָה מִקְדָּשְׁכֶם: 9 כִּי־אִישׁ אִישׁ  
 אִשׁוֹ יִקְלָל אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ מֵוֹת אָבִיו וְאִמּוֹ  
 קָלָל דָּמִין בּוֹ: 10 וְאִשׁ אִישׁ יִנְאָף אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ אִישׁ  
 אִשְׁרֵי יִנְאָף אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ רֵעֵהוּ כְּזֹת־יוֹמֶת רִנְאָף וְהִנָּאֲפֹת:  
 11 וְאִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ אָבִיו עֲרוֹת אָבִיו גִּלָּה  
 מֵוֹת־יוֹמֶתוֹ שְׁנֵיהֶם דְּמִיָּהֶם בָּם: 12 וְאִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי יִשְׁכַּב  
 אֶת־בִּלְתּוֹ מֵוֹת יוֹמֶתוֹ שְׁנֵיהֶם חֲבֵל עֲשׂוֹ דְּמִיָּהֶם בָּם:  
 13 וְאִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־זָכָר מִשְׁכַּבִּי אִשָּׁה הוֹעֵבָה עֲשׂוֹ  
 שְׁנֵיהֶם מֵוֹת יוֹמֶתוֹ דְּמִיָּהֶם בָּם: 14 וְאִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי יִקַּח אֶת־  
 אִשָּׁה וְאֶת־אִמָּהּ זָמָה הִיא בָּאִשׁ יִשְׁרָפוּ אֹתוֹ וְאֹתָהּ  
 וְלֹא־תִהְיֶה זָמָה בְּתוֹכָם: 15 וְאִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי יִתֵּן שְׁכִבְתּוֹ  
 בְּבִהְמָה מֵוֹת יוֹמֶת וְאֶת־הַבְּהֵמָה תִּהְרֹגוּ: 16 וְאִשָּׁה אִשְׁרֵי  
 תִּקְרַב אֶל־כָּל־בְּהֵמָה לְרִבְעָה אֹתָהּ וְהִרְגֹתָ אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה  
 וְאֶת־רִבְהֶמָה מֵוֹת יוֹמֶתוֹ דְּמִיָּהֶם בָּם: 17 וְאִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי־יִקַּח  
 אֶת־אֹתָהּ בְּתֹאבִיו אֶת־בִּתְּלָמוֹ וְרָאָה אֶת־עֲרוּתָהּ וְהִיא  
 תִּרְאֶה אֶת־עֲרוּתוֹ חֲסֹד הוּא וְנִכְרְתוּ לְעֵינַי בְּנֵי עַמָּם  
 עֲרוֹת אֹתָם גִּלָּה עֲוֹנוֹ יִשָּׂא: 18 וְאִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי־יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־  
 אִשָּׁה דְּזֹה וְגִלָּה אֶת־עֲרוּתָהּ אֶת־מִקְרָהּ הִיעֲרָה וְהִיא גִלָּתָהּ  
 אֶת־מִקְוֹר דְּמִיָּהּ וְנִכְרְתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם מִקְרֹב עִמָּם: 19 וְעֲרוֹת  
 אֲחֻזֹּת אִמָּהּ וְאֲחֻזֹּת אָבִיהָ לֹא תִגָּלֶה כִּי אֶת־שְׂאִירוֹ הִיעֲרָה  
 עֲוֹנָם יִשָּׂא: 20 וְאִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־דֻּדָתוֹ עֲרוֹת וְהִיא



## ויקרא כ, כא קדשים אקר

הַטָּמֵא יֵשְׂאוּ עֲרִירִים יָמָתוֹ: 21 וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִקַּח אֶת־  
 אָחִיו בְּגֵה הָיָא עֲרֹוֹת אָחִיו בְּגֵה עֲרִירִים יִהְיוּ:  
 וְשִׁמְרָתֶם אֶת־כָּל־חֻקֹּתַי וְאֶת־כָּל־מִשְׁפָּטַי וַעֲשִׂיתֶם  
 וְלֹא־תִקְיֹא אֶתְכֶם הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵבִיא אֲתֶכֶם שָׁמָּה  
 בָּהּ: 23 וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ בְּחֻקֹּת הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי מֵשַׁלֵּחַ  
 יָכֶם כִּי אֶת־כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי עֲשׂוּ וְאֶקַּץ בָּם: 24 וְאָמַר לָכֶם  
 הַיְרֹשׁוּ אֶת־אֲדֹמָתָם וְאֲנִי אֶתְנַנֶּה לָכֶם לְרֵשֶׁת אֲחֵיהֶם  
 וְכֵת חֶלֶב וְדָבָשׁ אֲנִי יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר־הִבְדֵּלְתִּי  
 מִן־הָעַמִּים: 25 וְדִבַּרְתֶּם בְּיַד־הַכֹּהֵן הַטָּהוֹר  
 אֲשֶׁר וּבִין־הָעוֹף הַטָּמֵא לְטָהוֹר וְלֹא־תִשְׁקְצוּ אֶת־  
 חֵיקֶיכֶם בַּטָּהוֹר וּבָעוֹף וּבְכָל אֲשֶׁר הָרַמְשׁ הַטָּהוֹר  
 יִהְבֵּדְלֵתִי לָכֶם לְטָמֵא: 26 וְהִיִּיתֶם לִי קֹדָשִׁים  
 קְרוֹשׁ אֲנִי יִהְיֶה וְאֶבְדֵּל אֶתְכֶם מִן־הָעַמִּים לְהִיזַת  
 27 וְאִישׁ אִי־אִשָּׁה כִּי־יִהְיֶה בָהֶם זָכָב אִו יִדְעֵנִי מִזֹּת  
 בְּאָבֶן יִדְגָּלוּ אַתֶּם דְּמִיתֶם בָּם:

פ פ פ

## CHAPTER XXI.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה אָמַר אֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן  
 דַּבְּרֵת אֲלֵיהֶם לְנַפֵּשׁ לֹא־יִטְמָא בְּעַמִּיו: 2 כִּי אִם־לְשֹׂארוֹ  
 זָכָב אִלּוֹ לְאִמּוֹ וּלְאָבִיו וּלְבָנוֹ וּלְבָתוֹ וּלְאָחִיו: 3 וּלְאִחֲתוֹ  
 וְאֶל־הַקְרוֹבָה אִלּוֹ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הָיְתָה לְאִישׁ לָהּ יִטְמָא:  
 4 יִטְמָא בָּעַל בְּעַמִּיו לְהַחֲלוֹ: 5 לֹא־יִקְרֹתוּ קִרְיָה  
 שְׂמֵם וּסְמָת וְקָנָם לֹא יִגָּלְחוּ וּבְבִשָּׂרָם לֹא יִשְׂרְטוּ שְׂרָטָת:  
 6 וְהָיוּ יִהְיוּ לְאֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְלֹא יַחֲלֹלוּ שֵׁם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם כִּי

וְאִישׁ כִּי־יֹאכֵל קֹדֶשׁ בְּשִׁגְגָה וְיִסַּף חֲמִשִּׁיתוֹ  
 עָלָיו וְנָתַן לַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַקֹּדֶשׁ: 15 וְלֹא יִחַלְלוּ אֶת־קֹדְשֵׁי  
 בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵת אֲשֶׁר־יְרִימוּ לַיהוָה: 16 וְהָשִׂיאוּ אוֹתָם  
 עֲנֹן אִשְׁמָה בְּאֹכְלָם אֶת־קֹדְשֵׁיהֶם כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה מְקַדְּשָׁם:  
 פ 17 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵּאמֹר: 18 דַּבֵּר אֶל־  
 אֲהֲרֹן וְאֶל־בָּנָיו וְאֶל כָּל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם אִישׁ  
 מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִן־הַגֵּר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אִשָּׁר יִקְרִיב קֶרֶב וְ  
 לְכָל־גֵּרֵיהֶם וְלְכָל־גִּבּוֹרֵתָם אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרְבוּ לַיהוָה לַעֲלֹה:  
 19 לְרֹצְנֵיכֶם חַמִּים זָכָר בִּבְקָר בַּבְּשָׂבִים וּבְעֻזִּים: 20 כָּל  
 אִשֶּׁר־בּוֹ מוֹם לֹא תִקְרְבוּ כִּי־לֹא לְרֹצֹן יִהְיֶה לָכֶם:  
 21 וְאִישׁ כִּי־יִקְרִיב וּבַחֲשָׁלְמִים לַיהוָה לְפִלֵּא־נֶדֶר אוֹ  
 לְנִדְבָה בִּבְקָר אוֹ בַצֹּאן חַמִּים יִהְיֶה לְרֹצֹן כָּל־מוֹם לֹא  
 יִהְיֶה־בּוֹ: 22 עֹרֹת אוֹ שִׁבּוֹר אוֹ־חֲרוּץ אוֹ־יִבֹּלֶת אוֹ גֵרֶב  
 אוֹ יִלְפַת לֹא־תִקְרְבוּ אֵלֶּה לַיהוָה וְאִשָּׁה לֹא־תִתֵּן מִמֶּה  
 עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה: 23 וְשׁוֹר וְשֶׂה שְׂרוּעַ וְקִלּוֹט נִדְבָח  
 תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתוֹ וְלִנְדֹר לֹא יִרְצֶה: 24 וּמַעֲנֶה וְכַתֹּחַ וְנִתּוּק  
 וְכֹרוֹחַ לֹא תִקְרְבוּ לַיהוָה וּבְאַרְצְכֶם לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ: 25 וּמִיד  
 בֶּן־גֵּיבֹר לֹא הִקְרִיבוּ אֶת־לֶחֶם אֱלֹהֵיכֶם מִכָּל־אֵלֶּה כִּי  
 מִשְׁחָתָם בָּהֶם מוֹם בָּם לֹא יִרְצוּ לָכֶם: ס 26 וַיְדַבֵּר  
 יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵּאמֹר: 27 שׁוֹר אֹרֶבֶשֶׁב אֹרְעוּ כִּי יוֹלֵד  
 וְהִיָּה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תַּחַת אִמּוֹ וּמִיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי־וְהָלָאָה  
 יִרְצֶה לְקָרְבַּן אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה: 28 וְשׁוֹר אֹרֶשֶׁחַ אֹתוֹ וְאֶת־בָּנָיו  
 לֹא תִשְׁחָטוּ בַּיּוֹם אַחֵר: 29 וְכִי־תִזְבְּחוּ וּבַחֲתוּדָה לַיהוָה  
 לְרֹצְנֵיכֶם תִּזְבְּחוּ: 30 בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יֹאכֵל לֹא־תוֹתִירוּ מִמֶּנּוּ  
 עַד־בֹּקֶר אֲנִי יְהוָה: 31 וְשִׁמְרֹתָם מִצֻּרֹתַי וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם

אֲנִי יְהוָה: 32 וְלֹא תַחֲלֹל אֶת־שֵׁם קְדֹשִׁי וְנִקְדַּשְׁתִּי בְּחוֹךְ  
בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנִי יְהוָה מִקְדָּשְׁכֶם: 33 הַמּוֹצִיא אֶתְכֶם  
מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לְהַנִּיחַ לָכֶם לְאֱלֹהִים אֲנִי יְהוָה: פ

## CHAPTER XXIII.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 2 דַּבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי  
יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־תִּקְרְאוּ אֹתָם  
מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ אֵלֶּה הֵם מוֹעֲדָי: 3 שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּעֲשֶׂה  
מִלֻּאכָה וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי שַׁבַּת שַׁבְתוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ כָּל־  
מִלֻּאכָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ שַׁבַּת הוּא לַיהוָה בְּכָל מוֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם:  
פ 4 אֵלֶּה מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־תִּקְרְאוּ  
אֹתָם בְּמוֹעֲדָם: 5 בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ  
בֵּין הָעֲרֵבִים פֶּסַח לַיהוָה: 6 וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנִי עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ  
הַזֶּה חֹג הַמִּצּוֹת לַיהוָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִצּוֹת תֹּאכְלוּ:  
7 בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם כָּל־מִלֻּאכָת  
עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ: 8 וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים  
בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ כָּל־מִלֻּאכָת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ:  
פ 9 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 10 דַּבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי  
יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם כִּי־תָבֹא אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי נֹתֵן  
לָכֶם וְקִצְרֹתֶם אֶת־קִצְרֶיהָ וְהִבֵּאתֶם אֶת־עֹמֶר רֵאשִׁית  
קִצְרְכֶם אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן: 11 וְהָגִיף אֶת־הָעֹמֶר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה  
לְרִצְוֹנְכֶם מִמַּחֲרַח הַשָּׂבֹת וְנִסְפָּנו הַכֹּהֵן: 12 וַעֲשִׂיהֶם  
בַּיּוֹם הַנִּיֻּסֶּכֶם אֶת־הָעֹמֶר בִּבֶּשׂ חֲמִישׁ בֶּן־שָׁנָתוֹ לָעֹלָה  
לַיהוָה: 13 וּמִנְחָתוֹ שְׁנֵי עֶשְׂרִי־נִים סֶלֶת בְּלוּלָה בַשֶּׁמֶן אִשָּׁה  
לַיהוָה רֵיחַ נִיחָח וְנִסְכָּה יֵין רְבִיעֵת הַקֵּיץ: 14 וְלֶחֶם וְקָלִי

LEVITICUS XXIII.

וְכִרְמֶל לֹא תֹאכְלוּ עַד-עֵצִים הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַד הִבִּיאֲכֶם אֶת  
 קֶרֶן אֱלֹהֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם בְּכֹל מִשְׁכְּתֵיכֶם: כ  
 15 וּמִפְּרִתָם לָכֶם מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת מִיּוֹם הִבִּיאֲכֶם אֶת  
 עֹמֶר הַתְּנוּפָה שִׁבְעַת שַׁבְּתוֹת תְּמִימַת תְּהִי: 16  
 מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת הַשְּׂבִיעִית תִּסְפְּרוּ חֲמִשִּׁים יוֹם וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם  
 מִנְחָה חֲדָשָׁה לַיהוָה: 17 מִסֹּשְׁבַתֵיכֶם תִּבְיֹאוּ לֶחֶם תְּנוּפָה  
 שְׁתֵּים עָשָׂר עֶשְׂרִים סֵלֹת תְּהִי: חֲמֵץ תֹּאפִינָה בִּכְוֶן  
 לַיהוָה: 18 וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם עַל-דִּלְחָם שִׁבְעַת בָּבָשִׁים תְּמִימִם  
 בְּנֵי שָׁנָה וּפָר בֶּן-בָּקָר אֶחָד וְאֵילָם שְׁנַיִם יָחִידִים עֹלִים  
 לַיהוָה וּמִנְחָתָם וְנִסְכֵיהֶם אִשָּׁה רֵיחַ-נִיחָח לַיהוָה  
 19 וַעֲשִׂיתֶם שְׁעִיר-עִזִּים אֶחָד לַחֲטָאת וּשְׁנֵי בָבָשִׁים  
 שָׁנָה לְזִבְחַ שְׁלָמִים: 20 וְהִנִּיף הַכֹּהֵן אֹתָם עַל לֶחֶם  
 הַבִּפְּרִים הַתְּנוּפָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה עַל-שְׁנֵי בָבָשִׁים קָדֵשׁ יִהְיֶה  
 לַיהוָה לַכֹּהֵן: 21 וְקִרְאתֶם בְּעֵצִים הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִקְרֵא-קָדֹשׁ  
 יִהְיֶה לָכֶם כָּל-מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ חֻקַּת עוֹלָם  
 בְּכָל-מִשְׁכְּתֵיכֶם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם: 22 וּבְקִצְרְכֶם אֶת-קִצְרֵי  
 אֲרָצְכֶם לֹא-תַכְכֵּלָה פֶּתַח שְׂדֶךְ בְּקִצְרֶךָ וְלָקַט קִצְרֶךָ  
 חֲלָקֵט לָעֹנִי וְלַגֵּר תַּעֲזֹב אֹתָם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: פ  
 23 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 24 דַּבֵּר אֶל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 לֵאמֹר בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׂבִיעִי בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם שַׁבָּת  
 וּכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה מִקְרֵא-קָדֹשׁ: 25 כָּל-מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה  
 תַעֲשׂוּ וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה: ס 26 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה  
 אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 27 אַךְ בְּעֵשׂוֹר לַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׂבִיעִי הַזֶּה  
 יוֹם הַבִּפְּרִים הוּא מִקְרֵא-קָדֹשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֶת  
 נִסְכֵיכֶם וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה: 28 וְכָל-מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה

אני יהוה: 32 ולא תחללו את שם קדשי ונקדשתי בתוך  
בני ישראל אני יהוה מקדשכם: 33 המוציא אתכם  
מארץ מצרים להנחת לכם לאלהים אני יהוה: פ

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר: 2 דבר אל בני  
ישראל ואמרת אליהם מועדי יהוה אשר תקראו אתם  
מקראי קדש אלה הם מועדי: 3 ששת ימים תעשה  
מלאכה וביום השביעי שבת שבתון מקרא קדש כל-  
מלאכה לא תעשו שבת הוא ליהוה בכל מושבותיכם:  
פ 4 אלה מועדי יהוה מקראי קדש אשר תקראו  
אתם במועדים: 5 בחודש הראשון בארבעה עשר לחודש  
ציון הערבים פסח ליהוה: 6 ובחמשה עשר יום לחודש  
ציון תג המצות ליהוה שבועת ימים מצות תאכלו:  
7 ביום הראשון מקרא קדש יהיה לכם כל-מלאכת  
עבודה לא תעשו: 8 והקרבתם אשה ליהוה שבועת ימים  
כיום השביעי מקרא קדש כל-מלאכת עבודה לא תעשו:  
פ 9 וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר: 10 דבר אל בני  
ישראל ואמרת אליהם כיתבאו אל הארץ אשר אני נתן  
לכם וקצרתם את קצירה והבאתם את-עמר ראשית  
קצירכם אל-הכהן: 11 והניף את-העמר לפני יהוה  
לרצונכם ממחרת השבת יניפנו הכהן: 12 ועשייתם  
ביום הניפכם את-העמר בבש תמים בן-שנתו לעלה  
לדוח: 13 ומנחתו שני עשרנים סלת בלולה בשמן אשה  
לדוח בית גיחה ונסכה זין רביעת תהיו: 14 ולחם וקלי

וְכַרְמֶל לֹא תֹאכְלוּ עַד-עֲצֹם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַד הִבִּיאֲכֶם אֶל-קֶרֶן אֱלֹהֵיכֶם חֻקַּת עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם בְּכָל מִשְׁכְּלֵיכֶם:  
 15 וּמִפְרֻתָם לָכֶם מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת מִיּוֹם הִבִּיאֲכֶם אֶל-עֹמֶר הַתְּנוּפָה שִׁבְעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת תְּמִימֹת תִּהְיֶינָה: 16  
 מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת הַשְּׂבִיעִית תִּסְפְּרוּ חֲמִשִּׁים יוֹם וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם מִנְחָה חֲדָשָׁה לַיהוָה: 17 מִמּוֹשְׁלֵיכֶם הִבִּיאוּ לָהֶם תְּנוּפֹת שְׁתֵּי שָׁנִי עֲשָׂרִים סֵלָה תִּהְיֶינָה חֲמֵץ תֹּאפִינָה בִּכּוֹר לַיהוָה: 18 וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם עַל-דֹּלָתָם שִׁבְעַת בָּבָשִׁים תְּמִימִם בְּנֵי שָׁנָה וּפָר בֶּן-בָּקָר אֶחָד וְאֵילָם שְׁנָיִם יָחַד עֹלָה לַיהוָה וּמִנְחָתָם וְנִסְפֵיהֶם אִשָּׁה רֵיחַ-נִיחֹחַ לַיהוָה: 19 וַעֲשִׂיתֶם שְׂעִיר-עִזִּים אֶחָד לְחַטָּאת וּשְׁנֵי בָבָשִׁים שָׁנָה לְזִבַח שְׁלָמִים: 20 וְהִנִּיף הַכֹּהֵן אֹתָם עַל הַבָּכָרִים הַתְּנוּפָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה עַל-שְׁנֵי בָבָשִׁים קָדֵשׁ לַיהוָה לַכֹּהֵן: 21 וּקְרֹאֲתֶם בְּעֲצֹם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִקְרֹא-לָכֶם יְהִי לָכֶם כָּל-מִלְאכָת עֲבָדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ חֻקַּת עוֹלָם בְּכָל-מִשְׁכְּלֵיכֶם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם: 22 וּבְקִצְרְכֶם אֶת-קֶץ-אֲרָצְכֶם לֹא-תִכְבֵּל פֶּתַח שַׂדֶּךְ בִּקְצִירָהּ וְלָקַט קִצְיָהּ חֲלָקֹט לָעֲנִי וְלִגֵּר תַּעֲזֹב אֹתָם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 23 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵּאמֹר: 24 דַּבֵּר אֶל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׂבִיעִי בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ יְהִי לָכֶם שַׁבָּת וְכִרְזֹן תִּרְוַעָה מִקְרֹא-קָדֵשׁ: 25 כָּל-מִלְאכָת עֲבָדָה תַעֲשׂוּ וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה: 26 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵּאמֹר: 27 אַךְ בְּעֶשְׂרִי לַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׂבִיעִי יוֹם הַבִּפְּרִים הוּא מִקְרֹא-קָדֵשׁ יְהִי לָכֶם וַעֲנִיתֶם אֶת-נִפְשֵׁיכֶם וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה: 28 וְכָל-מִלְאכָת

תַּעֲשׂוּ בַּעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה כִּי יוֹם כַּפָּרִים הוּא לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיכֶם  
לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 29 כִּי כָל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אִישׁ - לֹא־תַעֲנֶה  
בַּעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וּנְבָרְתָה מֵעַמִּיהָ: 30 וְכָל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר  
תַּעֲשֶׂה כָל־מְלָאכָה בַּעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וְהִאֲבִדְתִּי אֶת־הַנֶּפֶשׁ  
הַהִיא מִקֶּרֶב עַמִּיהָ: 31 כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ חֻקַּת  
עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם בְּכָל מַשְׁכְּתֵיכֶם: 32 שִׁבְתָּ שִׁתּוֹן הוּא  
— לָכֶם וַעֲנִיתֶם אֶת־נַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם בַּחֲשָׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ בְּעֶרֶב מִעֶרֶב  
צָרְעָרֶב תִּשְׁכְּבוּ וְשִׁכְתֶּם: פ 33 וַיִּדְבֹּר יְהוָה אֶל־  
מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר: 34 דַּבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר בְּחֹהֲבֵי־  
כַּשְׂדִּי יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי הַזֶּה חַג הַסִּכּוֹת שִׁבְעַת יָמִים  
לִיהוָה: 35 בַּיּוֹם הַרְאִישׁוֹן מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ כָּל־מְלָאכָתָּ עֲבֹדָה  
לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ: 36 שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תִּקְרִיבוּ אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה בַּיּוֹם  
הַשְּׁמִינִי מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם וְהִקְרַבְתֶּם אִשָּׁה לַיהוָה  
עֲצֻרָתָּ הוּא כָּל־מְלָאכָתָּ עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ: 37 אֵלֶּה מוֹעֲדֵי  
יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־הִקְרָאוּ אֲתֶם מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ לְהִקְרִיב אִשָּׁה  
לַיהוָה עֹלָה וּמִנְחָה זֶבַח וְנִסְכִּים דְּבַר־יוֹם בַּיּוֹמוֹ:  
38 מִלֶּכֶד שִׁבְתָּת יְהוָה וּמִלֶּכֶד מִתְּנוּתֵיכֶם וּמִלֶּכֶד כָּל־  
נִדְרֵיכֶם וּמִלֶּכֶד כָּל־בְּרִיתֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר הִתְּנוּ לַיהוָה: 39 אֲך־  
בַּחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי בְּאַסְפְּכֶם אֶת־תְּבוּאֹת  
הָאָרֶץ הַחֲדָשׁ אֶת־חֲגִי־יְהוָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים בַּיּוֹם הַרְאִישׁוֹן  
שִׁבְתָּן וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי שִׁבְתָּן: 40 וּלְקַחְתֶּם לָכֶם בַּיּוֹם  
הַרְאִישׁוֹן פָּרִי עֵץ הָדָר כַּפֹּת תְּמָרִים וְעֵנָף עֵץ־עֵבֶת  
וְעִרְבֵי־נַחַל וּשְׂמַרְתֶּם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם שִׁבְעַת יָמִים:  
41 וְחַצְתֶּם אֹתוֹ חֲגִי לַיהוָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה חֻקַּת  
עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי הַחֲדָשׁ אֹתוֹ: 42 בַּסֵּכֶת



וְלֹא־מִתָּקָה וְלִשְׂכִירָהּ וּלְחוֹשְׁכָה הַגֵּרִים עִמָּךְ: 7 וְלִבְהִמְתָּקָהּ  
 וּלְחֵיהָ אֲשֶׁר בְּאַרְצָךְ הִהְיִה כָּל־חֲבוּאֲתָהּ לְאָכֹל: 8  
 וּסְפַרְתָּ לָּךְ שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים  
 וְהָיוּ לָּךְ יָמִי שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים הַשָּׁנִים תִּשְׁעַ וְאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה:  
 9 וְהָעֲבֵרְתָּ שׁוֹפָר תְּרוּעָה בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי בְּעֶשְׂרֵי לַחֹדֶשׁ  
 בְּיוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים תַּעֲבִירוּ שׁוֹפָר בְּכָל־אַרְצְכֶם: 10 וְקָדְשִׁיתֶם  
 אֶת שְׁנַת הַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה וְקִרְאתֶם דְּרוֹר בְּאַרְץ לְכָל־  
 יֹשְׁבֶיהָ יוֹכֵל הוּא הִהְיִה לָכֶם וְשִׁבְתֶּם אִישׁ אֶל־אֲחֻזָּתוֹ  
 וְאִישׁ אֶל־מִשְׁפַּחָתוֹ תָּשֻׁבוּ: 11 יוֹכֵל הוּא שְׁנַת הַחֲמִשִּׁים  
 שָׁנָה הִהְיִה לָכֶם לֹא תוֹרְעוּ וְלֹא תִקְצְרוּ אֶת־סְפִיחֶיהָ וְלֹא  
 תִבְצְרוּ אֶת־גִּזְרֶיהָ: 12 כִּי יוֹכֵל הוּא קֹדֶשׁ הִהְיִה לָכֶם  
 מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה הַאֲכָלוּ אֶת־חֲבוּאֲתָהּ: 13 בַּשָּׁנָה הַיּוֹכֵל הַזֹּאת  
 תָּשֻׁבוּ אִישׁ אֶל־אֲחֻזָּתוֹ: 14 וְכִי־תִמְכְּרוּ מִמֶּכֶר לַעֲמִיתְךָ  
 אִזְּכָנָה מִיָּד עַמִּיתְךָ אֶל־חֹנֹנוֹ אִישׁ אֶת־אֲחִיו: 15 בְּמִסְפַּר  
 שָׁנִים אַחֲרֵי הַיּוֹכֵל תִּקְנֶנָּה מֵאֵת עַמִּיתְךָ בְּמִסְפַּר שָׁנֵי־  
 חֲבוּאֲתָת יִמְכַר־לָּךְ: 16 לְפִי נֶרֶב הַשָּׁנִים תִּרְבֶּה מִקְנֶתוֹ  
 וּלְפִי מַעֲט הַשָּׁנִים תִּמְעֵיט מִקְנֶתוֹ כִּי מִסְפַּר חֲבוּאֲתָהּ הוּא  
 מִכָּר לָּךְ: 17 וְלֹא חֹנֹנוֹ אִישׁ אֶת־עַמִּיתוֹ וַיִּרְאֵהוּ מֵאֲלֹהֶיךָ  
 כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 18 וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֶת־חֻקֹּתִי וְאֶת־  
 מִשְׁפָּטֵי תִשְׁמְרוּ וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם וַיִּשְׁבְּתֶם עַל־הָאָרֶץ לְבָטָח:  
 19 וְנָתַנָּה הָאָרֶץ פְּרִיָּה וְאִכְלֹתֶם לְשִׁבְעָה וַיִּשְׁבְּתֶם לְבָטָח  
 עָלֶיהָ: 20 וְכִי תֹאמְרוּ מֵה־נֹּאכָל בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִת הֵן לֹא  
 נִזְרַע וְלֹא נִאֲסָף אֶת־חֲבוּאֲתָנוּ: 21 וְצִוִּיתִי אֶת־בְּרַכְתִּי  
 לָכֶם בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁשִׁית וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֶת־חֲבוּאָהּ לְשֵׁלֶשׁ הַשָּׁנִים:  
 22 וְרַעֲתֶם אֶת הַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִת וְאִכְלֹתֶם מִן־חֲבוּאֲתָהּ

וַיִּתֵּן כְּאִשֶּׁר עָשָׂה  
תַּחַת עֵין שֵׁן תַּחַת  
21 וּמִכָּה בְּהִמָּה  
1 אַחֲרַי יִהְיֶה לָכֶם  
23 וַיִּדְבֹּר מִשָּׁה  
וּלְמַחֲזֵן לְמַחֲזֵן  
אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה

לֵאמֹר: 2 דִּבֶּר  
אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר  
ז: 3 שֶׁשׁ שָׁנִים  
שָׁמַר אֶת־תְּבוּאָתָהּ:

וְלֹא־מִתֶּקֶד וְלֹא־מִכִּירָה וְלֹא־מִשְׁכָּה הַנָּגִיד עִמָּךְ: 7 וְלֹא־  
וְלֹא־חֵיהָ אֲשֶׁר בְּאַרְצְךָ הָיְתָה כָּל־חֲבוּאָתָהּ לֶאֱכֹל:  
8 וּסְפַרְתָּ לָּךְ שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים  
וְהָיוּ לָּךְ יָמִי שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים הַשָּׁנִים הַשֵּׁשִׁי וְאַרְבָּעִים  
9 וְהַעֲבַרְתָּ שׁוֹפָר תְּרוּעָה בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי בְּעֶשְׂרֵי  
בָּיֹום הַכַּסְפִּים תַּעֲבִירוּ שׁוֹפָר בְּכָל־אַרְצְכֶם: 10 וְקָבְצוּ  
אֶת שְׁנַת הַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה וְקָרְאתֶם דְּרוֹר בְּאַרְץ  
יִשְׂרָאֵל יֹכֵל הוּא הָיְתָה לָכֶם וְשִׁבְתֶּם אִישׁ אֶל־אֶתֶּן  
וְאִישׁ אֶל־מִשְׁפָּחָתוֹ תָּשֻׁבוּ: 11 יֹכֵל הוּא שְׁנַת הַחֲמִשִּׁים  
שָׁנָה הָיְתָה לָכֶם לֹא תוֹרְעוּ וְלֹא תִקְצְרוּ אֶת־סְפִירָתוֹ  
תִבְצְרוּ אֶת־נִזְוִיָּהּ: 12 כִּי יֹכֵל הוּא קֹדֶשׁ הָיְתָה  
מִן־הַשָּׁדָה תֹּאכְלוּ אֶת־חֲבוּאָתָהּ: 13 בַּשָּׁנָה הַיּוֹכֵל  
תָּשֻׁבוּ אִישׁ אֶל־אֶחָדָם: 14 וְכִי־תִמְכְּרוּ מִמֶּכֶר לְעַם  
אֵז קָנָה מִיָּד עַמִּיתְךָ אֶל־חֹזֶנְךָ אִישׁ אֶת־אֶחָדָם: 15 בַּשָּׁנָה  
שְׁנִי אֶתֶּר הַיּוֹכֵל תִּקְנֶה מֵאֵת עַמִּיתְךָ בְּמִסְפַּר  
חֲבוּאָת יִמְכַר־לָּךְ: 16 לְפִי וְלִב הַשָּׁנִים תִּרְפֶּה בְּמִסְפַּר  
וְלְפִי מַעֲט הַשָּׁנִים תִּמְעִיט מִקְנָתוֹ כִּי מִסְפַּר חֲבוּאָת  
מִכָּר לָּךְ: 17 וְלֹא חֹזֶנְךָ אִישׁ אֶת־עַמִּיתוֹ וְיִדְאָתָּ מִן־הָאֵשׁ  
כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 18 וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֶת־חֻקֹּתַי  
מִשְׁפָּטִי תִשְׁמְרוּ וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם וְיִשְׁבְּתֶם עַל־הָאָרֶץ לְשָׁנָה  
19 וְנִתְּנָה הָאָרֶץ פְּרִיָּה וְאִכְלֶתֶם לָשִׁבְעַת וְיִשְׁבְּתֶם  
עָלֶיהָ: 20 וְכִי תֹאמְרוּ מֵה־נֹּאכָל בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִת  
נִזְרָע וְלֹא נֶאֱסַף אֶת־חֲבוּאָתָנוּ: 21 וְצִוִּיתִי אֶת־פְּרִי  
לָכֶם בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁשִׁית וַעֲשִׂיתִי אֶת־חֲבוּאָהּ לְשִׁלְשֹׁת הַשָּׁנָה  
22 וְרָעִיתֶם אֶת הַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִת וְאִכְלֶתֶם מִן־הַפְּרִי

יִשָּׁן עַד הַשְּׁנֵה הַתְּשִׁיעַת עַד-בּוֹא תְּבוֹאָתָהּ תֹּאכְלוּ יִשָּׁן:  
 23 וְהָאָרֶץ לֹא תִמְכַּר לְצִמְתָּהּ כִּי-לִי הָאָרֶץ כִּי-גֵרִים  
 וְחוֹשְׁבִים אֲתֶם עַמִּדִּי: 24 וּבְכָל אָרֶץ אֲחֻזַּתְכֶם נֹאֲלָה  
 הַהֲנוּ לָאָרֶץ: ׀ 25 כִּי-יָמוּךְ אֲחִיךָ וּמָכַר מֵאֲחֻזָּתוֹ  
 וּבָא גֵאֻל הַקָּרֹב אֵלָיו וְגֵאֻל אֵת מִמֶּכֶר אָחִיו: 26 וְאִישׁ  
 כִּי לֹא יִהְיֶה-לּוֹ גֵאֻל וְהַשְׁיָנָה יָדוֹ וּמָצָא כְּדֵי גֵאֻלָּתוֹ:  
 27 וְחָשַׁב אֶת-שְׁנֵי מִסְפָּרָיו וְהָשִׁיב אֶת-הָעֶזְרָה לְאִישׁ  
 אֲשֶׁר מָכַר-לוֹ וְשָׁב לְאֲחֻזָּתוֹ: 28 וְאִם-לֹא מָצָאָה יָדוֹ הִי  
 הָשִׁיב לוֹ וְהָיָה מִמֶּסְרָיו בְּיַד הַקֹּנֵה אֹתוֹ עַד שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל  
 וַיֵּצֵא בַיּוֹבֵל וְשָׁב לְאֲחֻזָּתוֹ: ׀ 29 וְאִישׁ כִּי-יִמְכַר בֵּית-  
 מוֹשָׁב עִיר חֹמָה וְהִיחָהּ גֵאֻלָּתוֹ עַד-הֶם שְׁנַת מִמֶּכֶר  
 יָמִים תִּהְיֶה גֵאֻלָּתוֹ: 30 וְאִם לֹא-יִגְאֹל עַד-מְלֹאת לוֹ  
 שְׁנַת תְּמִימָה וְקָם הַבֵּית אֲשֶׁר-בָּעִיר אֲשֶׁר-לֹא חֹמָה  
 לְצִמְתָּהּ לִקְנֹת אֹתוֹ לְדֹרֹתָיו לֹא יֵצֵא בַיּוֹבֵל: 31 וּכְתִי  
 הַחֲצִרִים אֲשֶׁר אֵין-לָהֶם חֹמָה סָבִיב עַל-שָׂרָה הָאָרֶץ  
 יִחָשַׁב גֵאֻלָּהּ תִּהְיֶה-לּוֹ וּבַיּוֹבֵל יֵצֵא: 32 וְעַרְי הַלְוִיִּם  
 כְּתִי עַרְי אֲחֻזָּתָם גֵּאֻלָּת עוֹלָם תִּהְיֶה לְלֹוִיִּם: 33 וְאֲשֶׁר  
 יִגְאֹל מִן-הַלְוִיִּם וַיֵּצֵא מִמִּכְר-בֵּית וְעִיר אֲחֻזָּתוֹ בַּיּוֹבֵל  
 כִּי כְתִי עַרְי הַלְוִיִּם הוּא אֲחֻזָּתָם בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:  
 34 וְשָׂרָה מִגֵּרֶשׁ עַרְיָהֶם לֹא יִמָּכַר כִּי-אֲחֻזָּת עוֹלָם הוּא  
 לָהֶם: ׀ 35 וְכִי-יָמוּךְ אֲחִיךָ וּמָצָה יָדוֹ עִמָּךְ וְהִיחֻקָּהּ  
 פָּנֶיךָ וְחָשַׁב וְחִי עִמָּךְ: 36 אֶל-תִּקַּח מֵאֹתוֹ גִּשְׁף  
 וְתַרְבִּית וְיִרְאֵה מֵאֲלֹהֶיךָ וְחִי אֲחִיךָ עִמָּךְ: 37 אֶת-כֶּסֶף  
 לֹא תִתֵּן לוֹ בְּגִשְׁף וּבִמְרִבִּית לֹא-תִתֵּן אֲבִלָּה: 38 אֲנִי  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר-הוֹצֵאתִי אֶתְכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לְתֵת

לָכֶם אֶת־אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן לְהִיזֹת לָכֶם לְאֱלֹהִים: ס  
 39 וְכִי־יָמוּךְ אָחִיךָ עִמָּךְ וְנִמְכַּר־לָךְ לֹא־תִעַבְדֵהוּ עִבְדְּךָ  
 עֶבֶד: 40 בְּשָׁבִיר כְּתוּשָׁב יִהְיֶה עִמָּךְ עַד־שְׁנַת הַיָּעֹבֵד עִמָּךְ: 41 וַיֵּצֵא מֵעִמָּךְ הוּא וּבָנָיו עִמּוֹ וְשָׂבִי  
 מִשְׁפָּחָתוֹ וְאֶל־אֲחֻזַּת אֲבֹתָיו יָשׁוּבוּ: 42 כִּי־עִבְדִּי  
 אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתִי אֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֹא יִמְכְּרוּ מִמֶּנִּי  
 עֶבֶד: 43 לֹא־תִרְדֶּה בּוֹ בְּפֶדֶךְ וַיִּרְאֵהָ מֵאֲלֹהֶיךָ: 44 וְעַבְדְּךָ  
 וְאִמָּתְךָ אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה־לָּךְ מֵאֵת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבֹתֶיךָ  
 מֵהֶם תִּקְנֶנּוּ עֶבֶד וְאִמָּה: 45 וְגַם מִבְּנֵי הַתּוֹשְׁבִים תִּקְנֶנּוּ  
 עִמָּכֶם מֵהֶם תִּקְנֶנּוּ וּמִשְׁפָּחָתָם אֲשֶׁר עִמָּכֶם אֲשֶׁר תוֹלְדוּ  
 בְּאֶרְצְכֶם וְהָיוּ לָכֶם לְאֲחֻזָּה: 46 וְהִתְנַחֲלָתֶם אֹתָם לְבָנֵי  
 אַחֲרֵיכֶם לְרֵשֶׁת אֲחֻזָּה לְעֹלָם בָּהֶם תִּעֲבְדוּ וּבְאֲחֻזַּת  
 בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ בְּאֲחֻזַּת לֹא־תִרְדֶּה בּוֹ בְּפֶדֶךְ: ס  
 47 וְכִי תִשְׁיַג יָד גֵּר וְחוֹשֵׁב עִמָּךְ וּמָךְ אָחִיךָ עִמּוֹ וְנִמְכַּר  
 לְגֵר הוֹשֵׁב עִמָּךְ אִוֹ לַעֲקֹר מִשְׁפָּחַת גֵּר: 48 אַחֲרֵי נִמְכַּר  
 וְנָאֻלָּה תִהְיֶה־לּוֹ אַחֵד מֵאֲחֵיו וְנִאֲלָנּוּ: 49 אִוֹ־דָדוֹ  
 בְּדָדוֹ וְנִאֲלָנּוּ אִוֹ־מִשְׁאֵר בְּעַרְוֹ מִשְׁפָּחָתוֹ וְנִאֲלָנּוּ  
 הַשְּׁיִנָּה יָדוֹ וְנִאֲלָל: 50 וְחֹשֵׁב עִם־קִנְיָנוֹ מִשְׁנַת הַמִּכְרֹוֹ  
 עַד שְׁנַת הַיָּבֵל וְהָיָה בְּסֹף מִמְכְּרוֹ בְּמִסְפַּר שָׁנִים בְּשָׁבִיר  
 יִשָּׁבֵר יִהְיֶה עִמּוֹ: 51 אִם־עוֹד רַבּוֹת בְּשָׁנִים לְפָנָיו  
 יָשִׁיב וְנָאֻלָּתוֹ מִכֶּסֶף מִקְנָתוֹ: 52 וְאִם־מְעַט נָשָׁב  
 בְּשָׁנִים עַד־שְׁנַת הַיָּבֵל וְחֹשֵׁב־לּוֹ כִּפְי־שָׁנָיו יָשִׁיב  
 וְנָאֻלָּתוֹ: 53 בְּשָׁבִיר שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה יִהְיֶה עִמּוֹ לֹא־יִרְדֶּה  
 בְּפֶדֶךְ לְעֵינֶיךָ: 54 וְאִם־לֹא יִנָּאֵל בְּאֻלָּה וַיֵּצֵא בְּ  
 הַיָּבֵל הוּא וּבָנָיו עִמּוֹ: 55 כִּי־יִי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדוּ

וַיִּקְרָא כֵן בְּנֵי סֵנִי בַחֲקֵי  
 עֲבָדֵי הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר-הוֹצֵאתִי  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:

# CHAPTER XXVI

1 לֹא-תַעֲשׂוּ לָכֶם אֱלִילִים וְסֶסֶל וּמִצֵּדָה לְאַחֲקֵיכֶם  
 וְאִכְּלִיתֶם מִשְׁכִּיתָ לֹא תִתְּנוּ בְּאֶרֶצְכֶם לְחִשְׁתָּנוֹת עָלֶיחָ  
 אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: 2 אֶת-שִׁבְתֵּי תִשְׁמְרוּ וּמִקְדָּשִׁי

פ פ פ

3 אֶת-בַּחֲקֵי תִלְכוּ וְאֶת-מִצְוֹתֵי תִשְׁמְרוּ וְשִׁיתֶם אֹתָם:  
 4 וְנָתַתִּי גִשְׁמֵיכֶם בְּעֵתָם וְנָתַתִּי תֶאֱרֹץ יְכוּלָה וְעֵץ  
 תַּעֲרֶה יִתֵּן פְּרִיָו: 5 וְהָשִׁיג לָכֶם יֵשֶׁת אֶחָד־בְּעִיר וּבְעִיר  
 בְּאֶרֶצְכֶם וְאָכְלִיתֶם לְחִמְכֶם לְשֹׁבַע וְיִשְׁבְּתֶם לְבִטָּח  
 וְנָתַתִּי שְׁלוֹם בְּאֶרֶץ וְשִׁבְתֶּם וְאִין מִדְּרִיד  
 7 וְיִדְפְּתֶם אֶת-אֲוִיבֵיכֶם וְנִפְּלוּ לַפְּנִיכֶם לְחָרֹב: 8 וְהָדַפוּ  
 אֲוִיבֵיכֶם לַפְּנִיכֶם לְחָרֹב: 9 וְשָׁנִיתִי אֲלֵיכֶם וְהִפְרִיתִי  
 10 וְאָכְלִיתֶם יֵשֶׁת נֹשֶׁן וְיֵשֶׁן מִפְּנֵי תֵשֶׁת הוֹצִיאָה:  
 11 וְנָתַתִּי מִשְׁבְּגִי בְּתוֹכְכֶם וְלֹא-תִגְעַל נַפְשִׁי אֹתְכֶם:  
 12 וְהִתְהַלַּכְתִּי בְּתוֹכְכֶם וְהִצִּיתִי לָכֶם לְאֱלֹהִים וְאֹהִים  
 13 אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִי  
 14 מִמִּצְרָיִם מִצֵּדָה לָכֶם עֲבָדִים וְאֶשְׁבֵּל מִלְּחָמָה  
 וְקִימְתִּיהֶם:

רֹאשֵׁי שָׁנָה אֲשֶׁר הִנָּצֵאתִי-אִתְּכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לְעֵינֵי הַגּוֹזִים  
 לְהַנּוֹת לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים אֲנִי יְהוָה : 46 אֵלֶּה הַחֻקִּים  
 וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים וְהַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן יְהוָה בֵּינוֹ וּבֵין בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 בְּהָר סיני בְּיַד-מֹשֶׁה : פ

## CHAPTER XXVII.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר : 2 דַּבֵּר אֶל-בְּנֵי  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם אֵישׁ כִּי יִשְׁלַא גֵרָר בְּעֶרְכָּהּ נִפְשָׁתָהּ  
 לַיהוָה : 3 וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּהּ הַזֶּכֶר מִבֶּן עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְעַד בֶּן  
 שְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּהּ חֲמִשִּׁים שֶׁקֶל כֶּסֶף בְּשֶׁקֶל  
 הַקֹּדֶשׁ : 4 וְאִם-נִקְבָּה הָיָה וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּהּ שְׁלֹשִׁים שֶׁקֶל :  
 5 וְאִם מִבֶּן-חֲמִשָּׁה שָׁנִים וְעַד בֶּן-עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּהּ  
 הַזֶּכֶר עֶשְׂרִים שֶׁקֶלִים וְלִנְקָבָה עֶשְׂרֵת שֶׁקֶלִים : 6 וְאִם  
 מִבֶּן-יָרֵשׁ וְעַד בֶּן-חֲמִשָּׁה שָׁנִים וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּהּ הַזֶּכֶר חֲמִשָּׁה  
 שֶׁקֶלִים כֶּסֶף וְלִנְקָבָה עֶרְכָּהּ שְׁלֹשָׁה שֶׁקֶלִים כֶּסֶף : 7 וְאִם  
 מִבֶּן-שְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וְעַד אִם-זָכָר וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּהּ חֲמִשָּׁה  
 עָשָׂר שֶׁקֶל וְלִנְקָבָה עֶשְׂרֵה שֶׁקֶלִים : 8 וְאִם-טָף הוּא  
 מִצֶּרְכָּהּ וְהָעֶמִידוֹ לִפְנֵי הַכֹּהֵן וְהָעֲרִיף אֹתוֹ הַכֹּהֵן עַל-פִּי  
 אֲשֶׁר תִּשְׁיג יָד הַגִּזְרֹר יַעֲרִיכֶנּוּ הַכֹּהֵן : 9 וְאִם-  
 בְּהֶמְהָ אֲשֶׁר יִקְרִיבוּ מִמֶּנָּה קָרְבָן לַיהוָה כֹּל אֲשֶׁר יִתֵּן  
 מִמֶּנּוּ לַיהוָה יִהְיֶה-קָדֹשׁ : 10 לֹא יִחְלִיפֶנּוּ וְלֹא-יִמִּיר אֹתוֹ  
 טוֹב בְּרָע אֹרֶעַ בְּטוֹב וְאִם-דָּהִמַּר יִמִּיר בְּהֶמְהָ בְּהֶמְהָ  
 וְהָיָה-רֵוָא וְהִמָּדְתּוּ יִהְיֶה-קָדֹשׁ : 11 וְאִם כָּל-בְּהֶמְהָ  
 טִמְאָהָ אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִקְרִיבוּ מִמֶּנָּה קָרְבָן לַיהוָה וְהָעֶמִיד אֶת-  
 הַבְּהֶמָּה לִפְנֵי הַכֹּהֵן : 12 וְהָעֲרִיף אֹתָהּ בֵּין טוֹב



וְהִכְרַתִּי אֶת־חַמְּנֵיכֶם וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־פְּגִיבֵיכֶם עַל־פְּגִיבֵיכֶם  
וְנָעֲלָה נַפְשִׁי אִתְּכֶם: 31 וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־עֲרִיכֶם חֲרָבָה וְהַשְׁמוּתִי  
אֶת־מִקְדְּשֵׁיכֶם וְלֹא אֶרְיֵחַ בְּרִיחַ נִיחֻחְכֶם: 32 וְהַשְׁמַתִּי  
אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְשָׁמֹן עָלֶיהָ וְאֲבִיכֶם הַיֹּשְׁבִים בָּהּ:  
וְאַתְּכֶם אֲזַרְחָה בְּנוֹיִם וְהִרְיֵקְתִּי אֶת־רִיכֶם חֲרָב וְהִיתָה  
הָאֶרֶץ שְׂמָמָה וְעֲרִיכֶם יִהְיוּ חֲרָבָה: 34 אִלּוּ הִרְצָה הָאָרֶץ  
אֶת־שְׂבַתָּהּ כֹּל יְמֵי הַשָּׁמָה וְאַתֶּם בָּאָרֶץ אֲבִיכֶם אִלּוּ  
תִשְׁבַּת הָאָרֶץ וְהִרְצָה אֶת־שְׂבַתָּתֶיהָ: 35 כָּל־יְמֵי הַשָּׁמָה  
תִּשְׁבַּת אֶת־אֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁבְתָה בְּשְׂבַתְיֹכֶם בְּשְׂבַתְכֶם עָלֶיהָ:  
36 וְהַנִּשְׁאָרִים בְּכֶם וְהִבֵּאתִי מִרְדָּךְ בְּלַבְכֶם בְּאֶרֶץ אֲבִיהֶם  
וְרָחַף אֹתָם קוֹל עָלָה נִדָּף וְנָסוּ מִנֶּסֶת־חֲרָב וְנָפְלוּ וְאִין  
רָחַף: 37 וְכָשְׁלוּ אִישׁ־בְּאֶחָיו בְּמִסְפְּנֵי־חֲרָב וְרָחַף אִין  
וְלֹא־תִהְיֶה לָכֶם הַקֹּמָה לִפְנֵי אֲבִיכֶם: 38 וְאַבְדֹתֶם בְּנוֹיִם  
וְאִבְלָה אִתְּכֶם אֶרֶץ אֲבִיכֶם: 39 וְהַנִּשְׁאָרִים בְּכֶם יִמְקֹוּ  
בְּעֹנֹם בְּאֶרֶץ אֲבִיכֶם וְאִף בְּעֹנֹת אֲבֹתָם אֹתָם יִמְקֹוּ:  
40 וְהִתְוֹדוּ אֶת־עֹנֹם וְאֶת־עֹן אֲבֹתָם בְּמַעֲלָם אֲשֶׁר מַעֲלֹוּ  
בִּי וְאִף אֲשֶׁר־הִלְכוּ עִמִּי בְּקָרִי: 41 אִף־אֲנִי אֶלְךָ עֹמֵם  
בְּקָרִי וְהִבֵּאתִי אֹתָם בְּאֶרֶץ אֲבִיהֶם אִלּוּ יִכְנַע לְבָבָם  
הָעָרֹל וְאִלּוּ יִרְצוּ אֶת־עֲוֹנָם: 42 וְזָכַרְתִּי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹוב  
וְאִף אֶת־בְּרִיתִי יִצְחָק וְאִף אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אַבְרָהָם אֲזַכֵּר  
וְהָאָרֶץ אֲזָכֹר: 43 וְהָאָרֶץ תִּעְלֹב מֵהֶם וְתִרְצֶן אֶת־שְׂבַתָּתֶיהָ  
בְּהַשְׁמָה מֵהֶם וְהֵם יִרְצוּ אֶת־עֹנֹם יַעֲן וְכִיעֹן בְּמִשְׁפָּטִי  
מֵאֲכֹו וְאֶת־חֻקִּי נִעְלָה נִפְשָׁם: 44 וְאִף נִס־זֹאת בְּהִזְוָתָם  
בְּאֶרֶץ אֲבִיהֶם לֹא־מֵאֲסָתִים וְלֹא־נִעְלָהִים לְבָלָהֶם לְהַפִּיר  
בְּרִיתִי אִתָּם כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם: 45 וְזָכַרְתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִיחַ

רֹאשֵׁי שָׁנָה אֲשֶׁר הִנָּצֵאתִי-אִתְּכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לְעֵינַי הַגּוֹזִים  
 לְהִנָּזֹת לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים אֲנִי יְהוָה : 46 אֵלֶּה הַחֻקִּים  
 וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים וְהַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן יְהוָה בֵּינוֹ וּבֵין בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 בְּהָר סיני בְּיַד-מֹשֶׁה : פ

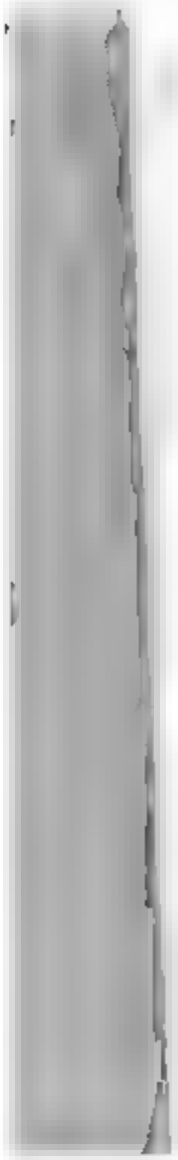
## CHAPTER XXVII.

1 וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר : 2 דַּבֵּר אֶל-בְּנֵי  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם אֵלֵּשׁ כִּי יִשְׁלַא נָדָר בְּעֶרְכָּךָ נִפְשָׁתָה  
 לַיהוָה : 3 וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּךָ הַזֶּכֶר מִבֶּן עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְעַד בֶּן  
 שְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּךָ חֲמִשִּׁים שֶׁקֶל כֶּסֶף בְּשֶׁקֶל  
 הַקֹּדֶשׁ : 4 וְאִם-נִקְבָּה הָיָה וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּךָ שְׁלֹשִׁים שֶׁקֶל :  
 5 וְאִם מִבֶּן-חֲמִשָּׁה שָׁנִים וְעַל בֶּן-עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּךָ  
 הַזֶּכֶר עֶשְׂרִים שֶׁקֶלִים וְלִנְקָבָה עֶשְׂרֵת שֶׁקֶלִים : 6 וְאִם  
 מִבֶּן-יָרֵשׁ וְעַל בֶּן-חֲמִשָּׁה שָׁנִים וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּךָ הַזֶּכֶר חֲמִשָּׁה  
 שֶׁקֶלִים כֶּסֶף וְלִנְקָבָה עֶרְכָּךָ שְׁלֹשָׁה שֶׁקֶלִים כֶּסֶף : 7 וְאִם  
 מִבֶּן-שְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וְעַל אִם-זָכָר וְהָיָה עֶרְכָּךָ חֲמִשָּׁה  
 עָשָׂר שֶׁקֶל וְלִנְקָבָה עֶשְׂרֵה שֶׁקֶלִים : 8 וְאִם-טָף הוּא  
 מִצֶּרְכָּךָ וְהָעֶמִידוֹ לִפְנֵי הַכֹּהֵן וְהָעֲרִיף אֹתוֹ הַכֹּהֵן עַל-יְדֵי  
 אֲשֶׁר תִּשְׁיֵן יָד הַנָּדָר יַעֲרִיכֶנּוּ הַכֹּהֵן : 9 וְאִם  
 בְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר יִקְרִיבוּ מִמֶּנּוּ קָרְבָן לַיהוָה כֹּל אֲשֶׁר יִתֵּן  
 מִמֶּנּוּ לַיהוָה יִהְיֶה-קָדֹשׁ : 10 לֹא יִחְלִיפֶנּוּ וְלֹא-יִמִּיר אֹתוֹ  
 טוֹב בְּרָע אֹרֶעַ בְּטוֹב וְאִם-דָּמָה יָמִיר בְּהֵמָה בְּהֵמָה  
 וְהָיָה-הוּא וְהַמִּדָּתוֹ יִהְיֶה-קָדֹשׁ : 11 וְאִם כָּל-פְּהֵמָה  
 טְמֵאָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִקְרִיבוּ מִמֶּנּוּ קָרְבָן לַיהוָה וְהָעֶמִיד אֶת-  
 הַבְּהֵמָה לִפְנֵי הַכֹּהֵן : 12 וְהָעֲרִיף אֹתָהּ בֵּין טוֹב

וּבֵין רֹעַ פְּעֻרָּהּ הַכֶּהֶן כֵּן יִהְיֶה: 13 וְאִם-יִגָּאֵל וַיִּגָּלֶנָּה  
וַיִּסַּף חֲמִישָׁתוֹ עַל-עֲרֻכָּהּ: 14 וְאִישׁ כִּי-יִקְדֹּשׁ אֶת-בֵּיתוֹ  
לְקָדֵשׁ לַיהוָה וְהָעֵרִיכוֹ הַכֹּהֵן כֵּן טוֹב וּבֵין רֹעַ פְּעֻרָּהּ  
וַיִּצְרֹךְ אֹתוֹ הַכֶּהֶן כֵּן יָקוּם: 15 וְאִם-הִמְקִדִּישׁ יִגָּאֵל אֶת-  
בֵּיתוֹ וַיִּסַּף חֲמִישִׁית כֶּסֶף-עֲרֻכָּהּ עָלָיו וְהָיָה לוֹ: 16 וְאִם  
מִשְׁכָּה אֲחֻזָּתוֹ יִקְדִּישׁ אִישׁ לַיהוָה וְהָיָה עֲרֻכָּהּ לְכֹפִי וְרָעוֹ  
זָרַע חֲמֵר שְׁעָרִים בְּחֲמִשִּׁים שֶׁקֶל כֶּסֶף: 17 אִם-מִשְׁכַּת  
הַיִּבֵּל יִקְדִּישׁ שְׁכָדוֹ עֲרֻכָּהּ יָקוּם: 18 וְאִם-אַתֵּר הַיִּבֵּל  
יִקְדִּישׁ שְׁכָדוֹ וְחֹשֶׁב-לוֹ הַכֹּהֵן אֶת-הַכֶּסֶף עַל-פִּי הַשָּׁנִים  
הַנּוֹתֵרֹת עַד שְׁנַת הַיִּבֵּל וְנִגְרַע מֵעֲרֻכָּהּ: 19 וְאִם-יִגָּאֵל  
יִגָּאֵל אֶת-הַשְּׂדֵה הַמִּקְדִּישׁ אֹתוֹ וַיִּסַּף חֲמִשִּׁית כֶּסֶף-עֲרֻכָּהּ  
עָלָיו וְקָם לוֹ: 20 וְאִם-לֹא יִגָּאֵל אֶת-הַשְּׂדֵה וְאִם-מָכַר  
אֶת-הַשְּׂדֵה לְאִישׁ אֲחֵר לֹא-יִגָּאֵל עוֹד: 21 וְהָיָה הַשְּׂדֵה  
בְּצֵאתוֹ בַּיִּבֵּל קָדֵשׁ לַיהוָה בְּשָׂדֵה הַחֹרֶם לִכְהֵן הַיִּהוּדִי  
אֲחֻזָּתוֹ: 22 וְאִם אֶת-שְׂדֵה מִקְנָתוֹ אֲשֶׁר לֹא מִשְׁכָּה אֲחֻזָּתוֹ  
יִקְדִּישׁ לַיהוָה: 23 וְחֹשֶׁב-לוֹ הַכֹּהֵן אֶת מַכְסַּת הָעֲרֻכָּה  
עַד שְׁנַת הַיִּבֵּל וְנָתַן אֶת-הָעֲרֻכָּה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא קָדֵשׁ לַיהוָה:  
24 בְּשְׁנַת הַיִּבֵּל יָשׁוּב הַשְּׂדֵה לְאִשֶּׁר קָנָהּ מֵאִתּוֹ לְאִשֶּׁר-  
לוֹ אֲחֻזַּת הָאָרֶץ: 25 וְכָל-עֲרֻכָּהּ יִהְיֶה בְשֶׁקֶל הַקָּדֵשׁ  
עֹשִׂים גִּרָה יִהְיֶה הַשֶּׁקֶל: 26 אֶךְ-בְּכֹזֶר אֲשֶׁר יִבְכֹּר לַיהוָה  
בְּבִהְמָה לֹא-יִקְדִּישׁ אִישׁ אֹתוֹ אִם-שׁוֹר אִם-שֶׂה לַיהוָה  
הוּא: 27 וְאִם בְּבִהְמָה הַטְּמֵאָה וְזָרָה בְּעֲרֻכָּהּ וַיִּסַּף חֲמִשָּׁתוֹ  
עָלָיו וְאִם-לֹא יִגָּאֵל וְנִמְכָּר בְּעֲרֻכָּהּ: 28 אֶךְ כָּל-חֹרֶם אֲשֶׁר  
יִחְרֹם אִישׁ לַיהוָה מִכָּל-אֶשׁ-לוֹ מֵאָדָם וּבְהֵמָה וּמִשְׁכָּה  
אֲחֻזָּתוֹ לֹא יִמָּכַר וְלֹא יִגָּאֵל כָּל-חֹרֶם קָדֵשׁ-קֳדָשִׁים הוּא

לַיהוָה: 29 כָּל־חֵרֶם אֲשֶׁר יִחַרֵם מִן־הָאָדָם לֹא יִפְדֶּה מוֹת  
 יוֹמָת: 30 וְכָל־מַעֲשֵׂר הָאָרֶץ מִדֶּעַ הָאָרֶץ מִסְּרֵי הָעֵץ  
 לַיהוָה הוּא קָדֵשׁ לַיהוָה: 31 וְאִם־נָאֵל יִנְאֵל אִישׁ מִמַּעֲשֵׂר  
 חֲמִשִּׁיתוֹ יִסַּף עָלָיו: 32 וְכָל־מַעֲשֵׂר בָקָר וְצֹאן כָּל אֲשֶׁר  
 יַעֲבֹר תַּחַת הַשֶּׁבֶט הָעֲשִׂירִי יִהְיֶה־קָדֵשׁ לַיהוָה: 33 לֹא  
 יִבָּקֵר בֵּין־טוֹב לָרַע וְלֹא יִמְרְנוּ וְאִם־הִמָּר יִמְרְנוּ וְהָיָה  
 הוּא וְחִמּוֹדָתוֹ יִהְיֶה־קָדֵשׁ לֹא יִנְאֵל: 34 אֵלֶּה הַמִּצְוֹת אֲשֶׁר  
 צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּהַר סִינַי:

ח ז ק











~~SEP 10 1994~~

~~TOC 10 1994~~

~~JUN 22 1997~~

MAY 22 2005

~~FEB 10 1995~~

~~SEP 10 1997~~



3 2044 023 317 423

